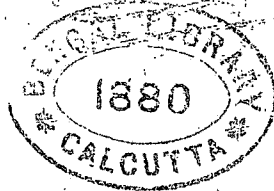


THE



CALCUTTA REVIEW.

COK-H00260-16-0126267

VOLUME LXXVI.

16

1888

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
gliding by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
to set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
of the age, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not ill-
deserving to be cast away.—MILTON.*

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THOMAS S. SEXTON, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET,
BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."
ALSO BY MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.
MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

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ART. I.—INDIAN PERKIN WARBECKS.

IN almost every country that has any history instances, more or less numerous, have occurred of impostors arising who personated some deceased king or other eminent person, and whose claims met with a certain amount of credence. Thus, Greek historians tell us of the pseudo-Smerdis in ancient Persia. After the death of Nero an adventurer in Parthia claimed to be that monster, as the old recognised authorities declared him to be, or that amiable and much-maligned individual according to Mr. Beesly and rehabilitators of a modern and somewhat limited school. We learn from Gibbon how, twenty years after the death of Baldwin, one of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, and Count of Flanders, who had perished while a captive in the hands of the Bulgarians, a hermit appeared in the Netherlands who claimed to be the deceased prince and was received by Flanders as her long lost Sovereign. Even after the detection and execution of the impostor, we are informed, "the Flemings still adhered to the pleasing error." To all readers of English history the names of Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel are familiar, and Russian history, if we mistake not, tells of more impostors than Demetrius, who is always specially distinguished by that designation. But in addition to personations of the kind referred to above as having actually occurred, there have been cases of true men being taken for impostors, and it appears that at the present moment some in Italy believe that the person whose death at Caprera not long ago called forth such general demonstrations of regret and regard throughout the country, was not Garibaldi. That hero, it is alleged, died long ago of the wounds received at Aspromonte, and some ingenious impostor assumed his character, though the object of

such personation, even supposing it for a moment to be possible, is not apparent. But where there is the will to be deceived, nothing is too extraordinary to be swallowed.

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the subject of such impostors generally, or to invite attention to cases selected from the field of general history. The writer merely proposes to himself to set before the readers of the *Calcutta Review* some instances of persons who played in India the part that Perkin Warbeck took in England. After setting forth these, any remarks that the brief narrative of the cases suggest may be offered for consideration, but such remarks will bear to the rest of the article about the proportion that bread bore to sack in Falstaff's accounts.

To understand the position assumed by the first impostor that will come under review, it will be necessary to dwell for a moment on one of the most striking and important episodes of Indian history. In January 1761, the most magnificent force that the Maratha Empire had ever sent in to the field lay entrenched on the famous field of Pánipat, under the leadership of Sadashivrao Bháu, a cousin of the Peshwa. Opposed to this force were the Afghan hordes under Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fate of India depended on the result of the contest that was about to ensue. At length the Marathas, who had long been cooped up in their entrenchments, were driven from them by famine and despair, and advanced to battle with a dress and mien that showed they were determined to die and expected no other fate. After a long protracted fight, in which Wiswásrao, the Peshwa's son, was killed, the leader of the Marathas dismounted from his elephant, and, mounting his horse, threw himself into the thickest of the fray. That he there perished there is no room for doubting, but his body does not seem to have been remarked by the enemy, though they discovered the corpse of Wiswásrao, which they wished to dry and carry back in triumph to Cabul.

Some eight or nine years after this, a Brahmin from Kanauj appeared in Maharashtra and raised an insurrection against the Peshwa, Máhduráo,—declaring himself to be Sadashivráo who had, he alleged, escaped from the fatal field of Pánipat. His tale was believed by some, but his followers were soon dispersed and he himself captured by Máhduráo, who confined him in a hill fort. "But," the historian of the Marathas remarks, when treating of the career of Raghunathráo Dada Saheb, the uncle of Máhduráo, "impostors of this description obtain surprising credence in the Déccan, and it was still a popular belief that the real Bháu Saheb, confined for State reasons, was about to be released and opposed to the unpopular Dada Saheb."

Sometime after the apparent collapse of the impostor, when the

Maratha Empire was rent with dissensions and Raghunáthráo (or Ragoba, as he was generally called) was in arms against the ministers who supported the cause of his infant grand nephew, and when the Bombay Government were chafing against the treaty that had been made over their heads with the latter party by Colonel Upton, the Envoy sent from Calcutta by Warren Hastings, it occurred to the Maratha Sirdar in charge of the *soi-disant* Sadásivráo that it would be a good plan to release his prisoner and espouse his cause. Whether in so doing he aimed at obtaining the sovereignty for himself, as Grant Duff supposes, or whether, like a genuine Maratha, he merely thought that the more the waters were troubled the better fishing he would get, it is impossible now to say. Whatever his motives may have been, he introduced a new element of discord by releasing his prisoner and proclaiming him to be the true Sadásivráo Bháu Saheb (familiarily known as Suddobá), who had been unjustly imprisoned by the traitorous ministers. This was in 1776.

One of the first acts of the adventurer thus set at large was to send wakils, and address letters, to the Bombay Government. The authorities there gave full credence to his story and looked with complacency on a fresh insurrection which would aid the cause of their protégé Ragoba. They sent one of their Surgeons to accompany and attend on Suddobá; and Mr. Dick, the commercial resident at Fort Victoria, waited on him to pay his respects. The countenance thus afforded to him, and the belief in the genuineness of his claims that obtained among the lower classes of the Maratha population, soon raised the power of the impostor to a formidable height. Before the end of the monsoon he was at the head of twenty thousand men, and in possession of the greater part of the Concan. Encouraged by his success, he ascended the Bhor Ghaut, *en route* to Poona; but here fortune ceased to favour him. He was attacked by the ministerial forces and driven back into the Concan. The pursuit was actively continued till he took refuge in Kolába, where he was seized by Angria, the Chief of that place, who carried him as a prisoner to Poona. There the impostor met with a terrible end; being fastened to the foot of an elephant and trampled to death—a punishment which, not many years ago, was inflicted on a criminal in Baroda. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the Poona representatives of the sacred caste afterwards contended that their Brahminical government never committed such a scandalous act as that of thus publicly executing a Brahmin. It is acknowledged that a man was trampled to death in the manner described; but those who hold that this was the impostor, maintain that the latter was not a Brahmin; but a Sonar; while others, admitting that the impostor was a Brahmin, maintain that

he was merely left to perish by starvation in prison, while a criminal of lower caste was executed in his stead *coram populo*.

The next impostor that comes under notice was a Gossain who personated Chitur Sing, brother of the Rájá of Satára. It should be explained that, after the suicide of the Peshwa, Máhdurao Narayan, in 1795, the then representative of the Maratha antetypes of the Merovingian *rois fainéants*, thought that the confusion consequent on this event afforded him a good opportunity for shaking off the thralldom imposed by the Peshwabs, his mayors of the palace. The Rájá of Satára himself was soon defeated and returned to captivity, but his brother, Chitur Sing, escaped and joined the Rájá of Kolhapur, after a retreat from Satára in which he had displayed a courage and enterprise that, joined to his descent, made him a special favourite among the Marathas. When he joined the Rájá, the latter was actively engaged in hostilities against the Peshwah's feudatories and officers to the south of the Warna river, which forms the northern boundary of Kolhapur, and Chitur Sing for a time did good service by keeping in check the Peshwah's forces on the Satára side of that river. Afterwards he moved to Kolhapur, and was with the Rájá in the engagement in which Parsherám Bhau Patwardhan, the most famous general on the Peshwah's side, was defeated and killed.

The completeness of the victor's success on this occasion led to such exertions on the part of the Peshwa, who was assisted by Sindia's disciplined battalions under European officers, that the Kolhapur Rájá was obliged to take refuge in his hill-fort of Pawála, while Chitur Sing went and joined Holkar—then at deadly feud with Sindia. After the battle of Poona, 1802, in which Sindia's forces were defeated by those of his rival, Chitur Sing actively aided the latter in carrying out his policy. With this object he persuaded his brother the Rájá of Satára to grant the clothes of investiture to the Peshwa set up by Holkar in opposition to Bájiráo. He afterwards took part against the English in the battle of Assaye, and subsequently served in the armies of Holkar, Amír Khan, and some of the Rajput princes. In 1812 he was returning home through Khándesh, when Trimbakji Dánglia, the Peshwa's evil genius and *factotum* where any deed of villainy was to be performed, invited him to a conference, at which he treacherously seized him, loaded him with irons, and threw him into a fort in the Concan.

After lingering in this prison for some six years, Chitur Sing died, but during his imprisonment he was not forgotten. Many attempts were made for his release by his partisans, but with little effect. At last the Gossain, above referred to, raised a formidable insurrection, giving out that he was Chitur Singh, who had

escaped, and acted in his assumed capacity with extraordinary vigour. He seized several important forts, and, though he was unable to restore the Satára Rája to independence, managed to make head against the Poona troops as long as the Peshwa's government lasted. When the British, after the overthrow of Báji-áo in 1818, occupied his territories, the pretended Chitur Sing was still in the field in the Satára district. He was soon, however, defeated and taken prisoner, and for the preservation of the peace of the country it was found necessary to keep him in captivity. Even this did not lessen his influence, and before long severe measures had to be adopted for the suppression of an insurrection one of the objects of which was the release of the supposed Chitur Sing.

About the same time an impostor appeared in Sáwant Wári, a small native state situated immediately to the north of the Portuguese territory of Goa. In 1807 this State had been invaded by troops from Kolhapur, and in this emergency the Dowager Rani, then acting as Regent during the infancy of her son the Chief, called on the aid of the Desai of Nipáni—an enemy and neighbour of Kolhapur, and who at that time, held the position of Sirlashkar of the Maratha empire.* Appa Desai came willingly enough to the rescue, but, after driving out the invaders, he conceived the idea of appropriating the territory he had come to defend. With this view he caused the infant Sirdesai to be strangled; but it is satisfactory to know that he gained nothing by this infamous deed, as the Sáwant Wári forces succeeded in driving him out, and the rightful heir to the principality succeeded in due course.

Phond Sáwant, the successor to the murdered boy, died in 1812, leaving an infant son. One of his widows on this assumed the regency, but was opposed by the widow of a former Sirdesai. This lady, to strengthen her cause, produced a lad whom she declared to be the boy that the Nipáni Chief was erroneously supposed to have strangled. Whether this story was really believed, or not, many espoused the cause of the impostor, and the State was convulsed with civil war. Phond Sáwant's widow had rather the advantage in this, but, as she vigorously supported the cause of the Peshwa, with whom we were then at war, a British force was eventually marched into Sáwant Wári, and a treaty was concluded by which the State came under our protection. The authorities

* This distinction he had recently acquired by accompanying General Wellesley in the campaign against Holkar, Sindia and the Berar Raja in 1803-4 as commander of the Pesh-

wa's contingent. Appa Desai was a brave soldier, but strange stories of his personal cruelty are still told at Nipáni.

had then to deal with the impostor, and, taking a lenient view of the case, treated him with liberality. He was given a fixed monthly allowance for his maintenance, and was allowed to choose a place of residence in the Concan at a distance from Sáwant Wári. The allowance was afterwards continued to his son, who still enjoys it.

In the same year 1819, shortly after the treaty of Mandisor had been concluded with Holkar's representatives, a man named Krishna Koer claimed to be Malharrao Holkar, and raised an insurrection in the Indore State. He managed to assemble a considerable force, and became so formidable, that the contingent under British officers had to be moved against him, when he was defeated and his forces dispersed. He himself fled, but was afterwards captured. Circumstances, however, led the authorities to take a lenient view of the case. He was considered to have acted as the tool of others, and was, therefore, pardoned and released.

The next case on the list is curious on account of the strangeness of its circumstances, and is especially interesting to us, as it bears a resemblance in some points to the famous Tichborne case that excited so much attention in England, and, indeed, all the world over, a few years ago. In the Southern Maratha country is a small State named Mudhol which, for many generations, has been governed by a branch of the Ghespade family. The State was at one time held on feudal tenure under the Bijapur kings, from whom the Chief received the title of Raja or Rajé, and in later years the Mudholkar consented to hold under the Peshwa, for whose service they engaged to supply a fixed contingent. In 1816 Raja Narayenrao, the then Chief, died leaving three sons, Govindrao, Lakshmanrao, and Vénkatrao, the eldest and youngest of whom quarrelled about the succession. The question was referred to the Peshwa, who passed no formal decision in the matter, but Vénkatrao's mother, by intrigue and bribery, seems to have got her son tacitly acknowledged as successor to his father. Whatever the elder brothers may have thought of this arrangement, they seem to have shewn no resentment, and, on the outbreak of war between the Peshwa and the English, they adhered to the cause of their Suzerain. Govindrao held a command of horse under Bapu Goklé, and at the battle of Ashté, in 1818, where his leader was killed, he was said to have met with the same fate. On the complete overthrow of the Peshwa, Lakshmanrao went to Baroda and took service with the Gaekwar, so that, when Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone took in hand the settlement of the newly acquired territories, he found Vénkatrao in possession of the Mudhol State, and accordingly concluded an engagement with him which will be found in Aitchison's Treaties.

Some years after this, in 1826, Mr. Elphinstone, then Governor

of Bombay, was surprised to receive a communication purporting to be from Govindrao, and claiming the position due to the eldest son of the late Chief of Mudhol. The writer asserted that he had been severely wounded at the battle of Ashté, and had managed to conceal himself, and after recovering from his wounds had visited the sacred places in Hindustan whence he had just returned. On a reference being made to Vénkatrao, he did not deny that the claimant might be his brother, but insisted on his own preferential right to the jaghir, as having been confirmed by the Peshwa. Enquiries were then instituted, and reports called for, regarding the identity of the claimant, who, while all this was going on, had betaken himself to the Southern Maratha country and succeeded in making many believe in the truth of his story. He even managed to win over to his side the widow of Govindrao. He first asked for an interview with her, at which she appeared with a dagger in her hand, declaring her firm resolve to slay herself if he deceived her. The interview ended with her declaring that he had told her things that only her husband could know, and she thenceforward lived with him as his wife. This action on her part, and the testimony of many who had known Narayenrao's eldest son, and declared this to be the veritable Govindrao, caused some perplexity to the Government. The principle, however, was firmly laid down that, as Vénkatrao, on the subversion of the Peshwa's government, had been found by us in possession of the Mudhol State, and a formal engagement had been concluded with him, his title to the jagir would in any case be unimpaired. The Political Agent was accordingly desired to call on the *soi disant* Govindrao to produce his proofs of identity, and to confront him with Vénkatrao's people, and, in the case of the identity being proved, to report what property, exclusive of the jagir, the man would be entitled to according to Hindu law. Circumstances, however, prevented these orders from being carried out at once, and matters went on as before for two years longer. At last, in 1829, Sir John Malcolm, who had succeeded Mr. Elphinstone in the government of Bombay, when making a tour in the Southern Maratha country, found the question still unsettled. On enquiring of the local authorities, he learned that they were not disposed to believe in the truth of the claim set up, and he then took steps to dispose of the question finally. Several chiefs belonging to that part of the country were at his camp, and he requested some of those of the highest position to form a Panchayet and decide the question. Their unanimous verdict was, that the claimant was not Govindrao, and one reason for this decision was, that the man was found not to know a word of Canarese (just as the English "claimant" did not know French), though that language had been as familiar to

Govindrao from his childhood as his own vernacular Maratha. The man was accordingly banished from the Deccan as an impostor, and was accompanied by Govindrao's widow, who persisted in declaring him to be her husband, the wisest course, on the whole that she could adopt. It was afterwards ascertained that the impostor was a Gossain, and that his remarkable likeness to Govindrao had been observed and commented upon by the latter's sister, who was living with her brother Lakshmanrao at Baroda, and there happened to see the Gossain in a temple. The attempt at imposture was, if not suggested, at least encouraged by Lakshmanrao, who probably wished to pave the way for pretensions to the jagir on his own account which he subsequently advanced.

Some trouble was occasioned in the Nagpur territory by a man who personated Appa Sahib—the treacherous Raja of that State who, after being deposed and confined in 1818, had made his escape and eventually died in the Panjab—a pensioner dependent on the bounty of Ranjit Sing, but, though the impostor for a time met with some success, there are not sufficient points of interest in the case to call for detailed notice.

The attention of the reader is now invited to some occurrences which took place in the Native State of Dhar in 1832, when a young man named Uchitrao declared himself to be the grandson of Jeswantrao Powar,* the first Raja of Dhar, and raised an insurrection. As his cause was supported by the Bhils, who had been much attached to his alleged father Murarirao, the movement assumed ere long formidable proportions, and much damage was done by the insurgents. The British were appealed to by the minister of the State, and Uchitrao and his followers agreed to abide by their decision. It appears that Uchitrao produced some strong evidence in support of the parentage he claimed, so that very possibly he was not an impostor; but he accepted an allowance of Rs. 200 a month on the condition of desisting from his pretensions, and the grievances of the Bhils having been redressed, the insurrection subsided.

* It was a strange coincidence that the Maratha soldier of fortune, Anandrao Powar, should have carved out for himself the principality of Dhar, the capital town of which had been, many centuries previously, the seat of a dynasty of Rajput Puars. Very possibly the Maratha tribal name may have had its origin in the Rajput name which it so much resembles, but Colonel Mallet's statement (*Native States of India*, p. 206)

that the family of the present Chief of Dhar "descends from a Rajput tribe settled in Malwa at a remote era, whence the branch now reigning in Dhar emigrated at an early age to the vicinity of Puna," is based solely on legends. In the early part of this century the family, we are told by Malcolm (*Memoirs of Central India*, Vol. I, p. 99), "though of the same tribe (Puar) claimed no descent from the ancient princes of Malwa."

Few will forget the intense excitement created in 1874, in every place where English is spoken, by the announcement that the infamous Dhundu Pant,—generally known as Nana Saheb of Bithur,—had been discovered in Gwalior, and though the news proved not to be correct, there were grounds for the announcement made. The whole affair, indeed, is still enveloped in mystery. There is no doubt that a wandering mendicant who arrived in Gwalior, gave it to be understood that he was the miscreant whose actions at Cawnpur have covered his name with undying infamy, and it is equally certain, that he was not the man; but the motive for such dangerous personation is not very apparent. It may have been a diseased craving for notoriety, or the character may have been assumed to test whether it would be possible for the Nana to return to India with any chance of safety. It must be remembered, that though Dhundu Pant was said to have died in the jungles of Nipal, and his funeral rites were there performed, the fact of his death has never been satisfactorily ascertained, and many believe that the rumour was set on foot to put an end to pursuit, while the fugitive made his escape. In 1866 Mr. Johnson, of the Trigonometrical Survey, who paid a visit to Khotan, believed that an Islamised Hindu, whom he found there in command of the Khan Badshah's infantry, was capable of identification as the Nana. The remark made on this by a high official* in the Foreign Office is to the effect, that "Mr. Johnson appears to have jumped at this belief from altogether insufficient premises, but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he is right. There is good reason for doubting whether the report of the Nana's death, circulated in 1858, had any foundation; it seems more probable that he escaped from Nipal into Thibet. And if he reached Thibet, he certainly might have wandered on into Chinese Tartary."

The latest attempt at imposture that we have to note occurred very recently, and was abortive. In the early part of last year a report was telegraphed home about a conspiracy that had been discovered in the native State of Kholapur, which created some sensation. The full proceedings held on the trial of the conspirators that were published afterwards, shewed that an importance quite uncalled for by the facts of the case had been given to this affair, and an air of absurdity was imparted to the solemn charge of making preparations to war against the Government; when it appeared that the preparations consisted in providing one or two swords as arms and a couple of annas as the military chest. It came out on the trial, that the wire-puller who apparently got up the whole thing, persuaded one of his tools to personate China

* Mr. J. W. S. Wyllie: *Essays on the external Policy of India*, p. 51. *Note*.

Sahab—a brother of the Kholapur Raja who was on the *gadi* in 1858. This Chima Sahab, in consequence of his tampering with mutineers and rebels, was deported from Kholapur in that year and sent to Karachi, where he died not many years ago. He was far more popular in the State than his brother, the Raja, and his name is to this day cherished fondly by many there.

It showed, then, much knowledge of the character of his countrymen on the part of the man who conceived the idea of associating his intended rising with this popular name, and, absurd as the conspiracy was in many respects, the consequences would have been serious, had any blood been shed, as was intended by the conspirators. Had the news spread through the *Mawals** of Kolhapur, that the beloved Chima Sahab was not dead, as had been reported, but had returned and raised the standard of insurrection; a rising might have taken place that would have required a considerable force to put it down. Fortunately the local authorities discovered in time what was going on. The conspirators were soon brought to trial, and the prompt measures taken by the Bombay Government, put a stop to any lurking hopes of a rising that might have remained in the minds of the turbulent classes.

Those who have read with attention the foregoing pages will possibly have remarked, that every impostor referred to belonged to the Maratha race. Such is the case, but the writer has not willfully confined his attention to that nation. Circumstances have led him to study more especially the history of the Marathas, general and local, but he is not unacquainted with the rest of Indian history. Some years ago the case of the Mudhol impostor noted above came before him in the course of some work which he had in hand, and since then he has made a note of such other cases as he came across in the course of his study of Indian history, with the results which have been now given to the reader. The list does not profess to be exhaustive, but it contains all the cases of Indian historical impostors that the writer knows of, and if there be any such instances in Rajput or (Indian) Musulman history, they have escaped his notice.

If an article must end, like a sermon, with an application, the moral to be drawn is this:—that, in whatever part of India Marathas may have settled down, there is a readiness among them to believe in the claims of impostors, even of those who personate men long since deceased. Such impostors may arise at any time, but are especially likely to do so in times of disturbance, or when the

* The Mawals are the valleys running eastward from the Syadri Ghant range, and are inhabited by a hardy race of men, from whom the great Sivaji drew his best soldiers.

minds of men are in that unsettled and excitable state which often preludes disturbances; and, however ridiculous the claims raised may appear to us, no time should be lost in exposing their falsehood and in taking prompt measures to prevent the infection from spreading. One of our national characteristics is a strong disinclination to what we call making a fuss about trifles. This is not a characteristic to be ashamed of, but it sometimes causes us to under-estimate the importance of events. We all know how sometimes "great events from little causes spring," and Horace tells us how it often happens that "*nugæ seria ducunt in mala.*" According to the late Mr. Miall, as quoted by Mr. Mathew Arnold, the attitude of the English dissenters is one of "jealous watchfulness," and that attitude is one not unsuited to those who are responsible for the peace of India.

E. W. W.

ART. II.—CHRONICLES OF CHANDRAKONA.

THE earliest seat of the Aryans in Western Bengal, one of the oldest towns in the country, and the centre of an important native industry, Chandrakona, has no written record of its past history. Its annals are preserved in oral traditions only, and although bards and minstrels have flourished in the vicinity, none ever sung of its valiant kings, or its merchant princes, whose monuments and names yet survive. This paper is, therefore, the earliest attempt at a connected narrative of the place collected from current stories, tested by the light of a single inscription and the records obtained from the archives of one or two of the adjacent principalities.

Chandrakona* stands on the extreme eastern edge of the high-land ridge whence the country suddenly breaks from hillocks, forest and rock down to a deltaic plain. The extensive tract of jungle land known as Parganá Bogri, on the western borders of the Hugli and north-western limits of the Midnapur district, adjoins the town immediately on its west. It seems one of the earliest clearings from the primitive jungle where a town sprung up and a principality flourished. Immediately on its east, the table-land slopes in gentle undulations until it rests in a low, flat plain, forming the basin of the Silābatī and presenting evident traces of a river, once much broader than the present stream. Bishenpur has hitherto been considered as the earliest outpost of the Aryan settlers on the western borders of lower Bengal. From the mountainous fastness of the west, the country opens here into the level plains of the delta. The traditions of Chandrakona, however, unfold the fact that the original house of the kings of Mallyabhum, or Bishenpur, was Mallyeswarpur, whence a defeat at the hands of a powerful Rajput Prince compelled them to migrate further to the north-west, i. e., into Bishenpur. The traditions which we have been able to gather disclose four distinct periods, the outlines of which may be left to future and closer investigations to fill up.

These are :—

- I.—The period of the aborigines, or Mallyas.
 - II.—The period of the Chunder Ketu Raj.
 - III.—The Chohan Rajahs of the family of Bir Bhānu Sinha.
 - IV.—The invasion of the town by Maharaja Krit Chand and the annexation of the Raj to Burdwan.
- I. Of the period of the aborigines we have only a single

* Latitude 22° 44' 20" North. Longitude 87° 33' 20" East.

name on record, viz., that of Khaer Mallya, the last Chief of his line. To Khaer Mallya is given the credit of building the temple of Mallyanath, which will be hereafter described. The original seat of the Mallyas was confined to the place in the immediate vicinity of the temple. On its north are the remains of an old mud fort. Down to the time of Khaer Mallya the name of the town was Máná. But a change of principality soon after brought a change in the name of the town. We tread probably upon authentic tradition when we learn that Khaer Mallya was a follower of that popular system of religion which, under some compromise or other, assumed the form of Shiva worship under the more knowing Aryan priests.

II. The second period, which comprises the narrative of the early Aryan conquest, and the advance of the Aryan outpost into the lower plains of Western Bengal, is said to have begun in the following way:—During the time of Khaer Mallya, a Rajput prince of the lower line, by name Chunder Ketu, accompanied by a large retinue of soldiers, on his way back from the shrine of Jaggarnath, encamped in the jungle of Dev Giri. Dev Giri lay four miles east of the capital of the Mallyas. Chunder Ketu had two Rajput warriors, Raja Lal Sinha and Raja Ram Sinha, as his companions, and the leaders of his retinue. From the natives of the forest, they heard of the fame of Máná. Chunder Ketu at once determined to reduce the town to subjection. Before proceeding towards Máná, he built, however, a town, calling it after his own name Chandra, now known as Chandá, which has dwindled into an insignificant village. From Chandá, as the basis of his operations, he proceeded after a short time to Máná, invited the Mallya Raja to battle, and so completely routed him as to compel Khaer Mallya to fly from his capital and take shelter 23 miles off in the forests, where a new principality arose under the name of Mallyabhum. Chunder Ketu in the meantime established himself at Máná and converted its name into Chandrakona. Shortly after he commenced expanding the limits of the town by clearing the jungle on all sides, and inviting immigrants to settle within it.

Chunder Ketu soon after learnt that only four miles north-east of Chandrakona, across the "wide waters" of the Silábati, there lay another principality with its head-quarters at Járá ruled by a prince, Járá, of the line of the great Jarasindhu of Magadha. Chunder Ketu marched against Járá into his battlement. But for an accident, however, he would have found it difficult to bring him under subjection. It is said, that Járá had two favorite carrier pigeons. These he took to the battle-field perched on his shoulders and tied to his arms. His instructions to his two Ranis were to

prepare for their own safety, should he be killed in battle, and the pigeons return without him. The battle-field lay at a distance. The intermediate ground was jungle land. It was difficult to ride straight across. In the battle the prince Jára proved victorious. But his pigeons got away and reached his palace ahead, where their arrival was taken as the signal of the prince's death. The Ranis, who were prepared for the worst, at once threw themselves on the pile of fire raised to secure what they thought their widowed chastity. The flames were up. The ladies were dying inch by inch, when the victorious prince arrived, too late, indeed, to participate with them in anything but the torments of death. In a moment of maddening sorrow, he threw himself upon the pile, leaving his territory to the fortunate Chunder Ketu, who annexed it to his own. He then reduced Bára (Babará) and Kanakavati to subjection, rendering his small principality continuous with the existing Parganá or fiscal division of the present time, comprising an area of about 80 square miles. These once free towns now exist as villages more or less populous, bearing some mark of antiquity in the remains of old bricks, thick brick walls under ground and broken temples of laterite within their limits. The tradition of their being independent towns still survives, while the old landmarks of forts and palaces have long vanished, or are buried deep in the soil. Our immediate concern is, however, to confine ourselves to the achievements of Maharaja Chunder Ketu.

It is said, that, when the Maharaja reigned in Chunderkona, there lived in the adjacent forest tract of Bakadwipa (Bogri) a Rakhasa Raja of the name of Bakásura. His tribute consisted of a daily contribution of human flesh from one or other of his subjects. Chunder Ketu was once disposed to fight the Rakhasya, but the fame of the great valor of the man-eater inclined him to give up the idea for a time. Subsequently it is told, when the five Pandav Brothers, with their beloved wife, fled away from Barunabata for their lives, they found a fitting shelter in the forests of Bakadwipa. Here they were concealed in the house of a hospitable Brahmin in the village of Ek-chakra (now Ekra). The Brahmin was not slow to report the barbarity of the Rakhasa Raja, who was brought to fight, routed and killed by Bhima, like many other monsters of his tribe. Chunder Ketu, on hearing of this exploit, repaired to the camp of the Pandavas, where he sung their praise, and had the rare fortune of meeting Sri Krishna, who came, as was his wont, to see his friends in their retreat. To this meeting is attributed the acquisition of the kingdom of Bakadwipa, which was granted to Chunder Ketu as a free

gift by the Pandavas. Sri Krishna, too, is said to have been much pleased with the behaviour and the humility of Chunder Ketu. The latter, in recognition of the benefits conferred on him by Sri Krishna, established the town of Krishnagore, where he consecrated the great idol Krishna Roy. The fame of Krishna Roy yet extends to the four corners of the province, and he is yet believed to be the great titular deity of the forests of Western Bengal. The management of the temple was very wisely made over to the Brahmin who had the honor of being the host of Sri Krishna and his friends. The kingdom of Bakasura was then partitioned into twelve divisions, and each of them was left to the management of a chief of the aboriginal Chuar tribe, attesting very plainly, that even in these early times, the wisdom of the maxim *divide et impera* was clearly understood by the politicians of the day.

Elated with the acquisition of this large territory, Chunder Ketu's ambition seems to have led him in quest of more worlds to conquer. He led, immediately after, an army against the Raja of Mallyabhumi. The latter, however, was discreet enough to enter into a negotiation by which he parted with a portion of his territory, in which Chunder Ketu established a second town of the name of Chunderkona. This town still exists near Bishenpur in the heart of Mallyabhumi.

On his return from this expedition, Chunder Ketu built the Forts of Lal-garh and Ram-garh, appointing his two Generals, Raja Lal Sinha and Ram Sinha, as their keepers. The great idols, Lalji and Raghunathji, were established by these chiefs within the walls of their respective forts. The Maharaja himself consecrated the idol Muruli Behari, which he placed in his own castle at Házari-ber. The Prime Minister, Ganga Ram, consecrated the idol Madan Mohun in Shamsundarpur. In this way sprung the turrets of the elegant temples, some of which yet delight the traveller in different parts of the town. Every one of the idols has lands and talooks attached to its temples, and the worship of some continues in a style suited to royalty. After the extension of the domains and the construction of works to secure his religious welfare and temporal safety, the Maharaja turned his attention to the arts of peace. With the object of encouraging trade, he established the Bhaer Bazar, Khirki Bazar, Barra Bazar, the Nuton Bazar, and others within the limits of his favorite town. He also established the Samádbi Bazar of which he made a free gift to his spiritual guide. This place is now known as the Ghonsye Bazar, or the market of the spiritual guide. Chunder Ketu did not long survive the consolidation of his Ráj. The principality, however continued to

be governed by Princes of his line, who gradually extended its limits. One of these princes wrested the kingdom of Torá from the aboriginal chief, or Manji, and conferred it on a Brahmin whom he appointed as the priest of the temple of Kámeswar. This temple is now known as the Nera-Deol, or the temple without a steeple. It is built in the style of the Orissan temples, and stands on the side of the Jaggannath road in a village of the same name, Nera Deol. This village was, no doubt, the original seat of the Devas, or Brahmin Rajahs of Brahmanbhum. The Rajahs of Brahmanbhum have, however, a history of their own which runs counter to the tradition given above, and to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. While the Prince of the Chunder Ketu line was busy in subduing an aboriginal Chief, he was beset by a foreign prince of the tribe of Chowhan Rajputs, whose power he imagined it to be altogether impossible to resist, and accordingly succumbed to him.

The history of this Prince, Bir Vanu Sinha, comprises the third period of our narrative. Before, however, referring to his history, an attempt may be made to fix the date of the Aryan invasion, or the age of Chunder Ketu. The traditions, as ever, leave it hopelessly out of sight. They, however, allude to a very remote age, the time when Rakháses, or man-eaters of the forest, yet roamed the land and disturbed the settlements of the early Aryans, the age when the Pandavas were sheltering themselves in pursuance of an inconvenient vow. Leaving aside the anecdote of the Pandavas, as lying beyond the pale of authentic history, we have another annal, humble in its scope, but not the less authentic, to appeal to. In the archives of the Brahmanbhum family is preserved a memorandum of the genealogy of its kings. It is a table containing 21 names of Rajahs, the dates of their accession to the throne and demise from its foundation of the Raj down to its fall in the year of the Saka 1683, or 1761 A. D. This kingdom, according to the Table, was founded in the year of the Saka 772 by Raja Umapati Dev Bhuttachariya an immigrant "from Rishighatta on the banks of the Ganges." In the account appended to this genealogical Table, we find the progress of this pious pilgrim to the shrine of Jaggannath stopped by a dream which led to the discovery of the idol Kameswar. The dream told the Brahmin that neither he nor his descendants would have any occasion to go to Puri, and that the real god would be found hidden under ground, where a milch cow would voluntarily pour milk to moisten the dry earth. The spot was thus discovered, the earth was dug, the Idol or Linga was found, and then began the earliest

clearing of the jungle, which resulted in the establishment of the Brahmanbhum Raj. This narrative distinctly states that the jungle tract, or the scene of the above anecdote, lay to the "south of the town of Chandrakona." The stories prevalent in the town itself ascribe the foundation of the Brahmin Raj to one of the successors of Chunder Ketu who wrested it from the hands of the aboriginal chief and made it over to the priest of Kameswar. According to either of these accounts Chandrakona, and, therefore, its founder, flourished at an age earlier than the date of the migration of Umapati Dev. This date according to the Table is given at 772 of the Sak era, or 851 A. D.

The annals of Bishenpur show that the capital of Mallyabhum was founded by Adi Mallya so early as 715 A. D. or more than a century before the Brahmanbhum Raj. The Chunder Ketu Raj, according to tradition, was founded even much earlier, when the chief of the Mallyas was expelled from Maná to Mallyabhum. The sixth century of the Christian era would not thus be a period too early for the settlement of the Aryans in the open plains of Western Bengal.

III. We now come to the third period of our narrative: Bir Vanu Sinha was a Prince of the Chowhan tribe of Rajpoots and a native of the ancient town of Indraprasta. He too was a pilgrim to the shrine of Jaggannath. History tells us innumerable tales as to how that holy shrine has ever been the highway not only to the salvation of the sinner, but to the foundation of kingdoms by the powerful and the ambitious. Chunder Ketu was a usurper and the history of his greed repeated itself in the avarice of Bir Bhanu, who encamped in the extensive field of Sham Dev, a name yet dreaded in the surrounding villages. Bir Bhanu learnt that his encamping ground lay in the kingdom of Chunder Ketu. His thoughts turned at once to the conquest of Chandrakona. With that object, he, first of all, took possession of the adjoining country, established the village of Bir Bhanupur, now standing beside the road hardly two miles to the north-west of Kheerpie. The very name of Bir Bhanu Singha was sufficient to frighten the reigning Prince of Chandrakona, who, like another Prince of Bengal, gave up his kingdom without striking a blow. The story of the end of the Chunder Ketu family is pitiful. On the approach of Bir Bhanu, the Prince of Chandrakona, with his entire family and treasure, drowned himself in the waters of a big tank, now known as "Joy Hari," victory to Hari. The cry with which probably the Raja took his fatal plunge. Bir Bhanu entered the town without a struggle and became the lord of Chandrakona and Bakadwipa. Of the public works attributed to Raja Bir Bhanu two yet survive. They are, however, very different in their nature and utility.

The first is the erection of the figure of Radhika in the temple of Krishna Ray of Bogri, and the second the establishment of the market, Ilambazar, where he made a large number of natives from the surrounding country settle. It is told, that, on the death of Bir Bhanu Singha, his seven Ranis performed the rite of *Sati*. The remains of their mural monuments still stand within the limits of the town.

As in the case of the Chunder Ketu family, the local traditions give no names, nor the number of princes, nor allude to the period during which the Bir Bhanu family held this small principality. We owe it, however, to a fortunate chance, the finding of an inscription on a stone which, removed from some older structure, is now preserved in the temple of Lalji in the Raghunath-garb.

The slab is chloryte. The letters are of the Bengali alphabet, and quite legible. The inscription runs as follows:—

শুভ মন্ত : শকাব্দা ১৫৭৭,
শাকেশ্ব মণিবানেন্দো বৈশাখে শুক্ল পক্ষকে ।
তৃতীয়ায়াম্ তৃত্যুদিনে অ রক্তেন্য বভূব।।
হরি নারায়ন ভূপস্য পত্নী ত্রিলক্ষ্মীণাবতী ।
ত্রিরাধা কৃষ্ণয়োঃ প্রীত্যা নবরত্ন মিদং দর্দো ॥
রাধা কৃষ্ণ পদারবিন্দ রসিক ত্রীবীর ভারু বধু ধাত ।
ত্রিহরি ভূপভেশ্ব বনিতা ত্রিহোণ বায়াজ্জা ।
মাতা ত্রিযুৎ মিত্র সেন নৃপতে বিক্ষ্যাত কীর্তে ক্ষিতৌ ।।
ত্রিনারায়ন মল্ল ভূপ ত্রিগিনী রম্যংদর্দো মন্দিরং ॥
গিরিধারি পদাভোজে নবরত্ন মিদং শুভং ।
নির্মায় বহুবল্লেন শমর্পিত বতী মুদা ॥

পৌরানিক ত্রিমোহন চক্রবর্তি, গোকুল দাস ।।

This inscription supplies a link in the authentic history of the place, and throws light on the story of the traditions to which reference has been above made. The inscription is dated the month of Bysack, Thursday, and the year of the Saka era 1577, corresponding with 1655 A. D. On the above date the temple was dedicated to Giri Dhari or Srikrishna by Rani Lakhmanhati, the wife of Raja Hari Narayana, the daughter-in-law of Raja Bir Bhanu, the mother of Raja Mitra Sen, and the daughter of Horis Raja, and the sister of Narayana Bhupa of Mallyabhum. The date of the inscription indicates that the Chunder Ket

family must have been overthrown towards the close of the fifteenth century and only two princes of the line of Bir Bhanu reigned after him.

The Princes were :—

1. Bir Bhanu.
2. Hari Narayana; and
3. Mitra Sen.

The reigns of these princes occupied a little more than a century. As early in the 18th century, Chandrakona was wrested by the Maharaja Krit Chand of Burdwan (1702 A. D., 1740 A. D). Of Raja Hari Narayana little survives but the name in the inscription. To Raja Mitra Sen Chandrakona owes the establishment of the bustie "Mitra Senpur" and the construction of the Fort of Raghunath-garh. He gave the name of Durgá Singapur, now known as Dursingpur, to the principal gate, or approach, to the fort.

It has been already stated that when Chunder Ketu reduced the Bogri Raj to subjection, he divided it into 12 parts, each of which was given to one of the 12 leaders of the aborigines. From that time these chiefs, or their successors, owed allegiance to the Rajas of Chandrakona. But at the time of Mitra Sen they revolted, declared themselves independent, and annexed the villages in the immediate vicinity of the town to their own territories. This fact, probably, accounts for Boidyanathpur, Lal-Sagar, and other places within the environs of the town, being now attached to the fiscal division of Bogri. The Chuars subsequently committed raids on the town and were so audacious, as to have removed the idols Raghunathji and Lalji from their temples in Raghunath-garh and Lal-garh to the heart of the jungle. The idols were, however, skilfully recovered by their priests from the hands of the freebooters, who gave them away as portion of the presents to certain Brahmins who went in the disguise of beggars. The two idols were then consecrated by Raja Mitra Sen and placed in the compound where they now stand.

Raja Mitra Sen died without issue. His father, Hari Narayan, as we have seen in the inscription noticed above, married into the family of the Mallya Bhups. This circumstance probably favored Mitra Sen's relatives in the maternal line in re-occupying the principality, which went out of the hands of the Mallyas after the days of Khaer Mallya.

IV. This sudden break of sunshine, however, proved short-lived. The rays were not to smile long on the fortunes of the Mallyas. They were able to hold the Raj for a short time only as the "adventurous spirit of Maharaja Krit Chand impelled him to fight with the Rajas of Chandrakona and dispossess them of

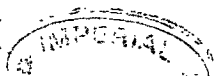
their principality.*" It is to Raja Krit Chand's munificence that the idols Raghunath and Lalji owe their present splendid temples. Krit Chand also recovered from the hands of the priests the temple and the endowments of Mallyanath, which they had managed to hold as their own since the fall of Khaer Mallya. He also built or repaired the present elegant temple of Mallyanath. There are four cannons yet attached to the temple which bear the name in the Persian character of Chitra Sen, the son and heir of Krit Chand. Having brought to order the affairs of the Raj, he left it to be managed by his brother-in-law, Ramji Baboo. The repair of Raghunath-garh is the only public work attributed to Ramji Baboo. His management of the Raj was disturbed by the increased activity of the Chuars of Bogri. Their frequent inroads called for the interference of Maharaja Tiloke Chand, until the disturbances gave way to the general peace to which the country was reduced under the powerful paw of the British Lion.

The great track to Orissa, the old Bádshahi road from Gaur to Puri, lay about seven miles to the east of the town, where every inch of ground extending from Burdwan to Chanduar, or the gate to Cuttack, had to be wrested in obstinate battle by the Moguls from the retreating Pathan. Neither army swerved from its main object. Bishenpur and Chandrakona lay equally unmolested. The one endeavour of the contending parties seems to have been to die in, or win, the game, rather than take shelter by retreat into the adjacent jungle. At any rate, it appears that the Moslem banner was never in the ascendant within the small principality of Chandrakona, much less in the town itself. Out of a population of 21,311 persons, the Mahomedans counted 378 only at the census taken in 1872, and form an insignificant class, although the town is not wholly without some mark of Moslem splendour. There is a family of Cazis settled in the place owning a big tank, or Digi, the excavation of which must have cost a very large sum.

The modern town of Chandrakona† extends over an area of upwards of six square miles. Famine, fever, foreign competition in trade have, for a period of years, contributed more or less to its decay. The population has dwindled within the last ten years from 21,311 to 13,000. But trade yet retains much of its vitality, and trade will flourish as long as the town continues to be the rendezvous of the produce of the large forest tract at its western edge, and as long as its cotton fabrics command a market.

* Statistical account of Burdwan. W. W. Hunter.

† Lat. 22° 44' 20" North. Long. 87° 33' 20" East.



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The town has ever been noted for its indigenous manufacture. For a long time Chandrakona was the great cottonopolis of Bengal. The spindle and the loom here occupied men and women alike. When yarns were sold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas the rupee, the female portion of the population plied the spindle unceasingly and made more money than they have now the opportunity of doing. Weaving was extensively pursued, and caste distinctions were almost set aside where handsome gain was promised. Brahmins, Barbers, Baishnavas, equally with the Tanties and Benias, betook themselves to weaving.

There were, it is said, fifty-two bazars in the town, where the people busily worked at the handloom during the days and nights, passing the evenings merrily in music and songs. The weaving classes were deeply religious, and the recital of San-kirtans and the lyrics of Jay Deva was their favorite amusement. The memory of these good old days yet lives with the few who still retain the old modes of thought. Among these busy and merry people trade greatly flourished, so much so, that the weavers of Chandrakona supplied all Bengal with the ordinary materials of native apparel. The old East India Company had also a weaving factory at this place. At present the best clothes and utensils in brass and bell-metal, cups, plates, glasses and the paraphernalia of the Hindu ritual, are turned out. The manufacture of the "*Ram Singu*," or war trumpet, the lamp, of five branches, the bell, and the gong of the Hindu temples are the specialities of particular families. But amidst the busy habits of the traders the general decay of the place is apparent. The people could scarcely revive from the effects of the distress of the year 1866, when malarious fever broke out among them and made tremendous havoc during more than a decade. Portions of the town are now a straggling mass of broken walls and deserted tenements.

Amidst its wreck and ruin, however, we still turn to some noble relics of the past. Splendid tanks, resting on beds of laterite, elegant temples and turrets, built of the same material, but smoothed with lime. Of the latter edifices, the temple of Mallyanath, the deserted temple of Raghunathji and the new temple of Lalji deem a separate mention.

The shrine of Mallyanath is, indeed, a curiosity. Within the square of the inner floor of the temple, is a cave in the ground, the upper edge of which is built up with masonry. The basin is a slab of laterite stone. About eighteen inches of this slab is visible. It has two crevices, or openings, and it seems to extend over the entire floor. The cave, or the concave ring, is two and half feet deep. The *Mahatma*, or the godliness of the shrine, is visible in the flow of water through the lower

crevices, filling the cave on particular nights. Whether these nights have reference to particular phases of the moon, the priest was unable to say. It may be added, however, that, as there is no tidal stream within a long distance of the shrine, the flow must be owing to the existence of some spring underneath capable at times of supplying a current to keep superstition alive. The shrine is surmounted by a high temple. The turrets were built by Maharaja Krit Chaud of Burdwan, some 165 years ago, over the old substructure. The edifice is altogether 57 feet high. The cornice and the brackets underneath contain four grotesque figures of excellent design.

The temple of Raghunath is a tower in the Orissan style, 52 feet high, standing in the midst of a large square. The temple of Lalji is a peculiar building. It is a massive structure of solid walls and cumbrous pillars surmounted by a duplicate range of slanting gables. A second temple of this style of architecture, but more elegantly built, is seen in a deserted place between Raghunath-garh and Lal-Sagar.

The idols all have lands and other endowments, which are managed by the present Maharaja of Burdwan in the usual satisfactory style of that wealthy family.

In administrative matters, the fiscal division of Chandrakona, which comprised the tract of the old principality, was, until lately, placed at a great disadvantage. It was one of the outlying portions of the Hughli district. It is not too much to say that it was little cared for by the district authorities, or the local committee, from that distance. The state of its communications was much behind that of other parts of the district. The post hardly travelled to it once a day from Calcutta. In postal affairs, it was once subject to the authorities in Cuttack. The approach to the town from the head-quarters of the District, or the sub-division, was wretched. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the export trade of Chandrakona and its vicinity may yet be valued at 50 lakhs of Rupees per annum. Until the the Ghatal* and Chandrakona road was metalled some years ago, this indigenous trade of the country had no convenient outlet. The Pargana was, nine years ago transferred to the District of Midnapur. The affairs of this part of the country are now better attended to and command more administrative vigilance, from the fact of its proximity to the head-quarters of the District.

C. S. B.

* The annual value of the entire trade of Ghatal which is the port of Chandrakona and the adjoining country is estimated at one crore of Rupees or 1 million sterling. The value of trade at the Orissa ports from Balasore to Puri is exhibited, at Rs. 9,196,352 only annually.

ART. III.—THE SHIAHS.

THE remarkable unity of purpose which characterised the followers of Muhammad during his life-time did not last long. The Prophet himself seems to have had some foreboding of this, when he said that there would be seventy-three sects in Islām. The greatest and most important division took place after the death of 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. It is a well-known historical fact, that Muhammad was succeeded by Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and 'Ali. All who consider that this order was according to the will of God and of the Prophet are called Sunnis; while those who maintain that, by divine right, 'Ali, the husband of Fátima, should have immediately succeeded the Prophet, and that the three intervening rulers were usurpers, are called Shiahs. This is the historical ground of the separation, but the breach thus made has been widened by the adoption, on the part of the Shiahs, of several distinctive doctrines; and now, owing to many centuries of hatred and rivalry, all hope of union has passed away.

'Ali was a brave soldier, a warm-hearted friend, a man fitted by his natural endowments to draw the hearts of the Arabs towards himself. There was, however, one defect which unfitted him to be a ruler of men in a turbulent age; he was no diplomatist. The latter period of his life was one of trouble, and he fell by the hand of an assassin. His sons, Hasan and Husain, shared the same fate. The annual ceremonies of the *Muharram* keep alive the memory of those sad and mournful days, and deepen the devotion of his followers to 'Ali and his sons. The Shiahs admit in principle the same four foundations of the Faith as the Sunnis do, but substitute for Sunni traditions, others collected by their own learned men. The point of difference is not the weight of authority to be given to what the Prophet said, but a dispute as to what he can be proved to have said. They further reject the jurisprudence and authority of the four great Imáms of the orthodox sect, who have given rise to the four schools (*mazhab*) of jurisprudence, and hold that as long as the world lasts, there must be an Imám (Pontiff), visible or invisible, to be a guide to men. This has given rise to a special dogma of the Shiahs, the doctrine of the Imámát. This, and an extravagant, if not superstitious, reverence for 'Ali and his family are now the distinctive features of this sect. The Sunnis repudiate these views and call a Shiah by the name of Ráfiẓi, a heretic.

So much has of late been written on Muhammad, his system, and his followers, that it is difficult to strike out a new path.

Much that is written is a repetition in another form of what has been said before. To pourtray the Prophet, or Islám, as they appear to European minds, is but to repeat an oft-told tale. Still the vast mass of Oriental literature has not yet been fully explored, and there are many points to which the attention of the student may be directed. Above all, what is most needed is, that we should view these things from the standpoint of Muslims themselves, and thus try to learn what they esteem the Prophet and his teaching to be. The history of the past is a necessary study, if we are to understand the principles which influence the age in which we dwell; yet it is equally important to know the forces which move men now, the beliefs they hold dear, and the dogmas they cherish. For this we must turn to the literature of the people, and seek friendly intercourse with them. It is such an exposition of some Shiah tenets I propose to give in this article.

In South India the Shiah's pay great respect to the teaching of Shaikh Zain-ul-Abidin, a resident of Kerbela, the scene of the tragic end of Husain. He is called the Mujtahid-i-Hai, that is, one who can make *Ijtihád*, or an analogical deduction from the Qurán, and the Hadis, or tradition. The Sunnis hold that since the time of Imám Ibn Hanbal, who lived at the end of the second century of the Hijrah, there has been no Mujtahid of the first class, that is, one who had the power of making "*Ijtihád fi'l Shari*," and that since the death of Imám Qazi Khan (A. H. 592), there has been no Mujtahid even of the third, or lowest, class.

It would take us away from our present subject to enter on this question of *Ijtihád*; but, to put it briefly, it comes to this, that the Sunnis are bound hand and foot by a legislation fixed and final. When new circumstances arise, all that now can be done is to search for some decree of the past which bears upon the subject. The Shiah's, in maintaining the present existence of Mujtahidin who can give new analogical deductions direct from the Korán and Traditions, should have a greater power of adapting themselves to altered circumstances, and theoretically, at least, a greater freedom of thought. It is not, however, to be taken for granted that this claim is a sound one. It is sufficient for our purpose that the Shiah's hold it, and believe Shaikh Zain-ul-Abidin to be one who is able to give, on all points of faith and morals, authoritative decisions drawn direct from the Korán and the Traditions, for it is this which constitutes a Mujtahid of the first class.

An abstract of the dogmatic instructions of this famous teacher has been printed in a small Persian pamphlet, or *Resalah*, called

the Hasaniyah, which is in extensive private circulation. It is not I believe, procurable in the shop of any Kutub Farosh, or book-seller. This pamphlet is my authority for most of what follows. The articles of belief are : 1. The unity of God. 2. Justice ('Adl). 3. The gift of prophecy. 4. The Imāmat, and 5. The Future State. This differs somewhat from the Sunni form, which is, the Unity, Angels, Books, Prophets, Last day. It does not follow that Shiāhs do not equally believe in the angels and the books, because they are not named in this creed. They do believe in them, but they wish to emphasise the dogma of the Imāmat.

With regard to the unity (Tauhid), Shaikh Zain-ul-Abidin teaches that everything that can be made a subject of thought comes under one of the following heads :—1. Existence is necessary and the opposite impossible ; this is 'necessary existence.' 2. Non-existence is necessary, and the opposite impossible. 3. Both are possible,* but in this case existence is by means of a sufficient cause. That which comes under the first head is God ; the second is illustrated by the statement that the heavens and the earth cannot be contained in an egg. The Sunnis use, as an illustration here, the phrase : "There can be no partner to God." Under the third category are comprised all created things. God is necessarily existent, or how could things which exist by means of a sufficient cause have come into being. Hence God is eternal and incomprehensible. God is all-powerful, and acts or abstains from action as He pleases. He is all-wise. He is a Mudrik, مدرک, that is, one who knows all things by the senses (az *hawwās*) از حواس. He is the Seer, the Knower, the True One. The Sifāt-i-Salbiah, or privative attributes, are that He is without a partner. Were it otherwise, one might desire the heavens to revolve, the other, that they should be at rest, to the confusion of all creation. God is without parts; for, otherwise He would not have existed till all the parts were formed. His existence would depend on the parts, that is, He would not be self-existent, which is a manifest heresy. God has no body, hence the idea of the incarnation of Jesus Christ is held to be a great error. God is not a substance عرض ; for substance has accidents, but God's nature is not that of "dependent existence" ممکن الوجود. God is not limited by

space, for only corporeal existences are thus limited ; hence those who speak of God as sitting on a throne, or as being 'on high,' utter folly. This shows that the Shiāhs consider all the anthropomorphic

* It is not easy to understand this, but the words are "hāstī wa nīstī har do mumkin bashad," هستی و نیستی هر دو ممکن باشند

expressions in the Qurán, such as the 'face of God,' the 'hand of God,' 'God sitteth,' and the like to be Mutashábih verses, into the meaning of which the faithful should not pry. * A tradition states that the Prophet said : "Think of God's gifts, not of His nature : certainly you have no power for that." The disputes between the Mutazalas and the orthodox in Baghdád in the time of the Khalif Al-Mámún show that this advice has not been followed in the past, and the disputes now so common in Madras and Bangalore between the Arshis, and their opponents, whom they revile as Farshis, show how little men heed it now.

The Shiah hold that it is wrong to attribute to God movement or quiescence. He is invisible; neither in this world nor the next will He be seen. "*No vision taketh in Him*, but He taketh in all vision," Sura VI., 103. This is, according to Sháhrastáni, the opinion of the Mutazalas who say "God cannot be seen with the corporeal sight." The Shiahs are in the main at one with the Mutazalas on the question of the attributes (Sifát) صفات of the

Deity, and are thus opposed to the orthodox, who in this respect are termed Sifátians, or-attributists.

On the description of justice (عدل) we need not linger. It is enough to say that the believer must hold that all the actions of God are good, and such as are based on wisdom and counsel, and are free from any evil or defect. As wisdom guides Him in all He does, He sends prophets and books, grants rewards to the obedient and fulfils all His promises.

The third article of the Creed is 'Prophecy.' A prophet is one sent with a message from God to man, and is a medium between God and man. It is considered absolutely necessary, that, as God is gracious, such messengers should come from Him, who, attesting their mission by miracles and signs, should tell men what is lawful and unlawful, good and evil; should call to obedience and warn against sin. The prophet must be immaculate, both before he assumes office and whilst he exercises it. He also remains free from sin all his life. He must be sound in body, free from any defect, such as blindness, &c. Nor must he follow any mean profession, such as that of a tailor, weaver, barber, &c. Not only is he the most excellent man of his own tribe, but he is deemed to be superior to the angels of God. His Excellency Muhammad is to be received as the true Prophet, the last of his class, the Seal of all the Prophets. The Qurán is the great

* There is now a small but noisy party in South India who maintain that these expressions are not Mutashábih, but Mukham, or

plain. They hold that men can understand them, and that God really sits on the 'arsh or throne. They are called the sect of Arshis.

miracle which supports his claim ; for it is written, "if men and genii agree to bring a Qurán like this, they cannot."

But the distinctive feature of the Shiah creed is the next one—the doctrine of the Imámat. The Imám is that person who, as the Náib, or Vice-regent, of the Prophet, is the ruler and head of the believers in things spiritual and temporal (*dar amúrá-t-i-díni wa dunyáwi*), *در امورات دینی و دنیوی*; that is, he is both Pope and Emperor. There can be only one Imám at a time, for it is manifest that two supreme rulers cannot exercise authority at one place, in the same period of time. The Imám must be immaculate (*ma'súm*), *معصوم*; and the perfections of person and character required in a prophet are required of him. He must be free from all defects of bodily organization, or of mental endowment,

(*Aiyub-i-khilqi wa 'Aiyúb-i-khulqi*) *عیوب خلقی و عیوب خلقي*

The distinctive doctrine of the orthodox Shiah's is, that the Imám must be appointed by God. The reason assigned is, that as he must be immaculate, only God can make the selection. Those who, with the Ibádiyah, maintain that this office is elective, and depends on the will of the people, or those who, like many Sunnis, allow it to pass away from the family of the prophet and recognise the Sultan of Rum as Khalíf, are according to the Shiah's quite wrong. Shiah's also claim for their Imáms the power of working miracles. The true immediate successor of the prophet is his Excellency, 'Ali, the Prince of believers, for it is written, "Verily, your protector is God and His apostle, and those who believe, who observe prayer, and pay the alms of obligation, and bow in worship." (*Sura V. 60*).

It is related that 'Ali, when bending in prayer, gave a ring to a poor man. It is also stated, that as no other companion of the prophet did such an act of charity, at such a time, without doubt, the reference is to 'Ali, who thus, equally with God and the Prophet, becomes a protector (*Wali*) of the Faithful. Tradition also records that Muhammad said :—"He of whom I am ruler, has 'Ali also for a ruler," and "the connection between me and 'Ali is similar to that between Moses and Aaron." From this it is argued that 'Ali is the true Khalífa and the successor (*Káim-Makám*) of the prophet. Still closer was the relationship, for according to a well-known Hadis, 'Ali is called the brother of the prophet, his successor, the Khalífa of his law (*anta akhi wa Khalífatí wa Qází díni*) *انت اخي و خلیفتي و قاضي دینی*.

It has been already shown that the Imámat must be given to the most excellent man of the age, and, to prove that 'Ali was

such a person, this Tradition is adduced : "Thy body is my body, and thy flesh is my flesh ; thy blood is my blood, and thy war my war," i. e., if any should fight and oppose you, it is as if they fought and opposed me. As 'Ali was, then, after the Prophet, the most excellent of men, unequalled in all bodily and spiritual perfections, it follows that his family must be superior to all other families among the children of men. The Prophet said, "I am the city of knowledge; but 'Ali is the door of that city," (*) (ana Madinatul 'ilm wa 'Ali bābuhā.) انا مدينة العلم و على بابها

From such a statement as this, it is quite easy to see how Shi'ahs have deduced the dogma, that all sound knowledge and wisdom must be acquired through 'Ali. Those who attempt to get it in any other way are ignorant, and are not to be reckoned among the learned (jāhil wa az ahl-i-hikmat nist) حکمت نیست

جاهل و از اهل. Like a "ghoul of the desert" they are carried away by the winds of error, darkness and ignorance : their end will be utter destruction.

After the death of the Prophet, the people found it necessary to appeal to some authoritative guide on matters of frequent occurrence. That guide was 'Ali, who directed them aright in all their affairs. Called to this high and responsible office, Tradition declares that he was in every way fitted for it. He was eloquent in speech and profound in wisdom ; none knew the meaning of the Qur'an as he did ; none could excel him in the perfect reading (tilāwat) تلاوت of the sacred record. Ibn Sa'ad records, on the authority of 'Ali himself, that he said : "By Allah ! a verse of the Qur'an was never revealed, but I knew regarding that for which it was revealed, and where it was revealed; and concerning whom it was revealed, for my Lord hath given me a wise heart and an eloquent tongue." No less than five hundred and eighty-six traditions have been handed down on his authority. It is universally acknowledged that his judgment was sound and good: Ibn Abbās says, "Whenever a trustworthy person tells me a judgment delivered by 'Ali, I do not deviate from it." Ibn Masa'ūd declares that the best judicial authority amongst the people of Madīna was 'Ali, and Omar-ul Khattāb says, "'Ali is the best of us in judicial decision,"†

* Jallālu-d-dīn as Syuti says this tradition is good, but not perfect, i. e., is not a Hadis-i-Sahih, but a Hadis-i-Hasan.

† A full account of the tradi-

tions regarding 'Ali will be found in Jallālu-d-dīn as Syuti's History, Bibliotheca Indica. New Series, No. 441, Fas : 11.

He had a great reputation for devotion, a reputation marvelously increased by the Traditions on the subject; Imám Zain-ul-Abidin, who is said to have made one thousand rak'ats every night, declared of this wonderful display of religious fervour, "What is this compared with the devotion of 'Ali?" This earned for him the special favour of Heaven, for God ordered Muhammad to say to the people, "I seek no reward from them, but only the friendship of thy family." "Who are they?" replied the Prophet. God answered, "Ali, Fátimah, Husain and Hasan." There is traditional authority for the Prophet's saying: "He who wishes to see the knowledge of Adam, the piety of Noah, the affability of Abraham, the modesty of Moses, and the devotion of Jesus, must look towards 'Ali," who is thus supposed to have contained in himself the special and distinctive qualities of the chief prophets—the Anbiya-ulul-'Azm. If this were indeed the case, all Muslims should have no difficulty in yielding assent to another equally strong assertion on the part of his loving master:—" 'Ali is the best of men, whoever does not accept him is an infidel." The following story illustrates the affection Muhammad felt for him. A man brought a well-cooked fowl to the Prophet, who then said, "Oh God! send a man dear to me to eat it with me." Shortly after, 'Ali knocked at the door. Anas-bin-Málik, the door-keeper, said: "The Prophet is engaged." A second time 'Ali came, and was refused admittance. The third time he knocked long and loudly, and the Prophet cried out, "Come in," and, on seeing his visitor, said, "O 'Ali, why have you come so late?" He replied, "Anas would not let me in." Anas in defence urged that he wished that the prayer might be answered in the person of an Ansar. "What, said Muhammad, is an Ansar better than Ali?"

Though Muhammad did not himself lay claim to the power of working miracles, every orthodox Muslim does it for him. Devout Shiah's do the same for 'Ali. He is said to have foretold his own death and that of his son, and to have stayed the sun in its course, when the Prophet had reclined so long in his lap, that the hour of evening prayer had almost passed away. A similar miracle is said to have been performed when he was marching on the banks of the Euphrates, to enable his army to say the evening Namáz.

For further proof of these claims of 'Ali, the reader is referred to the Kitáb-ul-Alafain by Shaikh Jamál-ud-din, who produced just one thousand proofs to show that the Imámát of right belongs to 'Ali,* and one thousand to shew that it could not possibly belong to any one else.

* As a proof of the intimate union Shiah's adduce the fact that in the between Ali and the Prophet, the 34th verse of Sura XXXIII, the



After 'Ali, the order of the true Imáms is as follows:—

Hasan, Husain, Zain-ul-Abidin, Muhammad Baqr,
Ja'far Sádiq, Musa Kasim, 'Ali Músa Razá
Muhammad 'Aqí, Muhammad Naqí, Hasan
'Askari, Abul-Qasim (or Imám Mahdí.)

This is held to be settled by the words of the Prophet, when he said of Husain, "This is my son; he is an Imám, the brother of an Imám (Hasan); his father ('Ali) is an Imám; their successors till the day of judgment will be nine." A Tradition on the authority of Ibn Abbás records: "There will be twelve Khalifs after me; the first is my brother, the last is my son." "O messenger of God," said the people, "Who is thy brother?" He replied, "'Ali." "And thy son?" "Mahdí, who will fill the earth with justice, even though it be covered with tyranny. He will come at last; Jesus will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imám will extend from east to west."

In support of this doctrine of twelve Imáms against that of Ismá'ilians, who hold that after Sádiq, the sixth Imám, began what is termed the succession of the concealed Imáms, the Imámítes adduce such traditions as the following:—

"Gabriel came one day with the 'Tablet of decree,' in his hand, and lo! on it were the names of the twelve Imáms in their proper order of succession." A Jew, named Janub, once asked the Prophet, "who should be his heirs and successors." He answered, "They agree in number with the tribes of Israel. These will be 'Ali, Hasan, Husain," and so on to the end.

Each Imám is said to have gathered together, at the time of his death, his sons, companions and followers, and then in a solemn manner to have given to them the order of God (نص) regarding his successor.

The Imámítes hold that Imám Mahdí is still alive, and Shaikh Zain-ul-Abidin teaches them that this need raise no difficulty in their minds, for in former ages men lived long lives, and it becomes the Faithful ever to remember that God is powerful and the best Knower. Imám Mahdí is now concealed, but for no fault of his own, for he is immaculate. The people of his day did not choose the path of obedience, but ran in the way of enmity.

pronoun "you" in the words, "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you (masculine) as his household" is masculine. This, they say, must refer to Fatimáh, 'Ali, Husain and Hasan. The answer, on the part of the orthodox commentators is, that the preceding and succeeding

pronouns are feminine, and that the whole context refers to the wives of the Prophet. The next finite verb (recollect) is also feminine. This seems to be the correct explanation, though why the pronoun "you" should be masculine, I do not know.

Even now, men would desire the death of the Imām: the days are still evil, but a good time will come when the Imām will come forth from his concealment, rejoice the hearts of his followers, and fill the whole earth with justice.

The Traditions which refer to this future period of glory are, "When of time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from my descendants, who shall fill the world with justice, just as before him the world was full of oppression." Again, "The world shall not come to an end till the King of the earth shall appear, who is a man of my family." The famous Māhdavi movement in the reign of Akbar is one of great interest and instruction to the student of Islam.

The Sunnis say that after the Prophet, there were only four rightly guided Khalifs—the Khalifa-Rāshidin—and that there will be no such Khalifs till the days of Mahdi, who is yet unborn. Some place, as the fifth Imām, Zeid the son of Zain-ul-Abidin, and say that from that time there are only five conditions requisite for a claim to the Imāmat: 1st, descent from Fatimah; 2nd, claim to the Imāmat (with miracles); 3rd, to go forth to battle; 4th, knowledge, and 5th, piety. These are the Zeidites, but the Imāmites hold that both Sunnis and Zeidites are in error. The true faith is that of the Imāmites, the followers of the twelve Imāms. Of the seventy-three sects of Islam, there is but one that will be saved (Najiah)* نَجِيَّة, and that one is the Imāmites, for they alone have held strongly and faithfully the claims of 'Ali and his family to the Imāmat and have followed their teaching.

This doctrine of the Imāmat is the central dogma of the Shiah faith, and unless it is borne in mind, it is impossible to understand the Shiah position with regard to the other sects of Islam.

The fifth article of the Shiah creed relates to the "future state." There is little practical difference between the Sunni and Shiah on this point, but it will make this article complete, if I here state Shaikh Zain-ul-Abidin's view on this subject. It is as follows:—"God will then raise the dead and cause the souls to re-enter the bodies of men. This is an essential part of the faith. Those who deny it are infidels, for God who made all, knows the parts of each body, even though it be decayed and scattered: as He said, 'originally I created, at last I will raise them.' Moreover, God who made men for obedience and service has promised the rewards of Paradise and bodily delights, such as Houris and mansions, the fruits and birds of Paradise. In this world believers do not obtain these, and so in order that

* All others are Nāriah, نَارِيَّة as "food for fire," a term which may be freely translated

their service may not be in vain, these things must be given in the next world. Every believer who falls into infidelity must suffer the torments of hell. If he commits a great sin and dies in a repentant mood, God of His mercy may pardon him : * otherwise he will be punished according to his sin, and, then, after a period of purgation be admitted to Paradise.

Repentance is necessary ; for God says, " Repent ; with God repentance is profit." In some cases, as in drinking intoxicating liquor, repentance is enough : in others, as the omission of the stated prayers, there must be, in addition to the repentance, a repetition of the omitted duty. If others have sustained loss by the sin of a believer, restitution must be made. Know also that the questioning by Munkir and Nakir, the troubles of the grave, resurrection, judgment, the flight of books of deeds (Sahâ, if-i-amâl) of every person, the bridge, scales, heaven and hell, reward and punishment, and all other things are true ; and it is necessary to believe and agree to all this, for God has said that which shall be.

It is said, that when the believer is at the point of death, Satan (may he be cursed!) will come and try to make him give up his faith ; but every believer who so wishes, can be protected from the power of Satan. However, every morning and evening, he should make an act of devotion and say all, or as much as he can, of the following prayer :—

" O God ! most merciful and gracious ; I commit my faith and my religion to Thee : Thou art a perfect Protector : Thou hast said that Thou wilt guard that which Thou hast delivered to me of Thy mercy. Oh most merciful ! Protect me at the time of death."

Also every morning and evening say this prayer, which was used by 'Ali and the Companions of the Prophet :—

" In the name of God, most merciful and compassionate, I and all angels and learned persons who are just, confess that there is no God, but God who is powerful and knowing. Certainly the religion of God is Islâm. I, a weak, mean, needy, poor sinner acknowledge God as Benefactor, Creator, Nourisher. Just as He shows forth His nature, so angels and holy and just men confess that there is no God but God, the Benefactor and Merciful, the God of Eternal Power, the Ever-knower, the One self-existent, the Ever-present, the Hearer, Seer, Intender, Speaker and Finder ; the One who is Pure and worthy of all such

* The Mutazalas hold that such a man will remain in hell for ever. "He who dies without repenting of the greater sins which has committed merits permanence in fire (في النار) (اسحق الخلود), but his punishment will be lighter than that of the Kafirs" — *Sharastani*, page 31.

qualities. He was Powerful before power was, a Knower before knowledge was. For ever He will be King. He is unchangeable. He is free from eternity to eternity. He has no wish in what He determines: in His decrees there is no forcing, no tyranny: in His rule there is no deficiency, there is no escape from His orders, no place of safety from His anger. Mercy precedes His anger. He who so desires, will find God. God's grace is equally granted to the weak and to the strong. He has given man the power to work, and made it easy for him to abstain from unlawful things. He created prophets that they might relate His justice, and Imāms also that they might relate God's grace and kindness, and has placed them in the sect of the Chief of the prophets; and we believe in Muhammad, and that God will accept what we ask through Him, and I believe in the Qurān which God sent by the Prophet; and in the Imām appointed by Muhammad, that is, 'Ali; and I believe in the Holy Imāms and that the Khalifs are 'Ali, Hasan, Husain, &c.; and I acknowledge that by the existence and nature of 'Ali the heavens and the earth are firm, and by his blessing people are daily fed, and through him, justice has taken the place of tyranny on the earth. I also confess that the words of the Imāms are true, and to obey and to worship them is God's order; to follow them is the way of salvation. They are Chiefs of Paradise and the head of all the intercessors in the day of judgment. O God! Thy favour is my hope. I cannot merit heaven. I do no act of worship which shall merit Thy pleasure, save the confession of the Unity. I look to the Prophet and Imāms as my intercessors. Thou art the most Merciful."

If the person about to die desires to be preserved in the grave from the terror of Munkir and Nakir, he should with sincerity and purity of heart make the following act of devotion in the name of God, the Prophet and the Imāms:—

"I confess that God is my Lord, and Islām my religion, and Muhammad my Prophet, and the Qurān my Book, and the Kaaba my Kibla, and 'Ali my Imām; and also that the twelve Imāms are my guides." Then he should say, "O Merciful God! this confession I deliver to Thee, the Prophet, and the twelve Imāms, release me in the grave when Munkir and Nakir come, O Most Merciful."

— This concludes the pamphlet. The reader will be at once struck with the amount of space devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of the Imāmat and the number of illustrations used to prove that 'Ali was the successor of the Prophet. The Shiāh doctrine, on this point, is perhaps the most perfect form of the belief in a "divine right" of rulers that the world has

ever seen, and practically religion is made to consist in a correct belief as regards the Imám. When religious, the Shiah often drifts into mysticism and a consequent release from the bondage of law: if irreligious, he expects 'Ali and the Imáms to look after him, for he stoutly maintains their "divine right."

All Muslims believe that, before the creation of the world, God took a ray of the splendour of His own glory and united it to the body of Muhammad, which was then laid aside till the fulness of time had come, and the Prophet was born in the holy City of Mecca. The Shiahs believe that this ray of light passed on to 'Ali, and through him to the twelve Imáms, his successors. This is the foundation of the idea of their "divine right," to which has been added the Traditions of the Prophet, of which I have given examples, and which are believed to be truly inspired. The force and continuance of the dogma arises from the natural desire in the human heart to have upon earth an infallible guide. Islam produced a ferment in the Arab mind. It set a nation long quiescent in its thoughts and traditions on new paths of enquiry. The stiff and formal nature of the orthodox creed of Islam was soon found to be too cold and rigid for excitable temperaments; the turmoil of life too distracting for men who wanted living, present help: and so the doctrine of the Imámat seemed to supply that need.

Theoretically, one would expect that this looking for the living voice of the Imám, a leader exalted to a dignity so high; and the fact that Mujtahidín are still believed to exist, and to have the authority to make analogical deductions from the theological standards of the Shiah Church, would give to the Shiah sect great capacity for progress, and for adaptation to the wants of the ages as they come and go. But it was soon found that the Shiah system was as fossilized as that of the Sunni. The fetters of the past bind it with a firmness hitherto unbroken. It has, however, given rise to two movements—both of great interest: the one the rise of the Súfí, or Mystic, school, both pantheistic and latitudinarian; the other that of the modern Mutazala sect in our own day. The latter movement is one likely to increase, as Western knowledge becomes familiar to the educated Muslims of India; but, though it seems to be confined mainly to Shiah Muslims, it can scarcely be looked upon as the logical outcome of Shiah teaching. Both the Súfí movement and this are revolts against, rather than developments of, such principles as those enunciated by Shaikh Zai-nul-Abidin, the Mujtahid-i-Hai of the orthodox Shiahs of Southern India.

EDWARD SELL.

ART. IV.--CARVALHO, COUNT OF OYEIRAS
BETTER KNOWN AS MARQUIS OF POMBAL.*

JUST a century has elapsed since the death of the greatest minister Portugal ever produced. His public life proved to be long and eventful, and his measures vigorous, exciting the admiration of some, and the hatred of other, writers, who described his career shortly after his demise and mirrored their feelings in their works, which are therefore open to suspicion. Fortunately documents bearing on the subject are in existence, such as the collection of Portuguese laws, and the correspondence of eminent statesmen of various nations, sources freely used by Senhor Francisco Luiz Gomes in his work, "Le Marquis de Pombal, Esquisse de sa Vie publique," on which the present article is based.

In the 15th century the Cortes were still powerful. They voted the taxes, and the king regarded them as a rampart which protected him from the encroachments of the clergy and nobility. In the 16th century the old aristocracy willingly exchanged its independence for the favours and the pleasures of the court, and the wars of the 17th century having made a permanent army necessary, the kings—who enfeebled the nobility and strengthened their own power by the support the army afforded them—became absolute. This was the state of Portugal when king D. João V. died, in 1750.

The full name of the subject of this article was Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello. He was born on the 13th May 1699, at Lisbon, and educated under the direction of his uncle, the archpriest of the bishoprick, by private teachers in the paternal house. Nothing is known of Carvalho's youth, or of his early manhood; but, in 1738, when he was nearly forty years old, he obtained the appointment of Envoy to London through the influence of his uncle with Fr. Gaspar da Encarnação who governed the country at that time.

English merchants enjoyed very important privileges in Portugal, while the Portuguese possessed none in England. Captains of ships, encouraged by these advantages, often practised extortion in Portuguese harbours. Carvalho, who had been charged to make energetic representations to the English government on this matter, composed a memoir to elucidate it, and acted with such

Beginning of the career of Carvalho. He is appointed Envoy to London, and then to Vienna where he marries.—Accession of D. José I. to the Throne. Carvalho is appointed minister. Earthquake of Lisbon.—The enemies of Carvalho.

* *Calcutta Review*, CXLIV, p. 349.

promptitude that the Duke of Newcastle, who was then minister, agreed to relieve the Portuguese of all the grievances complained of, and allowed English captains, who might commit oppression in Portuguese ports, to be judged and punished by the Portuguese authorities.

The queen of Hungary and Bohemia was engaged in a dispute with the Pope on the right of *nomination*, and hostilities had already broken out, when the king D. João, who possessed the confidence of both parties, offered his mediation, which was accepted. Accordingly Carvalho, who happened to be in Hanover with the Court of England, was sent to Vienna, where he arrived on the 7th July 1745. This question of nomination was at last satisfactorily settled by a treaty signed on the 12th March 1747; but Carvalho remained at Vienna, and, as his first wife had died in 1739, he married the young Austrian Countess of Ann. He had, however, some difficulty in attaining his object. Information was asked for from Lisbon, and even the queen of Portugal written to. She replied that he was of a very good family, whereon all scruples disappeared. The climate of Vienna being found unfavourable to Carvalho, he was recalled at his own request from the post of ambassador, and arrived in Lisbon on the 1st December 1750, after a career of twelve years in the diplomatic service. The queen (herself an Austrian) already honoured Carvalho with her protection, appreciated his talents as well as the aristocratic Austrian name of his wife; and presented him to the king, but unsuccessfully. But he knew how to bide his time with perfect confidence in his own talents, and with the resolution not to miss any opportunity for advancing his interests.

When João V. died, in 1750, he left to his son and successor, José I., a court transformed into a monastery and a country governed by priests; but it is not true, as some authors have asserted, that Portugal no longer possessed an army worth mentioning, or a marine, or commerce, or industry, although it must be admitted that agriculture was in its infancy. Two factions divided the country and disputed the government. Both had priests at their head and in their ranks. One was the faction of Fr. Gaspar da Encarnação, which desired to retain at any price the influence of public affairs it had grasped during the malady of João V; the other was the faction of the Jesuits, who entertained the same ambition and equally counted upon the support of some of the *fidalgos*. D. José, who was 35 years old, of a phlegmatic temperament and irresolute, was in no haste about the choice of a ministry. On the other hand, Carvalho neglected nothing to promote his own interests, and ingratiated himself with the king's mother—who was much attached to his wife,

an Austrian, like that princess—to such a degree, that she constantly reminded her son of the services of Carvalho, and his neutrality between the two factions who were contending for power. Accordingly Carvalho was appointed minister of war and of foreign affairs, while Pedro da Motta obtained the portfolio of the interior, and Diogo de Mendonça of the marine.

The great aim of Carvalho's life was to make Portugal strong, and he imagined that he could accomplish this object by concentrating all power in the king and rendering him absolute. The nobility and the clergy who controlled the king were to be deprived of their privileges, and the nation employed to counterbalance their power. Carvalho thereby unwittingly encouraged the growth of a force which, indeed, brought on the desired effect, but initiated a social revolution the gradual progress of which has, with but slight interruptions, not ceased till our times, and has defeated the purpose of Carvalho by depriving the king also of many of his prerogatives and transforming Portugal into a constitutional monarchy. Carvalho worked for despotism; but prepared the way for democracy. The Portuguese nation was, therefore, justified in celebrating the Pombal centenary with great rejoicings in 1882, only in so far as he was unconsciously the origin of all the reforms gradually inaugurated during the course of the present century. He was a strange mixture of two ages, a kind of spectre that had strayed from the Middle Ages into the eighteenth century, but was influenced by the modern ideas which have caused the evolution of Portuguese society.

Imagining that a prohibition to export precious metals would bring back prosperity to Portugal, Carvalho revived the laws on that subject, but, finding that they did not afford the expected relief, he allowed them to fall again into abeyance in 1754, after having enforced their observance for three or four years. He expected great things from monopolies, and, by a decree of the 11th August 1753, established the Brazilian company of the Grand-Para and Maranhão with the exclusive privilege of trading there. It inflicted, however, such injury, that the committee of commerce, *Mezã do Bem Commun*, prayed the king to revoke the act; but Carvalho, unable to bear opposition, abolished the said committee and substituted for it the *Junta do Commercio*, which was composed, if not of more enlightened, at least of more pliant members. Some troubles of a different kind also arose, and Francisco Xavier de Mendonça, who had since 1753 been governor of Maranhão, was expected to quell them. The Spaniards, by a treaty with the Portuguese had Paraguay given them in exchange for the colony of Sacramento, but the execution of the treaty proved difficult, because the inhabitants of Paraguay, who knew no other masters

than the Jesuits, and were only nominally subject to Spain, would not agree, and at the instigation of the Jesuits vigorously resisted the Portuguese.

In the great earthquake of Lisbon, the first shock of which occurred on the 1st November 1755, more than 10,000 souls perished. When all minds were paralysed, Carvalho displayed such energy in his measures for quenching the fires, sending the wounded to hospitals, burying the dead, &c., that his colleagues acquiesced in whatever he did. The king gave him his full confidence, and the population began to dread him as an extraordinary man. Had it not been for this catastrophe, this minister would perhaps never have become great and powerful. Not only were thefts openly committed in the streets of Lisbon after the earthquake, but churches were pillaged, and the few houses still left standing were set on fire by malefactors, after putting the inhabitants to flight or robbing them. Such brigands were quickly hanged, and, as all the eatables in the city had been destroyed by water or by fire, those which happened to be on board ship were disembarked by order of Carvalho and distributed among the people. The importation of food, too, was encouraged and exempted from duty. The minister not only warded off the plague by his sanitary measures, subdued the famine, and chastised brigands, but initiated the reconstruction of Lisbon, by inducing the merchants to contribute for that purpose a duty of 4 per cent. on all goods imported into the city. Having obtained their consent, he promulgated a decree to that effect on the 2nd January 1756. As this burden ultimately fell on the consumers, it is evident that the merchants would not suffer much by it.

Pedro Motta, one of the colleagues of Carvalho, died a few days after the earthquake, and Mendonça, the other, was, on the 3rd August 1756, suddenly arrested by order of the king; while the same fate befell his successor, Thomé Joaquim de Corte Real, four years afterwards. These measures were attributed by some to Carvalho, who would suffer no rivals. The number of his enemies had augmented after the earthquake; his services were forgotten, while his severities were remembered, and occasions to blame his conduct eagerly sought for. To put a stop to unfavourable criticism, the king published an edict promising 40,000 *cruzados* to any one who would unmask the slanderers of his favourite minister.

Carvalho was indefatigable. He had scarcely repaired the havock caused by the earthquake, when he began to develop the natural resources of the country. Instead of encouraging agriculture, however, he established the famous wine-company of the Douro, to which he granted the monopoly of trading in all

spirituous liquors, and forced the producers to sell their wine to it

Establishment of the
Douro Wine Company.
Disturbances at Oporto.—
Attempt on the King's
life.—Punishment of the
conspirators.

at a fixed rate. On the 23rd February 1757, just six months after this company had been established, a revolt occurred in Oporto during which the population sacked the offices of the company, as they had been forced to drink bad wine at a high price. By order of Carvalho this little disturbance was dealt with as if it had been high treason. Of the 478 prisoners made on that occasion, 32 were absolved, 21 condemned to death, and the rest to various punishments; but only 17 were actually executed. This privileged company was nevertheless encouraged by new favours, from time to time, during the 27 years that Carvalho was at the head of the Government.

Industry in Portugal was not more flourishing than agriculture. Carvalho desired to improve both. His means were always the same: monopolies, privileges and favours. During his long administration he established a considerable number of manufactories and loaded them with the favours of his protection. By thus promoting the national industry, he believed he could shut the door against the exportation of gold, and compel the English to pay in cash for the Portuguese wines they consumed. The Portuguese minister also laboured under the general opinion of his time, that gold was the only wealth of a country, and never supposed what practical wisdom was enshrined in the fable of the king who died of hunger by the side of a heap of that metal.

On the 4th September 1758 the gates of the royal palace were suddenly closed, and the king ceased to show himself in public. The Government reassured the population and the foreign ambassadors by issuing a notice, that the king was confined to his bed on account of having been bled in consequence of a slight fall. Saint Julien, the chargé d'affaires of France, hastened to send this information to his Government, but a few days afterwards added a note in cypher, stating that the real malady of the king was a wound in his right shoulder, caused by two musket shots fired at him on the road to Belem. The people of Lisbon remained in total ignorance of the truth till the 15th December, when D. Luiz da Cunha, minister of foreign affairs, revealed to the diplomatic corps the attempt which had taken place on the 3rd September. Carvalho had consulted the king, who consented to the ruse about the fall, in order to enable the minister to investigate the matter; and his plans were laid so cautiously, that those whom he supposed to be the chiefs of the conspiracy, never ceased to frequent the palace of the king. One of them,

the Duke of Aveiro, attended to his duties of Grandmaster of Ceremonies till the moment of his arrest.

On the 12th December, when the people had forgotten all about the king's fall, Carvalho imprisoned in the tower of Belem the Duke of Aveiro, the Marquis of Tavora with his sons, Luiz Bernardo of Tavora and José Maria Tavora, the Count of Attouguia, the corporal Bray José Romero, attached to the house of Tavora, Antonio Alves Ferreira, valet of the Duke of Aveiro, Manoel Alves Ferreira his brother, and João Mijuel, lacqueys of the duke. He had at the same time arrested the Marchioness of Tavora, and secretly despatched her under a strong escort to the convent of Grillos. All the Jesuit convents were surrounded by troops, and secret orders were issued for the arrest of Manoel of Tavora and Nuno of Tavora (brothers of the Marquis of that name), as well as the Marquises of Alorna and of Gouveya.

The accused were not brought before the magistrates, but to the "Tribunal of Inconfidence" expressly established by the king to try them, presided over by his ministers, and composed of judges selected by himself from among the magistrates whom he trusted most. The procedure of this tribunal was simple and expeditious. The accused were allowed only one advocate to defend them; and, to obtain proofs against them, Carvalho published an edict, promising to make nobles of plebeians who should procure them, and to promote to higher degrees of nobility those who already possessed any. Whilst the Tribunal of Inconfidence was holding its sittings in the greatest secrecy, he peopled the prisons with suspected persons. The Count of Obidos, Manoel de Souza and Count Ribeira were incarcerated without any accusation. The sword of Damocles was, in fact, suspended above the heads of all the Portuguese fidalgos.

The decision of the famous Tribunal was not tardy. It was signed on the 12th January by the three ministers, Carvalho, D. Luiz da Cunha and Thomé da Costa, as well as by the judges Cordeiro, Baccalham, Santo Barboza, Leiria, Oliveira Machado, and by the advocate-general of the crown. The case had lasted only a month. Examination of witnesses, procedure, confrontations, conclusion, all terminated in a few days. There were none of those scrupulous and lengthy proceedings which elicit full evidence. The judges laboured with feverish impatience, much activity, and little conscience, to avenge royalty.

From the judgment, the copies of which were immediately published and scattered over Europe, it may be seen that the conspiracy had three heads, the first and most important of whom was José Mascarenhas, ex-duke of Aveiro, a man full of

ambition, avarice and pride. Having enjoyed the highest consideration during the reign of D. João V., he could not brook the impotence to which D. José reduced him by leaving him only the post of Grandmaster. His ill-will towards the court had increased since the king had opposed two of his most ambitious pretensions, namely, to get hold of certain rich benefices enjoyed for life by certain members of his family, but to which he had not the least shadow of right, and to marry his son to Margarida Lorena, sister of the Duke of Cadaval, for the purpose of inheriting his property, he being sick and still a minor. Sorely disappointed in all his projects, he engaged in the conspiracy to avenge himself upon the king, who would not second them.

The next head consisted of the Jesuit fathers. These priests had practiced the most scandalous usurpations against the Crown of Portugal, in Africa, America and Asia. They had even kindled civil war in Paraguay, fomented intrigues, and concocted the darkest slanders against the king and against the tranquillity of his government for the purpose of alienating the loyalty of his subjects from him. They excited revolts in Lisbon and Oporto; they held conferences with the Duke of Aveiro at Saint-Roch, and, making common cause with him to encompass the death of the king, declared that the regicide would not be guilty even of a venial sin.

The third head was Leonora, Marchioness of Tavora. The ambition of this lady was more insatiable, and her pride more bold, than might be expected from a person of her sex. The king incurred her hatred because he refused to confer upon her husband the title of Duke, which she had solicited with so much haughtiness and energy, that, instead of imploring a favour, she seemed to be claiming the payment of a debt. Carried away by her desire for vengeance, by ambition, and by the advice of the Jesuit father, Malagrida, she made friends with the Duke of Aveira, whose foe she had hitherto been, and became one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, into which she dragged also her husband the Marquis of Tavora, with his two sons, his son-in-law, Count of Attouguia, and his brothers-in-law, making use of the authority which she herself enjoyed over them, as well as of that of Father Malagrida, whom she pretended to consider a saint.

Let us now pass to the second part of the judgment, namely, the condemnation. The first chief was condemned to have his limbs broken on a wheel, and then to be burnt alive. "His ashes will be thrown into the sea, his armorial bearings shattered to pieces, his houses razed to the ground, and all his possessions confiscated."

The Marquis of Tavora was condemned to the same punishment. Henceforth no one could bear the name of Tavora under the penalty of having all his goods confiscated.

Antonio Alvares Ferreira and José Polycarpo were condemned to be led with a rope round the neck, preceded by a herald, to the public square on the quay of Belem, there to be tied to two high posts and burnt alive. Their ashes were to be thrown into the sea. José Polycarpo could not be found, and a considerable reward was held out in the judgment for his capture.

Luiz Bernardino Jeronymo d' Athaide, Count of Attouguia, José Maria Braz Romero, Manoel Alvares and João Miguel were condemned to be led with a rope round the neck and preceded by a herald, to one and the same scaffold, to be strangled thereon after having their arms and legs broken; their bodies to be burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the sea.

"As to the culprit Dona Leonora of Tavora," adds the judgment "some just considerations exempt her from the more severe pains which the enormity of her crime deserves, and we have only condemned her to be led with a rope round her neck, preceded by a herald, to the above named scaffold, where she will undergo the punishment of death by the separation of her head from her body, which will then be burnt."

The only thing done to the Jesuits, of whom the judgment speaks very indignantly, was the imprisonment by Carvalho of the fathers Malagrida, João Múttos and Alexandre, for having taken part in the conspiracy.

The execution was not long delayed, and ensued on the 13th February 1759; but we forbear to give a detailed account of it. From what has been given above, it may easily be inferred how horrible it was. Whether the nobility were as guilty as appears from the judgment, or whether the Jesuits really shared in the conspiracy, is not known with perfect certainty; but it is certain that Carvalho anxiously desired to aim a blow at both, and that the attempt of the 3rd September served his purpose admirably. He desired to behead neither the Duke of Aveira nor Malagrida, but to humble the nobility and to abolish the Society of Jesus. As to the nobles, the work was almost completed; some had perished on the scaffold, others were languishing in prison, and the rest had become slaves. But the Society of Jesus was universal, and had taken deep root everywhere; how could it be abolished? This will be shown in the following pages.

Already towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when Portugal had shaken off the yoke of Spain, the Jesuits had encountered a formidable assailant. Blaise Pascal openly reproached them with

having abased the morality of the gospel for the purpose of augmenting their power. He did not attack isolated individuals,

Blaise Pascal attacks the Jesuits. The Pope issues a Bull which they disregard, and Carvalho publishes two edicts of the same tenor. Further steps against the Jesuits. Not being able by solicitations and bribery to obtain the sanction of the Papal court to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Carvalho publishes an edict by which he expels them himself.

but assailed the Society and its doctrines. Not content with bringing trivial accusations against the Jesuits, he cited facts which their replies could not refute; and the French clergy itself became hostile to them, while independent minds eagerly watched the contest, the chief attraction of which consisted in the style and wit of Pascal. The Jesuits implored the thunders of the Pope in vain, and, instead of condemning the rebellious Pascal, he issued a decree reproving their apology. Thus repelled by the clergy and the Pope, they formed an opposition to the latter, by allying themselves to Louis XIV. the champion of a Gallican church which was to become independent of the Pope.

These disputes found, however, but a feeble echo in Portugal, where the Jesuits enjoyed the highest favour during the reign of João IV, till that of João V, during which they had a few premonitory signs that their domination was verging towards its end. They were much grieved by the Bull *Immensa Pastorum Principis*, in which the Pope Benedict XIV. prohibited them from meddling in secular affairs, but especially in trade. The Jesuits were, however, not to be easily discouraged. They continued their business in Brazil, and in Portugal began to dispute with excessive tenacity with Fr. Gaspar da Encarnação for the influence which the latter exerted over the king as his minister. We have already mentioned that, during the reign of D. José, the Jesuits offered resistance to the execution of the treaty concerning the exchange of the colony of Sacramento. This struggle compelled Carvalho to send thousands of soldiers to Brazil, and to publish two edicts in conformity with the above named Bull, which the Jesuits disregarded. The result was a violent opposition in which the Jesuits resorted to intrigues, calumnies, threats and suggestions to ruin Carvalho, who thereon advised the king to exclude the Jesuits who were his confessors, from the palace, and his request was granted.

Carvalho next began to work against the Jesuits in Rome itself through his own cousin Francisco d' Almada, the Portuguese Ambassador at the court of Benedict XIV., who was, at the entreaty of the latter, induced to appoint a visitor and reformer of the order of Jesuits in Portugal and its dependencies, with the authority necessary for repressing the abuses of these priests. The Pope also promised Almada to entrust Cardinal Saldanha with this reform, as the king of Portugal had desired.

The success of this affair depended on absolute secrecy, because the Jesuits had Cardinal Timoni, the Secretary of State, in their power, and could through him raise insurmountable difficulties; accordingly, Almada, who was well acquainted with diplomatic artifice, requested the Pope to despatch the Bull for the reform through Cardinal Pacionci, and not through the Secretary of State. The services of this Cardinal did not remain unrewarded, for Almada wrote to his cousin Carvalho when he sent him the Bull:—"Do not forget to let me have two diamond rings for Pacionci and Achinto, with anything else which you might find worth offering them."

The above named Bull, which began with the words *In Specula supremæ Dignitatis*, was promulgated with all the required formalities to the Jesuits, and proved to be an unexpected blow, because neither the indefatigable zeal of their friends, nor the acuteness of their spies had discovered the secret steps which had preceded the despatch of the Bull. Cardinal Saldanha, pursuing the reform, published, a few days afterwards, an order prohibiting the Jesuits from engaging in the extensive commerce which they were maintaining by keeping open shops for all kinds of goods from Asia, Africa and America, as well as by means of counting-houses and banks which they had in nearly all their houses. "We have, moreover," he continues "been informed, that in the colleges, noviciates, houses, residences and other localities pertaining to the order of the Society, either in the provinces or in the kingdoms and possessions depending therefrom, where the Holy See has appointed us commissioner to reform the Jesuits and to lead them back to the accurate practice of their duties as far as our weakness will permit, there yet exist some ecclesiastics so far forgetful of the above named holy ordinances and apostolic constitutions, and so hardened in disobedience, that they trample under foot all fear of God and all respect of men, to the great detriment of their souls and to the scandal of all the faithful, by imitating the money-changers whom our Lord Jesus Christ drove from the temple with a scourge, and by engaging in their own convents, and as such, sacred to God, not only in receiving and delivering bills of exchange, as bankers and merchants do, but also in selling goods imported from Asia, America and Africa, in order to derive gain from them, as if these colleges, houses, noviciates, residences and other localities were magazines of commerce, and these houses, shops of merchants. Some, like those ecclesiastic traders whom the holy canons and the Holy Fathers order to be shunned as the plague, because they pass from poverty to opulence, from humility to pride and arrogance, have, after acquiring considerable capital by traffic, established warehouses in the maritime towns of these realms and their dependencies, where the vicinity of ports

renders commerce more easy and advantageous, and where they themselves sell to the people all kinds of goods, like real merchants. Lastly, others, residing in countries beyond the sea, depending on these realms, have reached a still more deplorable and unexampled excess of corruption. They send to the provinces and to the surrounding countries men to purchase drugs, which they afterwards sell in their own houses; they salt meat and fish, and prepare hides; in a word, their residences have become shops of all kinds of eatables, and even of such provisions as secular persons of the lowest class would feel ashamed to trade in."

After the mandate, a portion of which has just been quoted, had been published, the patriarch of Lisbon, to whom the reforming Cardinal had notified it, declared the Jesuits to be illicit merchants liable to the penalties fulminated against such in various Bulls, and debarred them from hearing confessions or preaching throughout the whole extent of his diocese; whereon the other bishops of Portugal, following the example of the patriarch, issued similar inhibitions in their respective dioceses.

When the Jesuits had recovered from the amazement which this unexpected blow inflicted upon their dignity, they spread the rumour that the Bull was false and the mission of Cardinal Saldanha null and void, but at the same time took steps at Rome to get the obnoxious Bull revoked. Meanwhile Benedict XIV. died, and Clement XIII. was elected, and the Jesuits made great efforts to recover their authority, but in vain.

Carvalho largely used bribery to encompass the destruction of the Society of Jesus, and the letter to his cousin Almada, the Portuguese ambassador at Rome, which bears witness to this fact, was also published at Goa in the *Gabinete Litterario das Fontanhas*, edited by Felipe Nery Xavier; but Senhor F. L. Gomez considered it to be apocryphal in spite of the documents adduced in favour of its authenticity, till all his doubts vanished after perusing the documents in the ministry of the interior in Lisbon. We deem this letter so interesting, that we here translate a fragment of it:—"The second manner is to counteract the bribery instituted by the Jesuit fathers, to observe who are the cardinals and the most important persons with reference to this affair, and to buy them by all means possible to you, without exposing yourself to be sacrificed by them. Lastly, it is much better and cheaper to make war by means of money than with armies. It seems to me that the Cardinal, Secretary of State and Rezonnico are the two whose services would be most useful to us, but from such a distance it cannot be judged what is best to be done; your lordship will act according to what your experience and your practice in business may suggest as being most useful and least dangerous.

"Here more than a hundred thousand *cruzados* are invest in silver-ware, finely worked at Paris, and in porcelain of Saxony. I do not know how to forward them to Rome without its becoming public whence this silver-ware and this porcelain come, and for whom they are destined.

"I might also send you some rough diamonds which you will get cut there ; meanwhile, you will inform me whether they may serve for pectoral crucifixes, &c.

"I send you four rings worth offering, for the purpose of gaining, or beginning to acquire some good friends. * They are made of the best and largest stones which arrived last year. All these stones have been cut in Lisbon ; but it is a work which requires much time ; it would be better, I think, to offer them in a rough state, as a sample of the products of the countries so much-loved by the Jesuits.

"I must tell you that the letters which you write to me are being opened, first in Paris, and then in Madrid. Be circumspect enough to name neither a cardinal nor a person to whom you may have confided any secret ; it will suffice if you say that you have your information from a good source, or from a safe person. Do not forget the same precautions with reference to the persons you may gain by the aid of the above named presents, so that it may not be possible to discover who the friends engaged by you in the affairs of His Majesty are.

"Lastly, dear cousin of my heart, His Majesty desires peace, and means to go to the extreme of patience towards the Pope, although persuaded that fifty years of war with one of the greatest powers of Europe would be less injurious to his authority, than the presence of the Jesuits in his kingdom and in his dominions."

Almada acted according to the instructions he had received, but was unable to induce the Pope to sanction the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, as he was not at all hostile to them ; and his Cardinal, Secretary of State, Torregiani, a relative of their general, Ricci, favoured them. Accordingly on the 28th June 1759 Carvalho published on his own account an edict by which the Jesuits were denaturalised, proscribed, and expelled for ever from Portugal and its dependencies. The Portuguese of all classes were enjoined, under pain of death, to prevent them from entering the realm or its dependencies, and not to have any kind of correspondence or connexion with them. Those of the Jesuits who had been imprisoned, or such of them as had not yet pronounced the fourth vow, and were willing to be unfrocked, were exempted from the banishment. All the property belonging to Jesuits was placed in depôts.

* The price of these four stones amounted to about 80,000 francs.

The execution of the edict was not delayed. Nearly six hundred Jesuits were surrounded by soldiers and led to the banks of the Tagus, whence they were transported in a ship to Civita-Vecchia, which they reached in 37 days. Enemies of Carvalho spread the rumour that, during the voyage, the Jesuits almost died of hunger, and although this calumny was refuted by the captain of the ship, it is quite possible that the Jesuits had not taken even their breviaries with them.

The news of the expulsion of the Jesuits had not yet arrived in Rome on the 2nd August 1759, when the Pope despatched an extraordinary courier with four despatches to Acciajuoli, his nuncio in Portugal. The first of these despatches was the Bull *Dilecti filii*, addressed to the council of conscience, allowing

The Pope sends four despatches to Portugal.— Dissensions, expulsion from Portugal of the nuncio, Acciajuoli. Rapports are between Rome and Portugal.

that tribunal to deliver to the secular power the Jesuits convicted of having taken part in the conspiracy of the 3rd September. The second despatch was a letter from the Pope to the king of Portugal, appealing to his mercy, and the third nearly to the same purport, was still more touching. The fourth despatch consisted of a memorandum of the Pope, to be presented in his name to Carvalho, in his capacity of minister. In it the terms in which the Bull *Dilecti filii* was conceived were supported; and every amplification of the authorisation granted therein deprecated, as being contrary to ecclesiastic immunities, the more so as it was only a lay-tribunal to which the said authorisation had been granted. This memorandum was full of complaints, in one of which Cardinal Torregiani asserted that Francisco Almada was not a proper person to maintain harmony between the two courts, as he displayed, in his acts and words, as much audacity as defiance.

The nuncio insisted on presenting the Bull and the letters of the Pope himself to the king without sending copies to the secretary of State, Don Luiz da Cunha, as was customary, but was obliged. The perusal of these despatches made such an impression upon Carvalho, that he at once wrote in the name of Don Luiz da Cunha to the nuncio of His Holiness, a letter which breathed fury and indignation. He declared that the king would never allow a Bull so uncivil and impertinent as the *Dilecti filii* to be presented to him, but that he would receive the two letters of His Holiness with pleasure. Whilst Carvalho thus imparted his protests to the nuncio, he addressed also to the Pope a note wherein he demanded from His Holiness, in very precise and very energetic terms, as the alternative of a rupture, a Bull, such as he had demanded.

Long negotiations took place apparently to heal the breach between the two courts, but they only widened it, and the Pope was sorely grieved by the attitude of Portugal. He, moreover, resorted to delays and to every kind of device for the purpose of avoiding the rupture which Carvalho desired to bring about. Accordingly the latter, foiled in all his plans to involve the Pope in it, emptied the phials of his wrath upon Cardinal Acciajuoli, the nuncio, in Portugal. In order to escape from Carvalho's outbursts of violent speeches and incivilities, the nuncio had asked to be recalled, but was refused by Cardinal Torregiani. At last, however, Carvalho himself relieved Acciajuoli from all further anxiety. On the 6th June 1759, the marriage of the princess of Brazil, heiress to the throne, with the Infante D. Pedro, brother of the king D. José, was celebrated. This event, which had not been expected to take place so soon, was notified to the whole diplomatic corps, excepting the nuncio of the Pope only. Cardinal Acciajuoli, offended by this want of attention to him, at once paid a visit to D. Luiz da Cunha, the minister of foreign affairs, and complained of it. The Portuguese minister excused himself by stating that the subject of the note written by him was only to assign to the ambassadors the rank which they were to take in public audiences. The Cardinal properly replied that the note consisted of two parts, the one really indicating the order of the audiences, but the other being an invitation to the marriage ceremonies; and expressed a hope that he might be spared the pain of being excluded from the public demonstrations of joy, in which he was more anxious to share than any one else. D. Luiz da Cunha, having exhausted all his trivial reasons, and not knowing what more to do, promised to report his complaint to the king, and to let him know the answer without delay. The Cardinal waited three days on the tip-toe of expectation, but no answer came.

On the evenings of the 7th, 8th and 9th all Lisbon was illuminated. On every side the marks of rejoicing appeared, but one mansion remained silent amongst all that noise, and dark amidst floods of light; it was that of the Cardinal Acciajuoli.

Four days afterwards the king decided to expel Cardinal Acciajuoli from Portugal by the advice of his council of State. Accordingly, the next day, at 7 A.M., the mansion of the nuncio was surrounded by soldiers. A commissary of the Government entered with the officer of the troops, and gave the nuncio a letter from the king, ordering him to leave his mansion and Portugal immediately after the expiration of four days. The nuncio was not much surprised, but asked for a little respite to make preparations for his journey. This was refused; and,

after writing a short protest against the violence to which he was subjected, he was taken under the escort of two commissaries to the banks of the Tagus in a carriage from which royal frigates transferred him to the other side of the river, whence carriages conveyed him to the frontiers of Spain.

Carvalho at once despatched three couriers to inform Francisco d'Almada of what had taken place in Lisbon, and when they arrived, the liveliest curiosity was manifested as they successively made their appearance; but Almada would reveal nothing, except to the Pope himself, who agreed, with the greatest reluctance, to receive him on the 2nd July 1759. The post from Spain arrived, however, on the 1st, with the news of the marriage of the princess, and the expulsion of the nuncio. Clement XIII resented the affront to which his nuncio had been subjected as a personal insult to himself, and retracted the promise of an audience to Almada, whereon the latter, on the day just named, despatched a note to all the foreign ambassadors then in Rome, informing them of his impending departure. He made up a packet for transmission to the Pope, containing various documents exposing the conduct of the Secretary of State, Torregiani, accompanied by notes written in a style which was both rude and passionate. The Pope, irritated and troubled by this step of Almada, determined to treat no more with him, and, sending for Cardinal Corsini, informed him of his determination. The latter, thanking His Holiness for the confidence placed in him, produced the letter of the king informing the Pope of the marriage of the princess Maria, and, being much devoted to the king of Portugal, did his best to prevent a rupture the possible consequences of which frightened him. But all his efforts were fruitless; the storm which had been brewing since 1757, burst at last, and on the 6th of July 1759 Francisco d'Almada left Rome.

In August two edicts were published at Lisbon by which the Portuguese residing in Rome were recalled, and the subjects of the Pope dwelling in Portugal required to leave the country within four days. All communication, all trade with Rome, was prohibited, and all the wares of that State were held to be contraband. No one could solicit a brief or a bull without the permission of the Government. Such was the celebrated event of the rupture between Portugal and Rome; an event the concealed causes of which were of greater importance than those which had come to light.

After the rupture, manifestoes, pamphlets and lampoons were fulminated by the Jesuits against Carvalho who repaid them with interest, especially as his tastes and habits in that direction

had become largely developed since he had begun to wage war against them. All these writings of Carvalho were translated into French and propagated in Europe, and a French author

Controversial pamphlets.—Arrests of nobles in consequence of the interception of letters by Carvalho's orders. The prestige of Carvalho is increased by the arrival of Lord Kinnoul from England as ambassador extraordinary. Extracts from despatches purporting to have been written to Lord Chatham by Carvalho.

gives the following account of the impression they produced:—"It might be supposed that public opinion in France would be more disposed than anywhere else to receive well these accusations of the Portuguese minister; the encyclopedists ought to have served him zealously and faithfully; such was nevertheless not the case. This holocaust of the chiefs of the nobility shocked the upper class, which had hitherto been carefully dealt with by the philosophers. So much cruelty contrasted with the manners of an already discontented, but yet very elegant, society. The victims were pitied, the hangman mocked, and his appeal to the ideas of the middle age, the period of history reproved also by fashion at that time, was ridiculed. These titles torn away by constables, these effaced escutcheons, these anathemas proclaimed by sound of trumpet, appeared to be insensate sacrifices to barbarous projects. General reprobation was bestowed also upon the despotic maxims contained in the manifestoes."

The expulsion of the Jesuits was followed by other acts of energetic despotism. The king D. José, wishing the marriage of his daughter to be marked by acts of clemency, assembled his council of State and proposed to liberate some unfortunate men who were groaning in prisons. Carvalho, seconded by the patriarch of Lisbon, opposed this wish of the king, who was compelled to yield. But something happened which no one expected, and the prisons, instead of becoming deserted, soon overflowed with prisoners. Carvalho, blinded by passion, looked through a dark prism at the society in the midst of which he lived; his fears and suspicions made him see everything in false colours; in every dispute he perceived a brawl, and in every brawl a horrible conspiracy. This defect of his mind developed in course of time into a hallucination, and became so dangerous, that at last no one considered himself safe. Some were accused of being in correspondence with the Jesuits, and others of having been the friends of the Duke of Aveiro, whilst infamous men were not wanting to proffer these terrible accusations, or judges ready to condemn the supposed culprits. In this manner, a few days after the marriage of the princess, Count S. Lourenço and the

* *Chute de Jesuits par Saint Priest.*

Viscount of Ponte de Lima were arrested, whilst the prelate, Aguilár, and João Macedo, confessor of the grand inquisitor, were sent into exile without any procedure or warning;—but the exile of the infants, D. Antonio and D. José, two brothers of the king himself, amazed and frightened the people of Lisbon more than any thing else. This was, however, not the end of imprisonments and of exiles; D. Joaquim Thomé da Costa, minister of marine, was likewise suddenly dismissed, and Andrade Encerrabodes, formerly ambassador at Rome, then at Lattaye, exiled.

It had already been the custom during the reign of D. João V. to intercept the king's private correspondence, and this was continued under the reign of D. José I. An official of the ministry of the interior opened the letters, made extracts from them and secretly despatched them to Carvalho. These intercepted letters were called *products*. The minister imagined that he had a right to punish the authors of these confidential communications; hence the arrests, which, falling like thunderbolts, carried desolation into families, and took citizens by surprise amidst their daily avocations. The ministry of the interior at Lisbon contains a great number of these *products* to bear witness against this iniquitous industry. Always afraid of conspiracies, Carvalho created, in 1760, the post of superintendent of police, who was charged to watch over the public security, and formed the keystone of the arbitrary organisation of which the Tribunal of Inconfidence was the base.

Too much has been made of the glory which accrued to Carvalho (who had already in 1579 obtained the title of Count or Oyeiras, to which his majesty added a rich commandery) in consequence of Lord Kinnoul's mission to Lisbon as ambassador extraordinary, to give Portugal public satisfaction for the insult inflicted on it by Admiral Boscawen, who had burnt four French vessels on the coast of Lagos. The Portuguese government had complained against this violation of the right of nations, whereon Lord Kinnoul was sent to give satisfaction to the king of Portugal who received him in a public audience.

When it is considered that Lord Kinnoul had come to Lisbon not only to give satisfaction to the king, but to ask at the same time for certain concessions in favour of English commerce; that this satisfaction was not complete because England paid no compensation for the vessels above named, and, lastly, that, in spite of the excuses offered by Lord Kinnoul, France did not cease to reproach the Portuguese government for conniving with the English, it will be admitted that the mission of Lord Kinnoul had not much increased the glory of Carvalho.

According, however to the opinion, of the friends and admirers of this minister, his glory did not consist in the satisfaction obtained, but in the despatches, full of energy and firmness written by him to Lord Chatham. These despatches were published in the *Administration du Marquis de Pombal*, but their perusal alone is sufficient evidence against their authenticity, unless, as M. de Saint Priest had already suggested, some preliminary arrangement had been come to with the English cabinet to make them serve as a veil for new connivances. The language is so rude and threatening, that the minister of a servile nation would not have put up with it, much less of Great Britain. It is nevertheless worth while to give a few extracts from these apocryphal despatches, the bravado of which is even amusing:—

“You were yet of little account in Europe, when we were already of much. Your island formed only a point on the map, and your dominion did not extend beyond it, when the name of Portugal was known in Asia, Africa and America. Your power was only of secondary rank, and has risen to the first, only by the means with which we furnished you. This material impotence did not allow you to extend your dominion beyond your island, because, in order to make conquests, a large army was required and the means to pay it, but you had them not. You had no money. Those who have calculated your resources, found that you had not the means to support six regiments. The sea, which may be considered your element, did not offer you great resources; you could equip scarcely twenty vessels.

“During fifty years, you have drawn from Portugal more than fifteen hundred millions; there is no mention in history of one nation having enriched another by so considerable a sum. The manner in which you have acquired treasures has been more profitable to you than those treasures themselves. By her arts England has made herself the mistress of our mines, of the products whereof she annually plunders us. Scarcely a month elapses after the arrival of the fleet from Brazil, when not a single gold-coin is left in Portugal; all gold passes to England, contributing to augment its currency. Most of the bank payments are made with our gold.

“By a stupidity unexampled in political economy, we allow you to dress us, and to provide us with the objects of our luxury which is not inconsiderable. We support five hundred thousand artizans, subjects of king George, at our expense, in the capital of England. Your fields nourish us, you have substituted your ploughmen for ours; formerly, we provided

“you with corn, and now you provide us therewith. You cultivated your soil and we allowed ours to become fallow.

“But if we have lifted you to the summit of prosperity, it depends only upon us to plunge you back into the abyss from which we have extricated you. We can more easily do without you, than you without us. A single law would overthrow your power, or at least enfeeble your empire. We have only to prohibit, on pain of death, the export of our gold, and we shall retain it. To this you will no doubt reply, that the gold will pass out of the country as it always did, because your war-vessels enjoy immunity from being searched when they leave our ports, and that, favoured by this privilege, they will make off with our cash. Do not be deceived, however; I had the duke of Aveiro broken on the wheel for attempting the life of the king, and I may probably hang one of your captains for having, against the law, made off with his effigy [as represented on gold coins]. There are times in the monarchy when a single man can do much. You know that Cromwell, in his quality of protector of the English republic, caused the brother of the king of Portugal's ambassador to be executed because he had taken part in a revolt; without being Cromwell, I feel myself capable of following his example in the quality of minister-protector of Portugal. Do not, therefore, what you ought not, and I shall not do what I can.

“What would become of Great Britain if the source of the riches she draws from America were to cease from flowing? How would she pay her numerous land and sea forces? How could she furnish her king with the means of living with the splendour of a great sovereign? Whence would she draw the subsidies she pays to foreign powers to support her claims? How could a million of English subjects live, if the wages by which they subsist were to be withdrawn? Into what state of poverty would the kingdom fall if this first resource were to fail it? Portugal has only to refuse her grain, that is to say, bread, to cause one-half of England to die of hunger. You will perhaps say that the order of things cannot be thus changed, and that a system established for a long time cannot be abolished in a moment. I shall do better; whilst waiting till time allows me to complete this reform, I shall establish a preliminary plan of economy tending to the same purpose. It is long since France has held out her hand to us, to accept the products of her wool manufacture; we have only to accept these offers to annihilate your manufactures. Barbary, which abounds in corn, will furnish it to us at the same, or perhaps, at a lower rate than you do.

"Then you would, to your grief, behold the extinction of the greater portion of your shipping, because you are too skilled in administration not to be aware that the mercantile marine is a training school whence the officers and sailors of the royal marine are recruited in time of war; and by this you have raised your power."

On the 17th February 1761, Carvalho published an edict, confiscating, for the benefit of the Crown, all the moveable and immoveable property which had belonged to the Jesuits in Portugal, and Father Malagrida who had, since the attempt on the king's life

Further steps against the Jesuits; father Malagrida is burnt. The Pope issues a Bull confirming the order of Jesuits. The Duc de Choiseul first rejects the proposal to get the Society of Jesus abolished, but ultimately agrees to it, and Clement XIII suddenly dies when the courts of France, Portugal and Spain submit the same proposal to him.

in 1758, been confined in the fort of Junqueira was now condemned by the Parliament of Lisbon to be burnt, the Holy Inquisition confirming the sentence in the following words:—"Malagrida has been accused of mendacity, false prophecies and horrible impieties; he was charged and convicted of having abused the word of God and outraged the divine majesty by teaching a false and scandalous morality; of having seduced the people by his obstinacy in ad-

hering, till the last moment, to his pretended revelations and damnable heresies; of having used every means for spreading in Portugal and its dependencies his abominable doctrines. Wherefore he was at last, as a criminal and heresiarch, obdurate in his detestable errors, condemned to be immediately degraded from his orders and delivered to the secular jurisdiction."

Carvalho, who saw in Malagrida a representative of the Society of Jesus, which he desired to render infamous, spared no pains to make the scene of the *auto-da-fé* as imposing as possible. Boxes were constructed around the Rocio square in the shape of an amphitheatre, and the scaffold for reading the sentence to the culprits was richly decorated. Various detachments of cavalry and infantry were drawn out in lines as far as the convent of the Dominicans. The ambassadors, the nobility, the members of the various tribunals and ministries had been invited to this strange spectacle, and arrived in crowds. At the appointed hour Malagrida, aged 63 years, made his appearance wearing the dress of the Society of Jesus, flanked by two Benedictines, and as many gentlemen. He walked in front of 52 other criminals, and at the proper moment the sentence of the Holy Office, a portion of which we have just quoted, was read out to him. This being finished, the archbishop of Sparta proceeded to the degradation, whereon he was taken to the Parliament of Lisbon which

condemned him first to be strangled and then to be burnt* ; which was done on the same day, namely, the 21st September.

The king of Portugal, who had in former times been altogether under clerical influence, and, as we have above seen, had got rid of his Jesuit confessors by the advice of Carvalho, appears to have felt qualms of conscience, and sighed for reconciliation with the Pope ; and on the 21st August 1761, when the prince of Beira—his grandson—was born, his majesty wrote a letter craving the benediction of His Holiness for the infant, which mark of filial respect was responded to in the most affectionate terms. Carvalho, however, harboured no ideas of reconciliation, and an event which occurred in January 1765, made it more difficult than ever, in spite of the benediction just mentioned, which had been granted some years before, and again forgotten. Clement XIII, who had just published the famous Bull, *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, confirmed the order of Jesuits as well as all the Briefs and Bulls which the Parliament of France had publicly burnt. No greater provocation than this could be given to the nations who had expelled the Jesuits. Carvalho ordered the solicitor of the Crown to attack the Bull ; accordingly its nullity was proved by the aid of conclusive reasons drawn from the decisions of the French Parliament ; and an edict published in Portugal declaring the Bull to be surreptitious, and enjoining the inhabitants to consider it as such. The Duc de Choiseul, having perused the declaration of the solicitor of the Crown, averred that the Catholic world ought to applaud the doctrines contained in this document, which showed that the prerogatives claimed by Rome were absurd and dangerous.

The Jesuits had been expelled from France in 1764, and from Spain in 1767 ; Carvalho now thought the moment for demanding the total abolition of the order of Jesuits from the Pope at the instance of the three courts, had arrived. The proposal made by Carvalho to France through M. Simonin, the ambassador of that country in Lisbon, was replied to as follows by the Duc de Choiseul.

“TO MONSIEUR SIMONIN.”

“Sir,—I received, on the 28th September 1767, the despatch No. 38 which you have not dated, but which I suppose to be of the 7th of that month. We are awaiting what M. de Souza [Centinho, Portuguese ambassador in Paris] will be charged by his court to tell us and to communicate to us with reference to the Jesuits. It is certain, and we actually think, that the Pope

* *Calcutta Review* CXLIV., p. 314 the flames, but a native was tied alive
In India “a European was always to the stake and thus burnt.”
strangled before being committed to.

"ought to secularise this whole religious society, and that he would thereby perform an act of wisdom and of foresight, not less favourable to public tranquillity than to the members composing their order of Jesuits; but we greatly doubt whether the sovereign pontiff at present reigning, and his minister the cardinal Törregiani, would ever bring themselves to take this step. It must, moreover, be admitted that the courts of France, Spain and Portugal might feel embarrassed what to reply, if the Pope were to tell them that they had nothing more to fear from the Jesuits, because they had expelled them."

The same duke replied in the following terms to a more vast project of Carvalho, the execution of which the latter had averred would bring back the Protestants into the fold of the Church of Rome:—

"I believe that the opinion of Monsieur le Comte d' Oyeiras [namely Carvalho] on the necessity of a union among the Catholic powers in order to effect a reform of the abuses and pretensions of the Court of Rome, is susceptible of much discussion. It is certain that this Court has lost many of its ancient privileges, as may be seen from what is now taking place in Portugal. As to France, whenever pontifical authority attempts to overstep the boundaries of purely spiritual jurisdiction, it always meets, on the part of the king and of his parliaments, with a resistance which is as efficacious as it is just.

"But after all, it is very difficult to understand how an actual schism between the Catholic powers and Rome might become a motive in inducing the Protestant nations again to enter the bosom of the Roman church.

"Be that, however, as it may, Monsieur le Comte d' Oyeiras is too enlightened and too prudent a minister not to conduct himself, in a matter of such importance, with all the reflection and prudence it demands."

Although the three Courts had agreed to demand from the Pope the abolition of the order of Jesuits, they were in no haste to do so, until Naples and Parma, following their example, had likewise expelled the Jesuits. On account of this step the Pope decreed the removal of the Prince of Parma from his throne, whereat the three Courts took offence and demanded the revocation of the decree, which was refused with cold and stolid perseverance. Now the plenipotentiaries of France, Portugal and Spain in Rome, lost all moderation, and on the 10th December 1768, the Duc de Choiseul categorically demanded from the Pope the abolition of the order of Jesuits, showing that he now entirely consented to the bold proposal of Carvalho, which had before been distasteful to him. The French ambassador, Marquis d' Aubepine, having

obtained an audience from the Pope, presented to His Holiness a memoir in which the Courts of France, Portugal and Spain demanded the abolition of the Society of Jesus. When Clement XIII received this memoir, he was so stupefied, that he uttered never a word, and he died suddenly a few days afterwards without giving any reply to it.

The conclave for the election of the new Pope had lasted the

Clement XIV is elected Pope. Letter of thanks to him from Charles III, king of Spain, for agreeing to abolish the Society of Jesus. Some measures carried out by Carvalho during the rupture, but a reconciliation takes place. At last, the Pope abolishes the Society of Jesus by the Bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor*.

unusual time of three months, and was finally terminated, by the efforts of the Spanish Cardinals, with the nomination of Cardinal Ganganeli, as Clement XIV. He is said to have attained this dignity by entering into formal engagements with the said Cardinals against the Jesuits, but no documents on this point appear to be in existence; none, at least, could be discovered by Senhor F. L. Gomes when he studied the proceedings connected with the abolition of the Jesuits in the State-papers of various nations.

In the first conference held between the ambassadors of France, Naples and Spain, in July 1769, after the election of the new Pope, they agreed to give him some time for deliberating upon so grave a question, touching ecclesiastical discipline, as the abolition of the Society of Jesus would involve; but when they and the ambassador of Portugal heard, a few days after the conference, that Cardinal Negroni had, in favour of the General of the Jesuits, prolonged the permission granting to missionaries the faculty of imparting plenary indulgences, they were highly offended, in spite of the assurance that this had been done without the knowledge of the Pope. All further efforts failed, however, to effect the abolition of the Society of Jesus on this occasion, and it took place only four years afterwards, namely, in 1773, although His Holiness had promised it in a letter, dated the 30th November 1769, addressed to Charles III, king of Spain, to which the latter replied as follows:—

“VERY HOLY FATHER.”

“The very venerable letter from your Beatitude, dated the 30th of last month, has filled me with satisfaction. Your Beatitude deigns to give me the most constant assurance of the disposition you entertain with reference to the supplications addressed by myself, my cousin and my son to your Beatitude; and I offer my most respectful thanks to your Beatitude for the trouble you have kindly taken to collect and to examine the documents which you believe you must appreciate in order to expedite the *motu proprio* already agreed to, and to organise the plan already

"resolved upon, for the abolition of the Society of Jesus, a plan which your Beatitude promises to communicate to me. If peace and concord be the greatest blessings of the Church, I most heartily desire her to enjoy them. After this abolition we shall be indebted to your Beatitude for the restoration of a happiness which we no longer enjoy. My confidence in your Holiness is such, that from the moment you announce this benefit to me, I consider it as already obtained. May your Beatitude be assured of my gratitude, and listen benevolently to what D. Thomas Azpuru will report to you on my part.

"Whilst asking from your Beatitude your apostolical benediction for me and for my whole family, I pray to God, to grant to your Beatitude a long series of years."

MADRID, 26th December 1769.

"The very humble son of your Beatitude."

CHARLES.

Carvalho knew nothing of this correspondence between Clement XIV. and Charles III. which had been carried on through the intermediation of the confessor of the latter, and charged Almada, who had again returned to Rome, to demand from the Pope the abolition of the order of Jesuits during the month and year just named. It is said, that an attempt on the life of the king, made at Lisbon by a soldier, on the 3rd December, was the cause of this new application; but we fail to perceive what connexion the abolition of the Society of Jesus could have with this crime, unless it had been instigated by Jesuits. Such, however, was not the case; because, if even the faintest suspicion had existed, it would have certainly been published. There is no doubt, however, that the attempt on the king's life made a deep impression, not only in Portugal, but also at Rome, where the Pope held a *Te Deum* and preached a sermon on the 29th January 1770, to thank the Almighty for the escape of the king. On the same day Clement XIV. bestowed a cardinal's hat upon Paul, the brother of Carvalho, who had, however, already expired, and another brother, F. X. Mendonça, also having died about the same time, the great minister of Portugal suffered a double affliction.

The king of Portugal, his family and the Portuguese of every class now again sighed for a reconciliation with the Pope, but especially fidalgos who desired to obtain from Rome, dispensations legalising marriages between near blood-relations, as those which the archbishop of Evora granted them did not quiet their consciences. Carvalho, for his part, felt no anxiety to see the end of a state of affairs by which he had profited to carry out various measures, the realisation of which would have been impossible under papal influence. During the rupture he had established a

royal council of censure, charged to examine all books appearing in Portugal, and to allow or to prohibit their sale. He had suppressed the Bull *In cœna Domini*, as infringing the royal prerogative and the independence of the Crown; he had thrown into prison D. Miguel d' Annunciaçao, bishop of Coimbra, for having prohibited the reading of certain books, allowed by the council of censure; he had declared the bishopric of Coimbra vacant, and invited the canons to elect a vicar to fill it; he conferred the title of "Majesty" on the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, and had ordered that no Portuguese should be admitted as an ecclesiastic, or to holy orders, without the consent of the king; and lastly, he deprived the *patriarchate* of the administration of its revenues which he incorporated with those of the State. The reconciliation with the Pope, however, at last took place by the appointment of a nuncio to Portugal, but the price at which this victory of Rome was purchased, consisted in the said Cardinal's subscription to the following four paragraphs:—

1.—Not to undertake anything against the usages, laws, and privileges of the realm, the tribunal of the Crown being in cases of infraction, competent to take cognizance of any abuse or violence. 2.—Not to hold visitations of cathedrals, and not to take cognizance of law-suits, or to receive emoluments or salaries besides those due in the auditories of Lisbon. 3.—To appoint a Portuguese as his solicitor. 4.—To establish nothing concerning the government of male or female monastic orders. As an additional precaution Carvalho instructed the patriarch of Lisbon and the various abbots of the religious orders, not to execute any Brief, Bull, or pontifical rescript without the royal Placet.

As soon as the Portuguese government had been apprised of the arrival of the nuncio, it sent the royal galley, rowed by seventy richly dressed oarsmen, to convey him to Lisbon, where he was received with marks of joy and shouts of acclamation by the people. When Clement XIV was made acquainted with the extraordinary reception of his nuncio in Lisbon, he in the exuberance of his joy and gratitude, held a consistory, in which he created, at the solicitations of Carvalho, some new sees in Portugal, and made the archbishop of Evora cardinal.

The secret letters of Almada, who had, during the years 1769, 1770 and the first half of 1771, kept his cousin, Carvalho, almost daily informed about his efforts in Rome to effect the abolition of the Society of Jesus, become gradually quite laconic and uninteresting, and terminate only in 1773 with the information that the long expected extinction of the order had at last actually taken place. We shall not attempt to ascertain what reasons had induced the court of Lisbon to relax its efforts, but shall show that the glory

of having brought this affair, of the abolition of the Society of Jesus, to a successful termination, belongs assuredly to Spain. More than two years had already elapsed since Charles III. expressed his gratitude to the Pope for his promised abolition of the order of Jesuits in the letter we have quoted above. His Holiness continued, however, to temporise till he exhausted all his pretexts, all his subterfuges, all the charms of his politeness, and all the resources of his treasury; he had nothing more to oppose to the solicitations of the king of Spain who, considering that he had been deceived; threatened to dishonour him by printing his letter. Terror-struck and ashamed, Clement XIV. now shut himself up in his castle of Gandolfo to deplore his unhappy fate; unfortunately for him also a great change had taken place in the Spanish embassy at Rome. Cardinal Azpuru, who had been lavishing compliments on His Holiness, and was so often deceived by the artifices of the French ambassador, Bernis, died, and was replaced by Monino, who afterwards became count de Bianca. Monino was a man inaccessible to all seductions, and unflinching in his purpose; Charles III. could not have made a better choice. When this new ambassador arrived in Rome, he first gathered information of what had been done concerning the important affair of the Jesuits, and then had a long conference with Cardinal Bernis, whose character was well known. All he demanded of him was to aid him loyally in future. Almada also conferred with the Spanish minister and gave him satisfactory explanations. The Pope, on the other hand, always vacillating between the three courts and the Jesuits, dared neither to offend the former nor to serve the latter, and sought for pretexts to avoid Monino, who was impatiently waiting for an audience. Clement XIV. never perceived that the puerile and useless subterfuges he was resorting to in his despair, made his position only worse. Monino was not to be baffled by such obstacles; he had recourse to the familiars of the Pope, and succeeded by money and threats in purchasing an audience from His Holiness. The interview took place, but Clement XIV. displayed neither courage nor fortitude, and published, on the memorable day of the 23rd July 1773, the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, by which the Society of Jesus was abolished.

Thus the famous, rich, terrible, brilliant and most powerful order of Jesuits became extinct, on account not of the crimes of which some of its members had been accused, but of its insatiable lust of dominion. It aspired to a position higher than that of kings and popes, by its attempt to rule the Church and the State, heaven and earth, which brought on its destruction. Carvalho, Choiseul, Rhodas and Madame the Pompadour, themselves insatiable of

power, would not submit to that of this society; all agreed in their resistance to it, till, at last, a coalition headed by kings made the order of Jesuits tremble, and a pope felled it to the ground. Clement XIV. was attacked by a mysterious and horrible disease,—one long agony,—relieved at last by death only.

The multifarious and indefatigable activity of Carvalho flagged in no way with reference to the administration of the government, whilst he was engaged in bringing about the abolition of the Society of Jesus which he at last saw accomplished. Although he had never

Various reforms introduced Carvalho.—Public instruction. Two noble edicts.—Preparations for war.—The Spanish General Sarria invades Portugal. End of the war with a treaty of peace, definitively signed on the 10th February 1763.

been formally appointed Prime Minister, he was regarded by foreigners, as well as by his own countrymen, as the leader of the other ministers, whose functions were regulated by him. He established a commercial seminary, and having already, in 1759, deprived the Jesuits of the right of teaching in schools, placed all educational establish-

ments under the supervision of a Director-general of Public Instruction appointed by himself. In 1761 he founded the "College for Nobles," but none of his reforms initiated during that year met with more general approbation than two edicts which were truly philanthropic. In the first of these edicts he declared the natives of Portuguese India to be perfectly equal, before the law, to Portuguese born in the kingdom, and fixed punishments against those who desired to retain the distinctions introduced by the Jesuits between Europeans and Indians. By the second edict the fetters of all slaves were broken as soon as they placed their feet on the soil of Portugal. This was the completion of the measures against slavery which had marked the beginning of Carvalho's career as a minister. He introduced also a great financial reform by establishing a central treasury with a tribunal [*conselho da fazenda*] for receiving and disbursing all monies.

At this time Portugal became also involved in hostilities with Spain and France. The latter country had been for several years at war with England, wherefore, on the 15th August 1761, it concluded at Versailles the famous treaty of the *Family pact*, by which Spain allied herself to France. The king of Portugal had been excluded from this treaty, but not from the Paris convention, the sixth article of which was as follows:—

"The king of Portugal will be invited to take part in this convention, because it is not just that His Faithful Majesty should remain a quiet spectator of the dissensions of the two courts with England, and continue to leave his ports open to the English, thus enriching the foes of the two sovereigns, whilst they are sacrificing themselves for the common advantage of all the

"maritime nations." In spite, however, of this article the two nations were sure that Portugal, which was on the best terms with England, would not consent to become a third party to this alliance; and Carvalho who knew that with a badly armed, disciplined, and paid army, which had been reduced to 20,000 men, he would not be able to offer resistance to an invasion, hastened to ask reinforcements from the court of 'St. James,' in spite of the reasons it had to be discontented with Portugal. But having, meanwhile, obtained promises of important aid, he began to organise resistance by raising the number of the army to 60,000 men, purchasing ammunition and augmenting the garrisons of the forts. After these preparations D. Luiz da Cunha, or rather Carvalho, replied on the 20th March to the *memorandum* of the two courts as follows:—"What his very Faithful Majesty desires most ardently is, to be enabled by his neutrality and his good understanding with the three courts, to offer his mediation in order to renew the conferences lately interrupted in London, and thereby to put an end to further bloodshed. The court of Portugal, united to that of London by an old and not yet interrupted alliance, cannot declare itself against its ally, not having received any direct offence from him. To do so would be to commit an offence against the religion, the fidelity and the honesty which are inseparable from his very Faithful Majesty, and from all the monarchs as religious and powerful as His Catholic Majesty and His very Christian Majesty are. The king, who is the father of his subjects, will never consent to expose them to the calamities of an offensive war, calamities which they are unable to bear in consequence of the unfortunate position of Portugal, brought on by the long malady of the late king, by the earthquake of 1755, and by the horrible conspiracy of 1758."

Negotiations having proved futile, the Spanish General Sarria invaded Portugal, although war had not been formally declared. This General met with no resistance, and penetrating into the province Traz-os-Montes, published the following manifesto:—"The entrance of the Spanish troops into Portugal has not war against the Portuguese people for its object; they come on the contrary, for the benefit and the glory of the crown of Portugal and of its subjects. Consequently no person, place, or fort will be ill-treated; all that the Spanish army asks of the inhabitants of this country is, to aid it by providing it with food and whatever else it may need." A formal declaration of war on the part of Carvalho was the reply to this manifesto, in which the invasion had euphemistically been called an "entrance."

After a while, however, reinforcements arrived from England consisting of more than six thousand soldiers, and augmented

the Portuguese army, numbering already 50,000 men. The English contingent was commanded by Lord London, who had superseded Lord Tirawley; but the state of affairs changed considerably for the better with the arrival of the Count de la Lippe who had come from England with the prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; the former to take the command of the Anglo-Portuguese army, and the second of the artillery, the talents of both these officers being a sure guarantee of the success of the campaign which was about to begin. But how was the cost of the war to be defrayed from the empty treasury of Portugal? Fortunately difficulties only stimulated, instead of depressing, the energy of Carvalho, who, being ready to cope with all obstacles, made an appeal to the patriotism of his fellow-citizens, and revived the land and industrial tax which had been introduced in 1654. This measure produced some hundreds of *contos de reis* which would, however, not have sufficed to pay the costs of the war, if it had lasted more than one year.

The invasion of Portugal began, as we remarked above, with the province of Traz-os-Montes. The Spanish Colonel O'Reiley, with his 18,000 men, took in a few days the places of Miranda, Bragança, Chaves and Moncorvo. The Spaniards became, moreover, masters of the whole province of Traz-os-Montes, and of a great portion of the province Duoro. In spite, however, of the success of their first operations, they suddenly left the province of Traz-os-Montes, to join the bulk of the army which was at Ciudad-Rodrigo, leaving behind them only a small garrison which they threw into Chaves.

We shall omit the details of this campaign, of which the Count de la Lippe presented a minute and accurate narrative to the king D. José. No battles were fought, but skirmishes took place frequently. Count de la Lippe usually kept himself on the defensive, this being the only system which could be adopted on account of the great disparity of the forces; and he used it with great success, doing the enemy as much harm as he could.

After the well disciplined, ably commanded, and brave Spanish troops had been a few months in Portugal, they were enfeebled by the want of the most necessary provisions, and disheartened by the contradictory orders which the generals constantly received from Spain, so that it became impossible to concert a vigorous aggression, whilst on the other hand, the Anglo-Portuguese army, which consisted of inexperienced troops, discouraged at the very beginning of the campaign by an example of the vilest cowardice on the part of the governor of a fort, kept itself on the defensive, although the Count de la Lippe profited with astonishing perseverance, and remarkable skill, by the least inequalities of the soil to decimate the Spanish army.

Meanwhile the news arrived in Madrid that Havana had been taken from the Spaniards. The loss of this important colony, and the disasters of the French, who had already been deprived of Canada, of Martinique, Chandernagore and Pondicherry, made both Spain and France anxious for peace, so that a provisional treaty was signed between the two countries just named, and England, on the 3rd November 1762, at Fontainebleau, where the ambassadors extraordinary held a conference for that purpose. After further negotiations the definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 10th February 1763 between the three courts, and published also at Lisbon on the 25th of the next month. By it Portugal recovered the places occupied and the prisoners taken during the war, which, however, proved dear to France, as she lost many of her possessions, and was compelled to accept the maritime as well as commercial superiority of England—a supremacy which the war made only stronger than it was before. After the war, the Prince of Mecklenburg, accompanied by several officers, returned to England, and the Count de la Lippe alone remained in Portugal, where he succeeded in organising an army of 40,000 men and introducing numerous reforms for the defence of the country. He returned to Germany in 1764, after having gained the esteem of the Portuguese by his noble character, calm bravery and military experience; the only man said not to have been displeased by his departure was Carvalho, who was zealous of any other renown besides his own, and perhaps, also, apprehended that his absolute power might be endangered by Count de la Lippe with the army on his side.

The period of Carvalho's administration, most useful to the Portuguese nation, although not abounding with very remarkable events, was perhaps the decade from 1763 to 1773. He encouraged industry and commerce in every way, but unfortunately laboured under the mistaken idea, that the protection of home manufactures could be best promoted by making the country independent of English importations, so as to avoid the export of gold.

Regulations of commerce and navigation. Carvalho has a stroke of apoplexy. Disaffection of grain-dealers. Abolition of the law of usage and the difference between old and new Christians. Carvalho's children marry nobles. Romantic story of D. Isabel.

The grant of monopolies to home establishments and the prohibition of the import articles in which they dealt, did not produce the desired effect, but the abolition of the *regulation fleets*, in consequence of which ships were no longer compelled to wait till 80 or 100 of them had assembled for sailing to Madeira, to the Azores, or to America, and each might sail alone, wherever and whenever commercial interests demanded, gave a great impulse to the liberty of trade and navigation.

The incessant labours of Carvalho had the effect of bringing

on an attack of apoplexy in 1765 which endangered his life, but his robust constitution triumphed. He had the satisfaction of witnessing the great sympathy king D. José manifested towards him, as well as the touching interest expressed by the diplomatic corps, the ministers of foreign affairs, and the various courts of Europe for him during his illness. He incurred, however, the displeasure of some grain-dealers, and more especially the English, by reviving the prohibition against selling corn anywhere except in the proper market (*Terreiro do trigo*). The merchants, as well as the purchasers, who wished to deal promptly, were greatly hampered by their transactions being confined to a fixed spot, and delayed by the necessity and expense of storing their goods. The English ambassador reminded Carvalho of the services rendered by his nation to Portugal during the late war, which he had not expected to fall into oblivion so soon; but the reply he received was, that international affairs did not affect regulations of internal economy, and that the measure in question was intended to relieve the necessities of the people. This prohibition bore no good fruit, and another was equally ineffectual, so that both fell into abeyance. All the retail shops in Lisbon, were owned by Englishmen, the Portuguese sellers being in their employ only, and Carvalho sought to convert the latter into merchants by one stroke of his pen. He ordered that no one should open a retail shop without being owner of one half the capital, but this prohibition was eluded by mutual connivance.

The two prohibitions just alluded to would in our times be considered absurd, as well as certain regulations laid down for making wills or bequeathing property and the rules concerning the laws of primogeniture. Some of Carvalho's ordinances meet, however, with the full approbation of our enlightened age. One of these was the abolition of the *law of usage* by which sons succeeded to the posts occupied by their fathers in public employ, which, as far as we are aware, no longer flourishes anywhere except in some native States in India. The other was the abolition of the distinction established between old and new Christians,* Indians and Europeans. These two laws are the best homage Carvalho ever paid to the principles of true equality, according to which all citizens are subject to the same laws, punished with the same chastisements, and rewarded with the same honours.

A minister of paramount influence is always careful to fill all offices with men attached to his own interests. Thus Carvalho was actually master of the Holy Inquisition (which, instead of

**Cristam novo*, see *Calcutta Review*, No. CXLIV, p. 314-315.

opposing, seconded his views in the great undertaking of the extinction of the order of Jesuits), by keeping his own brother Paul at its head, as Inquisitor General, and getting, after his demise, the archbishop of Evora who was much devoted to him, appointed to that post. He had the gratification of seeing his eldest son, Count of Oyeiras, president of the Senate of Lisbon. The post of minister of marine having fallen vacant, the king bestowed it upon Martinho de Mello, the Portuguese ambassador in London, and Carvalho (who would have preferred a more docile colleague) being displeased, the king made amends for his mistake and gave him the title of Marquis of Pombal, in addition to that of Count of Oyeiras, which he had enjoyed since 1770.

The fear of incurring the displeasure of so powerful a minister induced the highest nobility of Portugal to court matrimonial alliances with the family of Carvalho at which their ancestral pride must have revolted. Thus his eldest son, the Count of Oyeiras, married D. Maria Antonia de Menezes, daughter of D. José de Menezes; his daughter, D. Theresa, became, through her husband, the cavalier Vampaio, allied to all the high families of the kingdom; his daughter, D. Maria Francisca, became the wife of D. Christovão de Vilhena, and his daughter, D. Maria Amalia, of João de Saldanha. There was only one recalcitrant in this series of marriages, namely, a young lady 15 years old, D. Isabel by name, and heiress of the houses Souza Continho and the Counts of Alva. Having been compelled to become the wife of the youngest son of Carvalho, she declared to him, immediately after the ceremony had been performed in the church, that, as she had already bestowed her heart on another man, she would never grant him the rights of a husband. She nevertheless resided two years under the roof of young Carvalho and his father, persistently refusing to grant conjugal rights to the former, and was thereon imprisoned in a convent.

There is a tradition that D. Alexander de Sousa, the bridegroom of her choice, often presented himself at the door of the convent, in the guise of a mendicant, stretching forth his arms, as if to implore charity, but in reality, to exchange glances of love and hope with his mistress. When Carvalho perceived that the feelings of D. Isabel were unchangeable, he sued for a legal divorce in favour of his son, whose hand he then bestowed upon D. Maria, a lady of the proscribed and condemned family of Tavora; a spouse, whose father, the unfortunate Nuno de Tavora, was still groaning in irons. Thus, in order to ennoble his house, the proud minister coveted the alliance even of his own victims. After this event, D. Isabel left the convent of Evora, and was married to

him who had already so long possessed her heart, and was so worthy of it.

Let us now turn away from the injury inflicted upon a weak and innocent girl, and consider the reforms undertaken, and brought to a successful termination by Carvalho, in the department of public instruction. Education had everywhere been in the hands of priests and under the supervision of bishops; in the colleges where classical and theological studies were pursued, priests and Jesuits, who enjoyed the patronage of Government, as well as the direction of studies, had succeeded in proscribing all books considered unfavourable to their views, or tending to a freer development of the intellect than was agreeable to them. These corporations, being strangers to the requirements of society, and of secular life in general, had reduced even the University of Coimbra,

Reforms in education. Establishment of a royal printing office, and reconstitution of the University of Coimbra. Reforms in the administration of Portuguese India; and of finances in Portugal. A statue of the King erected. Attempt on the life of Carvalho by J. Pele. War between Spain and Portugal. Death of the King. Impending fall of Carvalho.

which ought to have been a shining light, to a state of languid torpor and inefficiency.

Carvalho, who had, as already noticed, founded a school of commerce and a college for nobles, now established more primary and secondary schools. The creation of the royal printing office at Lisbon, in 1768, is also due to his energy. Moreover the enlightened spirit of the board of censors allowed the publication of many books; to which the Holy Inquisition had refused its *imprimatur*. But in order to show the necessity of the reforms which he proposed to introduce in the University of Coimbra, Carvalho took the preliminary step of getting a book published with the following title:—"Abridged history of the University of Coimbra since the time when the so-called Jesuits have introduced themselves, wherein may be seen how noxious the intrigues and innovations of these ecclesiastics have been to the fine arts which formerly prospered in this university." The hatred of Carvalho towards the Jesuits being so great, that he would have perhaps been capable of attributing even the earthquake of 1755 to them, it may easily be imagined that they were not handled with much gentleness in this book, but it will generally be admitted that, if the university of Coimbra no longer produced celebrated scholars, as of yore, the fact was less due to the influence of the Jesuits than to the luxury and lethargy produced in the nation by the riches of India.

The statutes for the reformation of the University having been approved of by the king, Carvalho departed, on the 15th September, to Coimbra, where he published them in the midst of great

festivities. Thus his promotion of education augmented his renown at home and abroad. But, as they augmented the expenses of the treasury as well, a new impost was laid upon the fabrication of wine, brandy and vinegar, and in the colonies, upon the consumption of meat, named *Subsidio Literario*.

We have now reached the shortest, but not the least eventful, period of Carvalho's administration, from 1773 till the death of the king D. José, which took place on the 20th February 1777. The prodigious activity of Carvalho was not checked by distance. By the enactment prefixed to the law of the 15th March 1774, he abolished the tribunal called *Relação de Goa*, and rehearsed all the abuses that had crept into the administration of Portuguese India, reproving also the ostentation that surrounded the Viceroy of India, endurable in the capital of a great empire, but ridiculous in the state of decadence into which Goa had fallen. The instructions sent to India, which had long remained buried in the secretariat of the Government of Goa, but were at last published by C. Lagrange with valuable notes, add much to the renown of Carvalho. He enjoyed the favour of the king; whose health was however declining; and the princess D. Maria, who was to succeed him, being superstitious and devout, Carvalho who had expelled the Jesuits and reduced the influence of the Court of Rome, could not expect much regard from her. Accordingly, whilst continuing his reforms and gaining approbation, he endeavoured to strengthen his position by inducing the king to appoint Cardinal da Cunha, minister and secretary of State, and José de Seabra, assistant minister of the interior, trusting that the gratitude and friendship of these two men would enable him to struggle successfully against his foes; but he shortly afterwards removed the second from his post, and, being, after his own fall, questioned on the subject, Carvalho replied as follows:—

"I loved Seabra as if he had been my son; I had raised him to the highest offices; I had formed him for public life, and destined him to become my successor. God has, however, so willed it that I was disappointed in my hope and smitten in my friendship. Cardinal da Cunha, being as ambitious as he was intriguing, imagined that my disease was incurable, and thought he would become my successor. Firm in his purpose, he began to slander José de Seabra, by imputing to him false as well as ridiculous things, and thus succeeded after some time in making him lose the esteem and good opinion of the king. Seabra was the only man able to thwart the ambitious views of the Cardinal. It may be conceived what my surprise must have been, when, after my return to Lisbon, the king became so irritated

"against Seabra, that he ordered me to deprive him of all his employments and to send him into exile. I obeyed with regret."

Amidst many events which could not fail to trouble the equanimity of his mind, Carvalho never ceased to think of the law-reforms urgently required for the public good. Thus, by the edict of the 2nd of June, 1774, he abolished various special treasuries by incorporating them into that of the State, and reformed the finances of the military orders. By the law of the 20th June of the same year, he regulated the relations between creditors and debtors, prohibiting executions against the latter if they were really insolvent. By this law many unfortunate men detained in prison for insolvency, or their inability to pay certain fines imposed upon them, were restored to liberty. The power enjoyed by fathers with reference to the marriage of their sons was absolute, or rather despotic. By the law of the 25th November 1775, an appeal to a court was allowed in cases in which parents refused, without any valid reasons to give their consent to the marriage of their children.

Sincerely affected, or pretending to be, towards the king, Carvalho erected a metal-statue of his majesty in the commercial Square of Lisbon, and, among the emblems adorning its pedestal, got also a splendid medallion inserted representing himself. This was taken out when he fell into disgrace during the reign of D. Maria, but restored to its place, where it still remains, during the liberal and enlightened reign of king Pedro IV. The rejoicings after the inauguration of the statue of the king had scarcely terminated, when a foreigner, John Baptista Pele by name, was accused, and four months afterwards convicted, of having prepared an infernal machine for the destruction of Carvalho. The sentence pronounced by the tribunal, that his hands and feet be cut off, and his body quartered, was carried out in all its horror, except that, after the living body had been subjected to amputation, and the legs as well as the stumps of the arms were tied to the tails of four horses to carry out the last portion of the sentence, the animals obstinately refused to move in spite of the spurring of their riders, whereon the hangman suffocated the criminal with a handkerchief and put an end to his misery.

Hostilities between the Spaniards and the Portuguese had not ceased in South America in spite of the treaty of peace concluded in 1763, because the restitution stipulated therein of the possessions conquered by the former from the latter was obstinately refused by the governor of Buenos Ayres. At the suggestion of Carvalho, a congress in which France and England were to

participate was held at Paris, because no reconciliation had taken place between Spain and Portugal up to the year 1776; but, all efforts to arrive at a compromise proving vain, hostilities were about to break out again, and Carvalho prepared to attack Spain, in spite of the advice of England, which was then at war with its American colonies, and had proposed the restitution of the ports demanded by Spain. The preparations for war were, however, put a stop to by the illness of the king of Portugal, which attacked him again on the 4th February 1777, when, perceiving that his end was approaching, he got his grandson, the Prince of Beira, married to his daughter, D. Maria Benedicta, after obtaining the necessary dispensation from Rome.

The king retained his faculties till the morning of the 20th February; but Carvalho, who had daily come to make enquiries during his sickness, was no longer admitted to his bedside. The king expired on the day just named, and Carvalho had come to the palace as usual, but Cardinal da Cunha, advancing towards him to impart the fatal news, added, with ill-concealed pleasure, the words:—"You have nothing more to do here, your functions are at an end," to which Carvalho replied only with a crushing glance of scorn. The ominous words were however not lost upon him; he foresaw the effects of the vengeance of his foes, and of the ingratitude of his friends; he knew that, instead of the pomp and circumstance of power, he would henceforth be surrounded by the death-like stillness of solitude and condemned to inactivity; a great calamity to a mind accustomed to rule and to make a stir in the world.

As soon as the funeral ceremonies of the deceased monarch had terminated, D. Maria I. began to reign, and the gentleness of her character, not less than political reasons, prevented her from giving too much encouragement to the reaction which ensued on the part of the nobility, who had been deprived of many of their privileges, whilst the power of Carvalho was supreme and approved of by the late king who had been led to consider it as his own. Her first act was one of clemency, and consisted in the liberation of hundreds of State prisoners, who had been kept in confinement during many years. Their appearance in the streets of Lisbon, altered and almost unrecognisable as they had become, produced a deep and melancholy effect. Some of them were individuals remarkable by the services they had rendered to the country, and by the high offices they had occupied. Such men were the bishop of Coimbra, who had been shut up in a dungeon, without light, or space

Accession of D. Maria to the throne. Liberation of prisoners. Dismissal of Carvalho from the post of minister. Return of the Jesuits. Revision of the Tavora case. Suppression of the Grand Pará company.

to move, for ten years; S. Lourenzo, son of the duke of Aveiro, an unhappy youth who had become prematurely old from confinement; Diogo Camara, with several fidalgos, some priests and the two Jesuits, Timotheo d' Oliviera and José Perdigão, who had been imprisoned since the attempt on the king's life on the 3rd September. Stringent orders were likewise sent to Africa for the liberation of several Portuguese suffering imprisonment there.

Carvalho still occupied the post of Minister of the Interior, although he was no longer consulted in public affairs. His reforms, and the eighty millions of cruzados which he succeeded in accumulating in the treasury, proved the excellence, as well as the honesty, of his administration, which was now being gradually destroyed by revoking some of his most important measures; and, being no longer able to bear the humiliation, he solicited his dismissal, which was refused several times, but at last granted and published in the form here appended, by the express order of the queen, in spite of the objections of the minister who countersigned it, and found fault with the honourable manner in which Carvalho was dealt with therein:

"In consideration of the high and singular esteem in which the king my father (may God receive him in His glory!) had held the person of the Marquis of Pombal, and upon the representation of the said minister, who has asked permission from me to be relieved of all the functions he is entrusted with, alleging that his age and infirmities no longer allow him to employ himself in my royal service, having regard for his prayer, I have willingly granted him the said permission, allowing him for life the salary he had enjoyed in the quality of Secretary of State in the affairs of the realm, and adding thereto by special favour the commandery of Saint-Jacques of Lanhoso, situated in the diocese of Braga, and that of the order of Christ, which happens to be vacant by the death of Francisco de Mello e Castro."

"Given in the palace of our Lady of Ajuda, on the 14th March 1777."

The post of Minister of the Interior, left vacant by Carvalho, was bestowed upon the Count of Villa Nova. The general superintendence of finances was given to the Marquis of Angeja. Martinho de Mello e Castro and Ayres de Sá were confirmed, the first in the post of minister of marine, and the second in that of foreign affairs. None of these ministers possessed the vast intellect of Carvalho. They were all mediocrities, devoted to reaction, capable of destroying, but incapable of organising. After the administration had been thus changed and Carvalho lived in retirement, the Spanish Government obtained concessions from the queen of Portugal in the treaties of peace

concluded in 1777 and 1778, which he would never agree to whilst he was in power. Her Majesty was, however, anxious to see the war terminated; and Count Florida, skilfully profiting by circumstances, procured very favourable conditions for his country. By the first of these treaties, Spain obtained the cession of the Colony of Sacramento and the islands Fernando and Anno-Bom, and retained the possession of Ybicui, whilst Portugal got back only the village of Rio Grande and the island of St. Catherine.

After Carvalho had lost all influence, some of the prisoners already liberated took the opportunity of clearing their character of the accusations for which they had suffered imprisonment. The foremost of these were the Marquis of Alorna and the three brothers of the Marquis of Tavora, to whom the queen granted the favour of appointing a tribunal composed of judges of her own choice to decide the question of their guilt or innocence. The result of this proceeding proved entirely favourable to these gentlemen. The queen published two decrees declaring their innocence, and restoring to them the honours which they had been deprived of for eighteen years. The revision of cases having thus begun, the queen could not well put a stop to it, and many persons were reinstated in their positions, the most exalted of these being the two infantas, who were recalled from their exile and restored to the posts of which they had been deprived. But no reparation was so striking as that granted to the bishop of Coimbra, who was made to enter his diocese with a triumphant procession passing under arches adorned with inscriptions.

The party of reaction expected that the Jesuits in general would not be treated less favourably than the other released prisoners, and those two of the Society who had been incarcerated in the fort of Junqueira, and had not only recovered their liberty, but obtained also a pension. This was, however, a mistake, and her majesty contented herself with sending 400,000 cruzados to subsidise the Jesuits who had taken refuge in Rome. They were, however, not content with what they had received, and sent some of their number back to Lisbon; and nothing grieved Carvalho more than the return of these priests, whom he had taken so much trouble to get expelled from the country. Had the Jesuits regained full power during the first years of D. Maria's reign, the reaction would have been more violent. They were first confined to the royal monastery of Benedictines at Belem, but soon became bold enough to make their appearance in the streets of Lisbon, dressed in the costume of their order, and

nothing remained but to repeal the laws framed against them, which they at once most actively set about to effect. Count Florida Blanca, minister of Spain, however, more fortunate than Carvalho, was still there to maintain the work of extinction of the order of Jesuits in which he had co-operated, and accordingly sent to the Marquis of Almodaver, the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon, a note wherein the bad impression produced at the court of Spain by the Queen's patronage of the Jesuits, as well as the disastrous consequences it might entail, was explained with as much lucidity as politeness.

The Duke of Alorna, desiring to rescue the memory of his illustrious ancestors from opprobrium, presented a petition to the Queen, demanding a revision of the law-suit of the Tavora family, which having been granted, she promulgated on the 10th of October 1780 a decree, ordering the case of the Duke of Aveiro and of his accomplices to be again revised by judges specially selected from various tribunals of the country. Eighteen members composed this tribunal, but several months elapsed before it could be assembled to hold its first sitting. The Queen, at last, annoyed at the delay, and impatient of the result, ordered the case to be terminated forthwith. Accordingly the obedient and submissive judges examined it and at once arrived at the decision, that the Duke of Aveiro alone, with his servants, must be held guilty of regicide, and that all the other supposed accomplices were innocent. Only three judges out of the eighteen dissented from this verdict, and the Marquis of Alorna already rejoiced to see the stigma resting on his name blotted out; but when he least expected a contrary turn of affairs, the solicitor of the crown protested against the judgment of the tribunal, and it was annulled. The Jesuits, being as much interested in the publication of a favourable judgment as the Marquis of Alorna, were even more disappointed than he. In their despair, they published strange anecdotes, to explain the opposition of the solicitor of the crown, thinking that the more credit would be given to their assertions as the motives that had induced him to lodge his protest were said to have been futile. Such, however, was not the case, and the motives of the solicitor of the crown, which induced him to oppose the decision, were not based upon futile formalities of the law, but upon solid reasons well known at the time to every one.

Carvalho had ordered the Viceroy of Goa to send to Lisbon all the silverwork and precious stones that had belonged to St. Francis Xavier, but D. Maria sent them back without even wishing to see them. This order of Carvalho is considered by many an impious sacrilege, whilst others are of opinion that

if the articles were really intended for the public treasury and the relief of the necessities of the State, it would have been better to have employed them for this purpose than as a vain show upon the tomb of the Saint. We are even told that he had expunged from the Portuguese calendar the names of the Pope Gregory VII, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Saint Francis Xavier, and Saint Francis of Borja; the first for his ultramontane ideas and the three saints for having been Jesuits; a petty vengeance for a great statesman, and not at all likely to have been indulged in by him.

By an edict of the 4th August 1766, Carvalho had prohibited the exportation of wines from certain provinces, in favour of the Douro company, which alone enjoyed the monopoly. This was now abolished and liberty of commerce restored. The ministers of the Queen also changed some of Carvalho's laws of inheritance; but one of the measures most satisfactory to the public was the abolition of the famous company of the Grand Pará and Maranhão, although that of the Douro was allowed to continue.

Among the many pamphlets written against Carvalho after his fall, one became celebrated by the reputation it obtained, and by the events which it occasioned. One Caldeiro had

Attacks on Carvalho:
Royal Commission to examine him. His death.
The centenary of it celebrated in Portugal in May 1882, called the "Pombal centenary."

been exiled by Carvalho, and desired, after his return to Portugal, to obtain the restitution of his property; but his legal adviser, in lieu of confining himself to this point, wrote a brochure, in which the public and private life of Carvalho were

equally attacked. The reply to this production consisted of a long apology for the minister's services, and terminated with an attack upon Caldeiro, describing him as a monster defiled by every crime. This rejoinder, as well as the pamphlet of Caldeiro which had provoked it, so incensed the Queen, that she prohibited her subjects from keeping or reading either of these productions, and imprisoned the advocates who had composed them. The language of the decrees published to this effect is excessively severe, as will appear from the following extract relating to Carvalho:—"Considering that the Marquis of Pombal, instead of confining himself to the subject of his writing, has endeavoured to make public certain secret negotiations effected during his ministry, but without our permission; that, in order to support his apology by entirely false facts, he has had the temerity to call in question the certainty of the innocence of several persons of great qualities and virtues and of various conditions, persons whose honour we order to

be, and to remain, restored ; lastly, that he has put forth untenable propositions, reprehensible, and even injurious to the glorious memory of the king our master and father, at the same time also other acts and absurdities worthy of the most severe punishment."

But the severity of the Queen in sending two judges to Carvalho, who was then more than eighty years old and in feeble health, for the purpose of subjecting him during several months to a vexatious examination, must be considered cruel, and the more so as scarcely anything of importance could be elicited from him, which was not already known. When the two judges arrived on the 9th October 1779, in the village of Pombal, they immediately went to the house of Carvalho, and, after seizing all the papers he had in a cupboard, read out to him the decree of the 3rd September and the order the Queen had sent him to reply to the interrogatory to which he was about to be subjected. Carvalho listened respectfully to this lecture without showing any sign of uneasiness or surprise ; retaining, in his misfortune, and in spite of his infirmities, yet some remnant of the courage which had animated him during the time of his greatness.

This examination, the documents of which are preserved in the ministry of justice at Lisbon, began on the 9th October 1779, and lasted till the 15th January 1780 ; but the confidential interrogatory which was held after the official examination, is not dated. The fatigue and sufferings of Carvalho had so overcome him, that it became several times necessary to interrupt the interrogatory. His strength being well nigh exhausted, he rose during the last sitting, leant against the table and said in a trembling voice :—" I humbly beg pardon of her Majesty the Queen, for all the mistakes I may have committed ; I hope for mercy from that clemency with which her Majesty is endowed." After having uttered these words, he fell back into his chair, pale and exhausted. The judges were not prepared for such a termination ; such, however, is the instability of human affairs, that the once great and proud minister appeared humbled to the dust.

The replies of Carvalho were delivered to the Government. His enemies rejoiced and demanded a severe punishment. After much vacillation the Queen published the following decree :—" After having come to the conclusion, from just motives which have been set forth to us, that it would not be convenient to our royal service, for the Marquis of Pombal to retain any longer the employment of Secretary of State of the Affairs of the Realm, and having thereon commanded him only to leave our court and to retire to his estate of Pombal ; after such a trait of clemency we could never have imagined that under the frivolous pretext

"of a reply to a civil suit brought against him, he would have
 "the audacity to present the public with a bold apology for his min-
 "istry, which we had condemned by an edict of the 3rd September
 "1779. Having since that time caused him to be heard and
 "interrogated on various points of accusation instituted against
 "him, all his replies and the various informations to which they
 "gave rise, have, instead of justifying him, made him appear only
 "more guilty, and have put his crimes in a clearer light. Conse-
 "quently we have ordered an assembly of judges worthy of our
 "confidence, to examine this affair with the attention it deserves;
 "and they have, after mature deliberation, unanimously judged the
 "Marquis of Pombal to be guilty and deserving of an exemplary
 "punishment. Having, however, regard for the advanced age of
 "the criminal, and for his grave infirmities, we have not thought
 "proper to cause him to undergo the punishment he merits.
 "Taking into consideration our clemency, more, than our justice,
 "we have yielded to the prayers of the Marquis, who craved
 "our pardon, detesting his boldness, his excesses and his outrages.
 "We have done him the grace to exempt him from all afflictive
 "punishments and only command him to keep away from this
 "court at a distance of at least eight leagues, until further orders
 "on our part, without prejudice, however, to the rights and just
 "pretensions of our treasury and of our crown, which will subsist
 "in their entirety. All our subjects who may consider themselves
 "injured by the said Marquis, shall be allowed to insist not
 "only upon their rights, as to the restitution of any property which
 "they may have been deprived of, but also upon a plenary and
 "entire indemnification for all the troubles which they may have
 "suffered; our royal intention being only to exempt him from
 "the effective punishments exacted by justice and by the laws,
 "but not to injure in any way the interest of the offended parties
 "nor of our royal patrimony; so that all parties in general and
 "our Royal Solicitors will have full liberty to employ competent
 "means against the House of the said Marquis either during his
 "life-time, or after his death."

"The present decree will be registered by our Council, which
 "will take care to get it executed, and copies sent to all the tribu-
 "nals, and to the other places where our decree of the 3rd Sep-
 "tember 1779 has been published, and to make it known to all
 "the Royal solicitors."

"Done in our palace of Quelus on the sixteenth August 1781."

"I, THE QUEEN."

In consequence of the interrogatory, the life of Carvalho was for a long time in the greatest danger, but towards the end of February 1781, his health improved perceptibly owing to a new course of treatment. But the terrible blow of the decree of the 16th August was felt by him the more heavily, on account of the doubts raised therein against his probity, which he had believed to be beyond all suspicion and against which the interrogatory could prove nothing. His soul revolted against this decree, which was a mockery, affording him the grace of a few days in order to have afterwards the right of declaring him a State criminal. Having, however, recovered a little from this shock, he mustered his remaining courage, and, making a last effort to clear his character, wrote the memoir, *Petição do recurso feito á Serenissima Rainha D. Maria*, in which he explained in a detailed and lucid manner how he had acquired all his property. This piece of justification, interesting as it was, did not have the desired success, because the writer of it having already been condemned, nobody cared to hear his defence.

Carvalho survived this new disappointment yet ten months more, and they were months of uninterrupted suffering. He died at last, on the 8th May 1782, in his retreat at Pombal. In his last hour he was not abandoned by his friends, and D. Francisco de Lemos, Bishop of Coimbra, solaced him to the end. As soon as Carvalho had expired, his mortal remains were conveyed to the church of St. Anthony, and placed in a sarcophagus covered with black velvet. The funeral ceremonies were performed by the bishop just named with the co-operation of the clergy of his whole diocese; and Fr. Joaquim de Santa Catharina pronounced an oration, the contents and style of which were both worthy of the great man who was the subject of it. The following epitaph is also due to the pen of D. Francisco de Lemos:—

O Tempora. O Mores.
Vir Incomparabilis Marchio
Pombalensis Qui Academiam
Coimbricensem Decem Abhinc Annis
A stercore Erexit, Mortuus Est.
Ipsu Vero Academia Neque Requiem Dixit
Filia Iniquissima
Oh ! Jacobeorum !
Pravissimae Religionis Pedissequa.
Carus Josepho Primo Hic Iacet
Ille Minister
Toto Qui Cunctis Notus In Orbe Fuit
Mortuus Ecce Silet, Sua Vera Fata Loquuntur.
Ipsu Majorem Tempora Nulla Dubunt.

The bishop was right, and, although a century has now elapsed, Portugal has not yet produced another man who might be compared to the minister of D. José. After the death of Carvalho everybody forgot him; his friends, who were enjoying the riches with which he had overwhelmed them, no longer spoke of him, and his family resided in Lisbon, so that the exile to which he had been subjected in life, appeared to oppress him even in death. The repose of this great man was troubled once; only, however, to rob him! When the French General Massena had entered the hamlet of Pombal, some wretches went to the church of St. Anthony to deprive the skeleton of Carvalho of its garments, its sword, its spurs, and scattered its bones about the floor of the church. This profanation was not known until accidentally discovered some time afterwards by a relative of Carvalho who had paid a visit to the church, and, immediately collecting the bones, had them placed in a coffin, even more modest than the first.

The honour of bringing back the bones of Carvalho to the capital in which he had been born, and which he had rebuilt, is due to his grandson D. Sebastião, Marquis of Pombal, who, after exhibiting them in the cathedral, had them deposited in the church of Our Lady of Mercy in Lisbon, where the municipality had given them a honourable reception, and the Canon Martens Ferrão delivered a remarkable speech, passing over the faults and dwelling chiefly upon the virtues of the famous minister of D. José.

But the greatest honours were paid to the memory of Carvalho by the public demonstrations which took place on the 7th, 8th and 9th of May 1882 to celebrate the Pombal centenary. These displays took place simultaneously not only in the Capital of Portugal, but also at Coimbra, Oporto, Santarém, Thomar and other towns. In Lisbon the festivities began on the 6th with the opening of the exhibition of drawings, paintings and sculptures, held in the polytechnical school and executed by students only. On the 7th an academical congress was inaugurated at which the representatives of all the secondary and collegiate schools were present. On the 8th the foundation stone of a statue, to be erected by national subscription to *Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello*, the great minister of the king D. José, was laid in the presence of the reigning sovereign, the queen, the ministers, the diplomatic corps and a crowd amounting to a thousand spectators, but about 30,000 partook in the civic procession, consisting of the working population, educational institutions of both sexes, corporations, municipal officers, &c. Triumphal arches adorned the streets and illuminations transformed night into day.

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that although the Portuguese

are not directly indebted to the administration of Carvalho, for the liberal and democratic institutions they at present enjoy, he nevertheless worked for these, whilst endeavouring to break down the power of the nobility in order to enhance that of the king, who was to rule by the support of the people only. The merits of this great minister consisted in the abolition of the time-honoured, but absurd, privileges of the aristocracy, which only a man of his audacity and perseverance could have effected in times when the principles of equality were yet unknown to the Portuguese, and the citizens were separated from each other by the barriers of class distinctions which he alone was able to remove. He prepared all the conditions which lead to enlightenment, by extirpating fanaticism, emancipating the nation from the galling yoke of priest-craft, and granting it the boon of public instruction by multiplying schools, and reforming the university of Coimbra. He established a powerful, honest, and simple financial administration; every branch of the Government felt his powerful hand; he rebuilt Lisbon, and desired to make the country, which he loved, great. He was a good administrator, but not a great legislator or political economist in the present acceptation of the terms. The severe means which he sometimes employed to accomplish his designs, were, however, totally unscrupulous, and savoured of barbarism.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. V.—THE ARISTOCRACY OF BEHAR.

ONE of the significant features of the economic condition of Behar is the distribution of a great portion of the lands of the province amongst a few Rajes—Rajes which trace their origin from the most ancient times. The territorial extent of these Rajes is about a clear third of the area of the whole province, and the number of people dwelling in this area is about that proportion of the whole population of Behar. Compared with native States governed by tributary princes, the Behar Rajes occupy a place but little inferior, as regards either the extent of their territory, the number of their ryots, or the amount of their income. As regards income, the Maharajah of Darbhanga would rank below only a dozen, and above all the rest, of the three or four hundred tributary Native princes of India. In the whirligig of time, revolutions have succeeded revolutions, dynasties have followed dynasties; the Hindus have given away to the Afghans; the Afghans have had in their turn to give way to the Moghuls; the Moghuls to the English; but, as far as authentic records show, some of these ancient Rajes stand unshaken amidst the ruins of time. They are now all revenue-paying estates under the Permanent Settlement, like the other zemindaries of Bengal and Behar, but though, under our present dead level system, the rights and privileges of their present owners are no greater than those of ordinary zemindars, the remoteness of their origin, the vastness of their territory, and their princely incomes, secure for them a position of influence and prestige which is undoubtedly much higher than that of an ordinary zemindar. Whether for good or for evil, the influence of these Rajahs must always be great; the people who have been ever accustomed to look up to them as lords-paramount of the soil, cannot now, in these days of levelling, forget the respect due to their persons; the mutual good offices of centuries closely bind together landlord and tenant, and if to this we add, as in the case of the Dumraon Raj, the feeling of clanship which exists between the Raja and the majority of his tenants, we can easily guess how it is that these Rajas are still able to maintain, in the eyes of the people, a considerable amount of their ancient prestige.

Some account of these Rajes may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, and we turn, without further preface, to give a short sketch of one of them in the present issue.

THE HUTWA RAJ.

The Rajas of Hutwa, are of the same caste as the Rajas of Benares, *i. e.*, Goutami Brahmins, or, as they are popularly called, Babbhuns, or Bhuinhar Babbhuns. The Babbhuns are very numerous in Behar. They are not found in any number west of Benares, and the few of them who may be met with in the other districts of the North-West Provinces, Oude and the Punjab, can be distinctly traced as migrations from Behar. Their origin is much disputed. They themselves claim to be *Sarwaria* Brahmins; Buchanan Hamilton makes them Sakahdwipas; elsewhere, as in Palamu, they claim to be Rajputs. Mr. Magrath thinks that they were a low Aryan race who were brought into close contact with the Rajputs, probably in some of their struggles for supremacy, and, not being allowed to intermarry or form one people with them, have acquired a pseudo-respectability by pretending that they are Brahmins. The Collector of Sarun says that the most probable account of their origin is, that they were the children of Brahmin girls and Rajput fathers (*vide* Statistical Reporter, Vol. XI., pp. 43 & 247). The last two theories will not stand criticism. The offspring of a Brahmin girl and Rajput father would be of very inferior caste; and, if the Babbhuns were of low Aryan origin, as Mr. Magrath thought they were, they could, by no possibility, have attained to that high position amongst the Hindus which they now undoubtedly occupy. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, in his notice of the Bishen Talukdars of Oude, in a recent issue of this *Review*, says that the Hutwa Rajas are descended from the same common progenitor with these Talukdars, *i. e.*, from the same common Brahmin father; but a mother of the Vaishya caste. The evidence for this position is not given. If the learned doctor means to say that all the Babbhuns of Behar are thus descended, it would place the origin of the caste almost within historical times. This would be nearly unique in the legends of the formation of the present Hindu castes, and though the caste of Babbhuns is not considered very ancient, it has yet around it a halo of antiquity which would be utterly wanting if the caste had originated within comparatively recent and historical times. If the learned doctor means to say that the Hutwa family alone is thus descended, it would be very surprising indeed that the other and the best amongst the caste of Babbhuns should regard it as one of them and their equal. The account adopted by the Babbhuns themselves, is that certain Brahmins deserted their legitimate duties of prayer, praise and alms-taking, for husbandry, and became the ancestors of the Babbhuns, or zemindary Brahmins.

The following is the legendary account of their origin, as currently given by others than Babbhuns. On one occasion,

Jarasindhu, the famous king of Magadha, wishing to feed four lakhs of Brahmins, found, after he had collected all, that they were quite unable to consume the food he had cooked. He therefore sent out and gathered together persons of all castes, and decorated them with the sacred thread. These he compelled to eat his supper as Brahmins, and the Babbun caste is said to be descended from these manufactured Brahmins. The legend, the authenticity of which is stoutly denied by the Babbhuns, varies in different parts of Behar, though the different stories agree in the main. The other account is, that, on one occasion, Jarasindhu, wishing to perform some religious ceremony, ordered his Dewan to collect a lakh of Brahmins. This task the Dewan was unable to accomplish; so he introduced a number of persons of other castes, who were invested with the sacred thread and placed before the king as genuine Brahmins. From these spurious Brahmins the Babbhuns are said to have descended.

Now we have the following facts:—*1st.* That the Babbhuns are only to be found in any numbers in the Maghadhadesha, the country of Buddhism, and every thing points to this being the place of their origin; *2nd.* That the word Babbhun is the Prakrit corruption of the word Brahmin, and is oftentimes used in a contemptuous sense to signify degraded and low Brahmins, and would be applied to those who have forsaken the true faith of the Brahmins. *3rd.* That the Babbhuns call themselves Goutami Brahmins, thus clearly indicating their connexion with Budha Goutama; and they themselves admit that they had forsaken the original duties of Brahmins, and betaken themselves to husbandry. In other words, that there was a change in their faith. *4th.* That the tradition shows that all the Brahmins of Behar became degraded and came to form a separate caste; *first*, by eating the dinner of Jarasindhu, the foe of Krisna (a name which we may take, as set down in the legend, for the name of one of the earliest Budhistic kings of Maghadha), or by performing some religious ceremony for him; *secondly*, by some early attempt, on account of a change of religion, to do away with the Brahmanical system of caste. *5th.* That all the pure Brahmins now to be found in Behar, came from Gour, Mithila, Kanouj, &c., and there are no such Brahmins as Maghadha Brahmins. All these theories indicate that, after the Brahmins had succeeded in expelling Buddhism, and re-establishing themselves in Behar, they came to regard the Brahmins of Magadha, who had given in, to a certain extent, to the order of things established by Buddhism, and betaken themselves to secular pursuits, with a certain amount of contempt, and placed them in a lower order than themselves, by interdicting marriages and refusing to partake of their cooked food

Nor did these Babbuns, who appear to have been then, as they are now, the landed aristocracy of Behar, care very much for the recovery of their Brahminical dignity. Wherever there was no such ready yielding, as among the Budhistic priests of Behar of the day, a certain amount of sacerdotal influence came to be left. This was how, we believe, the Gyalis of Gya succeeded in retaining their power, until, by a process of incorporation, they were invested with a certain amount of quasi-Brahminical authority by the Brahmins themselves. It appears to us, therefore, that the Babbuns are those Brahmins (with whom there possibly was a certain admixture of Rajputs) who were either converted to the Budhistic faith, or chose to live under the Budhistic system with a changed status.

We have entered *in limine* into this long digression on the origin of the Babrun caste, as three of the principal Raj families of Behar, and also the great body of the landed aristocracy of Behar, belong to this caste, and the earlier history of some of these families, *viz.*, the genealogical portion, throws some light in illustration of the present theory of their origin.

To return to our present subject. The earlier accounts of the Hutwa Raj are very meagre. The present Raja traces his origin from a long line of ancestors whom he counts up to 101 degrees above (*vide* Hunter's Statistical Reporter, Vol. XI, 368). We have the names given in a genealogical table annexed as an exhibit in the great Hutwa case of 1861, and afterwards published in the form of a pamphlet in 1870. From this we learn that the patronymic of the earlier Rajas was "Sein," which in the 16th descent was changed to "Sinha," in the 83rd to "Mull," and in the 87th to "Sahi." Some of these must be very apocryphal personages, indeed; for, allowing even an average of 25 years for each life, the earliest Raja would be 25 centuries older than the present one, and this would carry us back some six or seven centuries before the Christian era, whereas the pamphleteer tells us that the 16th Raja received his title of "Sinha" from the Emperor of Delhi.

The earliest Muhamadan king of Delhi who had anything to do with Behar, was Kutbudin, whose General, Baktiar Khilji, seized the town of Behar in 1200 A. D. Neither Baktiar Khilji, nor his master, Kutbudin, had time or leisure to apply himself to the internal administration of the country, much less to recognise the services of, and to confer a new title on, a native chief living in an outlying district, which possibly never came under his control. Kutbudin, the slave-king, did not, again, assume the title of "Emperor." Either, therefore, the family tradition on which, doubtless, the pamphlet is based, must be given up as hopeless; or the absurdity assumed that 85 generations succeeded in the course

of four or five centuries. Possibly some Rajas might have been very short-lived; it is also possible, that the list includes the names of some collateral branches living in commensality with the reigning Raja. It would therefore be a hopeless task, from a bare list of names, to fix the dates of any of the Rajas. The *sunnuds*, &c., if forthcoming, might have been of much use in this respect; but the earlier records of this Raj, were either destroyed or taken away by the rebel Maharajah Fateh Sinha (*vide* High Court Judgment in the case of Babu Tilakdhari Sahi *vs.* Maharajah Rajendra Pratap Sahi). We do not mean to say that this genealogical list, which, we believe, went on unimpeached in the High Court, and ultimately in the Privy Council, in the case quoted above, should be regarded as fictitious. In India, every class of people, prince or peasant, can trace their pedigree to the remotest times, and the names, as they stand, are generally found to be correct. The present list would also stand the test of historical sifting, if the "Seins" and some of the "Sinhas" were placed in pre-Muhamadau times, and the family tradition of the 16th Raja receiving the title of "Sinha" from the Emperor of Delhi were given up.

We give this list below :—

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| 1. Raja Bir Sein. | 29. Raja Bhupat Sinha. |
| 2. Raja Sunsor Sein. | 30. Raja Hoesil Sinha. |
| 3. Raja Bhora Sein. | 31. Raja Nilkant Sinha. |
| 4. Raja Aud Sein. | 32. Raja Jagdis Sinha. |
| 5. Raja Rup Sein. | 33. Raja Bahadur Sinha. |
| 6. Raja Shankar Sein. | 34. Raja Karun Sinha. |
| 7. Raja Bhawan Sein. | 35. Raja Ogma Sinha. |
| 8. Raja Jugannath Sein. | 36. Raja Anchal Sinha. |
| 9. Raja Thakur Sein. | 37. Raja Sobha Sinha. |
| 10. Raja Rudar Sein. | 38. Raja Abud Sinha. |
| 11. Raja Jagrup Sein. | 39. Raja Kanak Sinha. |
| 12. Raja Man Sein. | 40. Raja Bhora Sinha. |
| 13. Raja Sujan Sein. | 41. Raja Sukram Sinha. |
| 14. Raja Lachman Sein. | 42. Raja Bakht Sinha. |
| 15. Raja Nurban Sein. | 43. Raja Deoki Sinha. |
| 16. Raja Jagat Sinha. | 44. Raja Dhaul Sinha. |
| 17. Raja Amar Sinha. | 45. Raja Ratan Sinha. |
| 18. Raja Cheyn Sinha. | 46. Raja Nihal Sinha. |
| 19. Raja Bharat Sinha. | 47. Raja Patan Sinha. |
| 20. Raja Sangram Sinha. | 48. Raja Mandil Sinha. |
| 21. Raja Anup Sinha. | 49. Raja Gulal Sinha. |
| 22. Raja Mardan Sinha. | 50. Raja Bhupal Sinha. |
| 23. Raja Cheyt Sinha. | 51. Raja Kharag Sinha. |
| 24. Raja Rudha Sinha. | 52. Raja Itcha Sinha. |
| 25. Raja Thakur Sinha. | 53. Raja Govind Sinha. |
| 26. Raja Dabru Sinha. | 54. Raja Buddat Sinha. |
| 27. Raja Bassun Sinha. | 55. Raja Bhim Sinha. |
| 28. Raja Anup Sinha. | 56. Raja Gaur Proshad Sinha. |

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| 57. Raja Sansor Sinha. | 86. Maharajah Kallan Mall. |
| 58. Raja Bailoo Sinha. | 87. Maharaj Khem Kara Sahi Bahadur. |
| 59. Raja Nil Sinha. | 88. Maharajah Bhupat Sahi Bahadur. |
| 60. Raja Sarrup Sinha. | 89. Maharajah Sangram Sahi Bahadur. |
| 61. Raja Balwant Sinha. | 90. Maharajah Rudar Sahi Bahadur. |
| 62. Raja Udhar Sinha. | 91. Maharajah Gandarp Sahi Bahadur, <i>alias</i> Hamir Sahi Bahadur. |
| 63. Raja Bemsi Sinha. | 92. Maharajah Mirpat Sahi Bahadur, <i>alias</i> Tribhuban Sahi Bahadur. |
| 64. Raja Bal Sinha. | 93. Maharajah Haldhal Sahi Bahadur. |
| 65. Raja Rawal Sinha. | 94. Maharajah Har Govind Sahi Bahadur. |
| 66. Raja Laskar Sinha. | 95. Maharajah Jubraj Sahi Bahadur. |
| 67. Raja Sattotur Sinha. | 96. Maharajah Ohet Sahi Bahadur. |
| 68. Raja Jut Sinha. | 97. Maharajah Kartal Sahi Bahadur. |
| 69. Raja Seemath Sinha. | 98. Maharajah Sirdar Sahi Bahadur. |
| 70. Raja Anchal Sinha. | 99. Maharajah Fateh Sahi Bahadur. |
| 71. Raja Kanjal Sinha. | 100. Maharajah Chatter Dhari Sahi Bahadur. |
| 72. Raja Nil Bhar Sinha. | 101. Maharajah Rajinder Protap Shai Bahadur. |
| 73. Raja Dawad Sinha. | |
| 74. Raja Pirthipal Sinha. | |
| 75. Raja Manharan Sinha. | |
| 76. Raja Bissen Sinha. | |
| 77. Raja Chandan Sinha. | |
| 78. Raja Kesuru Sinha. | |
| 79. Raja Subhas Sinha. | |
| 80. Raja Lohal Sinha. | |
| 81. Raja Ram Narain Sinha. | |
| 82. Raja Suraj Sinha. | |
| 83. Raja Jai Mall. | |
| 84. Raja Pertab Mall. | |
| 85. Raja Gulab Malli. | |

It will appear from the above, that the title of Maharaja was first conferred on Kalyan Mall, the 86th Raja, and the title of Maharaja Bahadur on Khem Kara Sahi, the 87th. Of these earlier Rajas, the only tradition now extant, is that Parganah Supah, which now forms a portion of the Raj, was acquired by Maharaja Jubraj Sahi, the great great grandfather of Maharaja Fateh Sahi, the rebel, by conquest from Rajah Kabul Muhamad of Bhaddariah, who was killed in the fight. Maharajah Fateh Sinha's date is well known. He was a rebel against the British Government in 1767. Allowing 30 years for each generation, we come to about the reign of Jehangir. At that date, however, Behar enjoyed a degree of internal tranquillity which had not fallen to its lot at any time previous since the Muhamadan conquest, and it would appear improbable that a Hindu Raja could, with impunity, have killed a Muhamadan chief in battle, and wrest from him a portion of his estates. The tradition, however, appears to be in some degree authentic, from the fact of Parganah Supah still forming a portion of the Hutwa Raj, and the lineal descendants of Raja Kabul Muhamad, who are still living in the destroyed citadel, having in their family a like tradition with respect to

the ruin of their fortune. The tradition loses its apparent absurdity, if we suppose that Jubraj Sahi flourished about the earlier part of the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and Raja Kabul Muhamad, of Bhaddariah, whom he is said to have killed in battle, and whose citadel he is said to have taken and destroyed, was an Afghan noble, who was either a partisan of the Bengal king of North Behar, or one of the rebellious Muhamadan chiefs, who had then raised their standard of rebellion in South Behar. Kabul Muhamad would thus have been punished in the interests of the Emperor of Delhi, and Maharajah Jubraj Sinha, would retain Parganah Supah, as a reward of his valour, with the Emperor's consent.

Maharaja Sirdar Sahi, the immediate predecessor of Fateh Sahi, is said to have invaded the principality of Majhauhi, and to have demolished their *garh* (fortress). This must have been during the time of the temporary Afghan misrule that ensued after the assassination of Hiabat Jang, about the close of the Viceroyalty of Ali Verdi Khan. It is said that one of the conditions on which Sirdar Sahi made peace with the Majhauhi Raja, was that the latter was not to go about with *nishans* (flags) and drums (*dankas*) ensigns of Rajaship, until he had retaken these by force from the Hosiarpur (Hutwa) Rajas; and that the Majhauhi chiefs, though they are yet popularly known as Rajas, still go about conforming to the condition of this, what they should deem, ignominious treaty.

The authentic history of Raj Hosiarpur, or Hutwa, commences with the time of Maharajah Fateh Sahi. Fateh Sahi's lot was cast in troubled times. The Muhamadan power was fast declining, and the English government was not yet firmly established in the land. Shah Alam, the last of the Moghuls, the Imperial wanderer, had, by his repeated invasions, done more to unsettle the affairs of Behar, than to gain any advantage for himself. He had been incited to these attempts, by some of the chief zemindars, amongst others Balwant Sinha of Benares, a relation and friend of Fateh Sahi's family. Mir Casim's attempt at uprooting the British power had, like other attempts of the kind, signally failed, and Colonel Clive had only thus obtained for his master the East India Company, the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The administration of affairs in Behar was vested in a joint council of Europeans and natives, and when, at the end of the year 1767, the Revenue Collector of Sircar Sarun demanded rents on behalf of the Company, Fateh Sahi not only refused to pay them, but gave fight to the Company's troops who were sent against him in consequence, and it was not without much difficulty that these troops succeeded in expelling him from Hosiarpur. The revenue of the district of

Hosiarpur was then farmed out to one Govindram; but Fateh Sahi, who had retired into the jungles bordering on the then independent dominions of the Vizier of Oude and the province of Behar, watched every opportunity of making raids into the district, to plunder the villages and stop the collections of revenue. The unsettled state of the country, his easy access to the territories of an independent prince, where British troops were unable to pursue him, and where a part of his zemindaries was situated, the impenetrable jungle which surrounded the place, Bag Jug-gini, to which he had removed his family residence, the collusion of the amils of the Vizier of Oude, who had in these parts the charge of collecting his revenue, but above all, the attachment of the subjects to their expelled Raja, and their dislike of a Government farmer, all contributed to favor his designs, and he kept the country around in a state of terror, and the British authorities constantly on the alert. In 1772, in one of these raids, Govindram, the Government farmer, was put to death, and the revenue collections came to a standstill. The Collector of Sircar Sarun, which included in it the then district of Hosiarpur, finding that the rents could not be collected so long as Fateh Sahi remained in that situation, recommended that he should be induced to come in on the promise of an allowance being made him by Government. Govindram's murder was forgiven on Fateh Sahi's solemnly denying any knowledge of the transaction, and the Collector's recommendation in his behalf acceded to. Fateh Sahi thus came to Patna, and, on an allowance being fixed for his maintenance, promised to remain quietly with his family at Hosiarpur.

The revenue district of Hosiarpur, which appears to have been conterminous with the present sub-divisions of Sewan and Gopalganj, was then under the charge of one Mir Jhum-mal, who was styled Superintendent of Government Revenue, and the Hntwa Raj estates, after being kept under seer (direct) management by Government for a year, was let out in farm, and this time, not to a stranger, but to one of the family, Basant Sahi, a cousin of Maharaja Fateh Sahi, on the security of the unfortunate Raja Cheyt Sinha of Benares, the victim of Warren Hastings. The turbulent disposition of Fateh Sahi did not long allow him to remain in this condition of quietude. Within two months he withdrew again from the country and commenced anew his career as a border freebooter. Constant complaints now began to be received at the Central Board of Patna, from the officers entrusted with the collections, of the various depredations committed by Fateh Sahi, and in the beginning of May 1775, the Provincial Council, which had now taken the place of

the Central Board, received information that Basant Sahi and Mir Jhummal had been both killed by him, in a night attack which he had made on them at a place called Jadupur, at a short distance from Hosiarpur, and 12 miles from Barrabganj. Two companies of sepoy's under Lieutenant Erskine, 16th Battalion of Bengal sepoy's, were then at a short distance, but, though they immediately set out in pursuit, Fateh Sahi conducted his movements with such celerity, that he had fled to his retreat of Bag Juggini jungle, with his booty, before any information of his movements was received. Fateh Sahi had now under him a trained body of horsemen and matchlockmen, and his followers had been swollen by the addition of fakeers and banditti. The whole country around Bag Juggini was brought under contribution by him, and Lieutenant Erskine gave it as his opinion to the Provincial Council of Patna, that unless a body of troops were to follow and drive him out of Bag Juggini jungle, he (Fateh Sahi) would prove a pest to the inhabitants around, and that there were so many entrances to this jungle, that it would take at least a battalion of sepoy's to block them up and pursue Fateh Sahi with any prospect of success. The Provincial Council of Patna had then for its chief, Mr. Isaac Sage, who, with his four colleagues, Messrs. Simeon Droz, Ewan Law, Edward Golding and William Young, recommended, in their letter, dated 14th June 1775, to the Honorable Warren Hastings, Governor-General and Council of Revenue, that as Fateh Sahi had taken protection in the dominions of Nawab Asoph-ud-Dowla of Oude, and as it was not practicable to seize his person without the assistance of the Nawab's Fauzdar in the Goruckpur district, the Nawab should be written to, through Mr. Bristow, the then British Resident at the Court of Oude, to render such assistance. Accordingly the Governor-General and Council wrote to the Nawab of Oude and Mr. Bristow that the persons found to be concerned in the murder might be apprehended. But though there was a seeming compliance with this request, it appears that nothing definite was done, or could be done, for the arrest of Fateh Sahi. Lieutenant Hardinge, then stationed at Barrabganj, was sent in pursuit with a body of sepoy's of the 5th Battalion.

His instructions were to co-operate with Syed Muhamad, the Fauzdar of Goruckpur, for the arrest of Fateh Sahi, and on no account to act as the principal. Lieutenant Hardinge and his detachment remained for seven days in Syed Muhamad's camp, in hourly expectation of coming to close quarters with the rebel; and when Mr. Hardinge persuaded the Syed to march within a hundred and fifty yards of the rebel's intrenchments, thinking that an effort to seize the rebel would then be inevitable,

Syed Muhamad's troops stopped short, and would not advance a yard towards the jungle. At this juncture, Mr. Hardinge received a message from Syed Muhamad Khan, telling him that the attack would be deferred till the next morning. It was, however, afterwards found that Syed Muhamad was then engaged in settling his revenue matters with the rebel, and Lieutenant Hardinge, thinking that his instructions were to assist in the arrest of Fateh Sahi, and not to collect revenue for the Nawab, at once returned to Baragaon, with his detachment, in disgust. He, however, found the rebel's position so strong, that he wrote to Mr. Simeon Droz, who had then succeeded Mr. Isaac Sage, as chief of the Provincial Council of Patna, that, to ensure success, he must have a greater force than that which he then commanded, as also a gun. The season of the year was then too far advanced to despatch a military force for a fresh attempt to seize Fateh Sahi, but Lieutenant Hardinge was instructed to surprise him, if he possibly could, and to issue a proclamation offering a reward of Rupees 10,000 to any person who should either apprehend him or point out the place of his residence.

In the meantime, the Nawab of Oude was written to, to farm out the portion of the Hosiarpur Zemindary comprised in his domains on a fair and equitable adjustment of rent, or at a new and equitable valuation, to the farmer with whom the rest of the zemindaries situated in British territory had been settled, and Captain Coxe, then commanding a battalion at Bagaha, was instructed to hold himself ready to march with his battalion to Goruckpur, and to use his utmost endeavours, in conjunction with the Nawab's force, both to apprehend Fateh Sahi and to put the person to whom they might be granted by the Nawab in possession of the Hosiarpur zemindaries. Nothing, however, appears to have been done, and at the end of the year 1784, we find Fateh Sahi still at large, the terror of the surrounding country; and the local authorities were afraid to grant his lands to the next heir, Babu Mohesh Datt Sahi, the son of Basant Sahi; lest he should obstruct the collections, and repeat towards the son, the same atrocities which he had perpetrated on the father.

With the return of a settled state of things, Fateh Sahi, though still at large, and apparently in enjoyment of that portion of his zemindaries which was situated in the district of Goruckpur, in the dominions of the Nawab of Oude, ceased to inspire the terror he had done in the beginning of his career as a freebooter and rebel. For some years afterwards, it appears, it was the constant endeavour of his sons to regain the good-will of the British authorities, and to recover their lost patrimony. In 1790 or 1792, one

of his sons, the youngest, came forward with a petition before Mr. Montgomerie, the Settlement Officer of Sircar Sarun, to be allowed to settle for the revenue of the Hosiarpur Raj, on behalf of Fateh Sahi's line. The claim was treated as inadmissible. In 1808, Fateh Sahi, either in a fit of repentance, or, as appears most probable, from a desire to forward the claims of his sons to the Hosiarpur Raj, thinking that the sins of the father would not be visited on the sons, became a *fukeer* and gave up even his Goruckpur property to his family. His wife and his four sons then applied to the British Government for the restoration of the Raj and the allowances out of it; and the application was respected by Government. Further on, in 1816, and again in 1821, we find that Areemurdhun Sahi, one of these sons, made similar claims by petition. In June 1829, the great grandson of Fateh Sahi, brought a regular-suit for the recovery of the Raj; but the suit was dismissed as barred by limitation. A similar claim appears to have been again set up for the last time in 1848, but with a like result.

In 1778, the Revenue Council of Patna recommended that the zemindaries of Fateh Sahi, in the British territories, which, under the precedents of the Muhamadan government in like cases, had been hitherto farmed out, should be made over to Mohesh Datt Sahi, the son of Basant Sahi, the next heir. To see how Basant Sahi was related to Fateh Sahi, we have to ascend two or three generations above Fateh Sahi. Maharajah Kurfan Sahi had two sons, Maharajah Sirdar Sahi, who succeeded him, and Babu Inderjit Sahi. On Maharajah Sirdar Sahi's death, Fateh Sahi, his surviving son, succeeded. Babu Inderjit Sahi had two sons, Basant Sahi and Ishree Proshad Sahi. Ishree Proshad Sahi died childless, and Basant left a son, by name Mohesh Datt Sahi. At the time of Fateh Sahi's defection, Basant Sahi remained loyal to the British Government, becoming at one time, as we have seen, the farmer, under British Government, of the Hosiarpur zemindaries. This displeased Fateh Sahi, and, as has been narrated before, led to Basant Sahi's violent death. At the time of this man's murder, his wife and son were living at the Hosiarpur Fort. It is said that Fateh Sahi caused the head of the deceased to be cut off and sent to the widowed lady, who, with the head of her murdered husband on her lap, ascended the funeral pile, and became a *Suttee*. The care of their son, Mohesh Datt Sahi, then a minor, devolved on a faithful servant of the family, by name Difoo Sinha, and never before did a servant show more fidelity in the discharge of his trust than Difoo Sinha did as the guardian of Mohesh Datt Sahi. He saw that the best way to secure the interest of his ward, was to carry out loyally the wishes of the British

authorities, and set his face against the murderer of his father. With this view he expended all that he was worth, and borrowed to the full extent of his credit, in raising a body of troops. With these men, and with Mohesh Datt Sahi by his side, he was night and day with Captain Coxe, traversing the woods in pursuit of Fateh Sahi. Difoo Sinha also used his best endeavours in encouraging and pacifying the ryots and farmers of Parganah Hosiarpur. He thus earned the good-will of the local British authorities for himself and his master. The Revenue Council of Patna, in their letter to the Governor-General and Council, dated 17th April 1778, write :—

“ We have received petitions from Mohesh Datt, the son of Babu Basant Sahi, who was a relation of Fateh Sahi, and was murdered by him when entering Hosiarpur, and from Difoo Sinha, a Talukdar of that district, who has long acted as partisan against the rebel, and been wounded in the service, and is recommended by Captain Coxe for his activity and the assistance which he has afforded him, praying that their title to some recompense for their losses and services may be taken into consideration, which we have to lay before you.

“ We have before mentioned to you the distressed circumstances of Mohesh Datt. Instead of any allowance which we before recommended, we would now rather propose that Fateh Sahi should be declared to have forfeited his zemindary, and that it should be bestowed on this young man, that some villages should be added to the taluka of Difoo Sinha, and that he should be declared the Dewan.”

The Governor-General and Council wrote in reply :—“ We have attentively considered your recommendations of Mohesh Datt, Difoo Sinha and Moulavi Meer Golam Mustapha, but do not think it proper at this time to comply with them. You may inform them that, when, with their assistance, we shall have apprehended the person of Futteh Sahi, we shall pay proper attention to their pretensions and services.”

In 1784, Mohesh Datt Sahi renewed his application for the grant to him of the Malikana villages in Parganah Hosiarpur, but Mr. Charles Grance, then Collector of Sircar Sarun, and the Committee of Revenue of the Provincial Council of Patna, then presided over by no less an authority than Sir J. Shore's colleague, objected to the grant on the ground that it would be ~~unpalatable~~ to Fateh Sahi who might be induced on this account to commit further depredations in the Company's territories, obstruct the Collector, and probably endanger the life of Mohesh Datt Sahi, and that the rents of the Malikana villages, amounting to more than Rupees 16,000 according to the usage

of the district would be so much deduction from the Government revenue. They simply recommended the grant of a small pecuniary monthly allowance to Mohesh Datt Sahi for subsistence, should the Government think him entitled to any consideration. Mohesh Datt Sahi was not the man to be put off, or to be content with a pecuniary allowance. Taking advantage of the visit of the Governor-General then engaged in the affairs of Raja Cheyet Sinha, to the city of Benares, he went up there to represent his case, succeeded in obtaining an interview, and presented a petition praying for a *sanad* for his zemindaries and Malikana. He afterwards followed the Governor-General to Patna, where the Governor-General recommended his case to Mr. Charters, desiring him to visit Hosiarpur and to submit a report after examining the nature of the case. Mr. Charters went to Hosiarpur and reported that the Zemindary belonged of right to Mohesh Datt Sahi, and recommended the grant. But nothing appears to have been done till the date of the Decennial Settlement, when, Mohesh Datt dying, the Zemindary estates and Malikana were bestowed on Chatter Dhari Sahi, his son, by Lord Cornwallis' government. Chatter Dhari Sahi was only five years of age, when this settlement was made, and consequently the estates passed under the protection of the Court of Wards, then only recently established. In 1802, Chatter Dhari Sahi, on attaining age, came into possession of his zemindaries.

But the title of "Maharajah Bahadur" was not conferred on him till July 1837, Maharajah Fateh Sahi dying in the *interim*. It appears to have been thought that there could not be two Maharajahs of Hosiarpur; and as long as Maharajah Fateh Sahi was living, it was considered out of the question to confer a similar title on Chatter Dhari Sahi, with whom a settlement of his estates had been made. It is rather amusing to note how, in those good old days, things of this sort used to be managed. They happened, just as now, only with this difference, that in those days, Government officials stipulated directly for the amount of the "Peshcush" to be paid by the fortunate recipient. It is to be regretted, in the interests of public charities in India, that this good old custom has been done away with. A good *ad-valorem* fee; say, so many lakhs for a salute; so many for a Maharajaship; so many for a Raja Bahadurship, down to so many thousands for a Rai Bahadurship, sufficient to support all the useful public institutions of the country, might very well have been raised by the distribution of titles. The practice in 1837, though not so precise in its character, was somewhat similar in kind. Mr. Tucker, Commissioner of Revenue, Patna, in forwarding Chatter Dhari Sahi's petition for the title of Maharajah Bahadur, wrote

that he (Babu Chatter Dhari Sahi) was the sole proprietor of a very extensive Zemindary in Zillah Sarun; and that he was willing to pay any sum as *Peshcush*, to be disposed of as the Governor-General might direct, in the foundation or support of any useful public institution. He added, however, that he could confidently assert that the general character and circumstances of the candidate were such, that this honor might be conferred on him with propriety, without fear of lowering the value of the distinction in the public estimation; that his family was well known, that, as an individual, he was highly respectable and respected, that in short, he was of commanding wealth and proportionate influence. Though, in the present instance, the candidate was fully deserving of the honor, and had, in fact, as good as a hereditary claim to the title, Mr. McNaughten, the then Secretary to the Government of India, wrote as follows:—

To

T. R. DAVIDSON, ESQ.,

Commissioner of Patna,

Political Department.

SIR,—I am desired by the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Mr. Tucker, dated the 26th ultimo, submitting a petition from Babu Chatter Dhari Sahi, a very opulent Zemindar in Zh. Sarun, praying to have the title of Maharajah Bahadur, with the usual dress-of-honor, conferred upon him, for which he offers to place at the disposal of Government any sum, as *Peshcush*, to be applied towards the establishment of any useful public institution. 2nd. In reply, I am desired to state, that his Lordship in Council feels disposed to accede to this recommendation, and as, from the applicant's omission to do so, it becomes necessary to specify a particular sum, I am directed to observe that an appropriation of Rupees 50,000 would not appear to be unsuitable to the occasion. In the opinion of His Lordship in Council it is desirable that this sum should be placed at the disposal of the General Committee of Public Instruction, to be disposed of in such mode as that body may think most conducive to the interests of education. At the same time His Lordship in Council will be happy to consider any proposition which the donor may be desirous of submitting in connection with the donation. 3rd. The necessary steps, will be taken for conferring on the applicant the honors which he solicits, on your furnishing me with the information that the amount above specified has

been lodged in the General Treasury, to be appropriated in the mode above referred to.

I have, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM; } (Sd.) W. H. McNAUGHTEN,
The 27th February 1837. } Secy. to the Government of India.

It is unnecessary to state that the *Peshcush* was duly paid and the *Khillut* presented to the new Maharajah Bahadur by Mr. Thomas Edwards, the then Commissioner of Revenue of the 11th Division, comprising the districts of Patna and Sarun, on Friday the 1st September 1837.

Maharajah Chatter Dhari Sinha, possessed of "commanding wealth and proportionate influence," highly respected by all around, went on prospering as a loyal subject of the British Government. He changed the family residence from Hosiarpur to Hutwa, and built extensive palaces. During the first outbreak of the Sonthals, he rendered valuable assistance by placing a number of elephants at the service of Government, and by promptly executing all orders for supplies issued by the district authorities.

But it was during the mutiny of 1857-58, that the loyalty of the Maharajah was most conspicuous. "Throughout the crisis," writes Mr. Richardson, Officiating Collector and Magistrate of Sarun, in 1858, "the Rajah proved himself a staunch ally of the British Government; his loyalty was never for one moment doubted, and from the very outset of the rebellion, the whole of his resources were placed at the disposal of the authorities in this district for the preservation of peace and order." When the mutiny broke out in the districts of Shahabad and Goruckpore, in June 1857, the Maharajah, though then more than 70 years old, immediately put himself in communication with the local authorities, and with their instructions engaged a large body of armed men, with which he guarded all the ghâuts and private houses of Government officials, and sometimes fought with the rebels. The effect of these active measures on the part of the Maharajah is thus described by the Officiating Collector in a letter to the Commissioner of Patna, dated the 18th March 1858:—

"The Parganah, in the vicinity of Hutwa, as you are no doubt aware, adjoins the Goruckpur district, and yet when that district had been temporarily abandoned to anarchy and rapine, not a village on the Sarun side of the boundary became the scene of disorder." When a large body of mutineers appeared at Subhanpur, a place only a few miles from the sub-divisional station

of Sewan, the Maharajah assisted Mr. Lynch, the sub-divisional officer, with horses and men, fought the rebels and gained a signal victory. When the mutineers of Goruckpur were dispersed, the Raja took prompt measures for the apprehension of such of them as had harboured themselves within the district of Sarun. Mr. Samuells, Commissioner of the Patna Division, in recommending the Maharajah for the settlement of certain confiscated estates in the Goruckpur district, wrote to the Commissioner of Goruckpur:—"The Raja of Hutwa has particularly distinguished himself during the rebellion by loyalty to the British Government, the readiness with which he has met every requisition made upon him, and the pains which he has taken to keep the Government informed of the movements and intentions of the Goruckpur rebels. No zemindar in this division has exerted himself more strenuously in our favor than the Hutwa Raja, and there is no doubt that he has incurred heavy expenses in doing so." Mr. Samuells wrote again:—"The good and zealous services, which the Maharajah has, from his attachment and devotion to the State, done by promptly obeying and executing the orders issued by Government and its officers, as well as by me, are known. Specially during the recent mutiny, the Maharajah executed with promptitude, and in such a manner as it should be, all orders issued to him, and gave every assistance to the British functionaries. Having had regard to the loyalty which the Maharajah has displayed, I wish that Government should confer a suitable reward on him for his zealous service, submission and obedience." Sir Frederick James Halliday, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, thus acknowledged the services rendered, in a letter to the Maharajah:—

"I have to offer you my acknowledgment for the loyalty and good feeling evinced by you towards the Government. I have noticed with great satisfaction the willing assistance you have rendered to the local officers in the district of Sarun and the measures you have taken for the apprehension of any mutineers who may attempt to take shelter in your zemindary."*

* It is rather singular that the able historian of the Sepoy revolt, while he gives details of less important services rendered during those troubled times, omits all mention of the services rendered by this Maharajah, and subsequently by his great grandson, Maharajah Rajendra Pratap Sahi. The only mention of Chuprah and of the Hutwa Raj, is to be found in a quotation from an anonymous writer in

the 3rd Volume of the History. It is an extract of a private letter from a resident of Chuprah, writing from Chuprah and informing the Commissioner of Patna (Mr. Tayler), that "an agent of the Hutwa man, has been seen at Lucknow." Such was the evidence, on which the loyalty of "the staunchest allies of Government" amongst the natives was impeached in those days of alarm!

The severe strain which had been put on him by the unusual labour of the months during which the mutiny raged furiously in Shabad and Goruckpur, told greatly on the health of the Maharajah, now in his declining age, and this good old chief breathed his last at Hutwa, on the 16th March 1858.

The Collector of the District, in informing the Commissioner of the death of the Maharajah, says: "By the decease of the Raja of Hutwa, the Government has lost a truly loyal subject." In a letter to his great grandson and successor, Mr. Cecil Beadon, then Secretary to the Government of India, writes:—"I have known your excellent grandfather since the year 1837, when I was an assistant at Chuprah, and I always entertained a high respect for him, especially for the exemplary way in which he discharged his duties as a landlord, and as a loyal subject of the British Government," and again, "the manner in which he behaved from the first breaking out of these unhappy mutinies, until the day of his death, was such as to command the admiration of all his friends, and to entitle him to a high place in the estimation of the rulers of his country."

Maharajah Chatter Dhari Sahi had two sons, Ram Sahai Sahi and Pirthipal Sahi, both of whom pre-deceased their father. Ram Sahai Sahi left two sons, Babu Ajur Pratap Sahi and Babu Deoraj Sahi, and Pirthipal Sahi also two, Tilokdhari Sahi and Bir Pertap Sahi. All these four grandsons were living at the time of the death of Chatter Dhari Sahi. Rajendra Pratap Sahi, the son of Ajur Pratap Sahi, the eldest grandson, was however, the favourite of the old Maharajah, and as Ajur Pratap Sahi, heir in right of primogeniture, waived his claim in favor of his son, Kuar Rajendra Pratap Sahi, the Kuar succeeded his great grandfather. Government soon after conferred on him the title of "Maharajah Bahadur," notwithstanding the litigation that was going on with respect to a share of the Raj. On his succession, Maharajah Rajendra Pratap Sahi continued to tread in the footsteps of his great grandfather, and rendered valuable assistance to Government in suppressing the mutinies. He collected his retainers, sent them wherever the Magistrate desired, and rendered all the assistance in his power to the authorities. The Commissioner, in a letter addressed to the Maharajah, writes:—"The aid and assistance which you, from loyalty and devotion to the Government, rendered to the authorities of the district at the time of the mutiny, for the purpose of expelling the rebels, having given me much satisfaction, I sent a report thereof to Government." The Government thus acknowledged his services in a letter to the Commissioner of Patna:—"You will be so good as to express his Honor's acknowledgments to the

great grandson of the late Raja of Hutwa for his ready and cordial co-operation with the authorities, and assure him that his loyal behaviour will not be lost sight of."

Soon after the suppression of the mutinies, Government acknowledged the services rendered by Maharajah Rajendra Pratap Sahi and his predecessor in a more substantial form. In 1860, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General authorised the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Governor to confer on the Maharajah the proprietary right in confiscated villages in Shahabad, yielding a gross rental of Rupees 20,000 according to recent enquiry, and assessed in perpetuity to Government at Rupees 10,000 a year, and the grant was made soon after.

We have already alluded to certain litigations that took place on the death of Maharajah Chatter Dhari Sahi with respect to the Hutwa Raj. The younger branch, the sons of Pirthipal Sahi, claimed a division of the Raj; but Tilakdhari Sahi, the elder, withdrew from the litigation at an early stage. Bir Pratap Sahi, however, carried it up to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council, in a very lucid judgment dated the 4th March 1868, held:—"The question remains, what was the nature of the estate granted, whether it was a fresh grant of the family Raj with its customary rule of descent, or a grant of the lands formerly included in that Raj to be held as an ordinary zemindary.

There was not in this, as in the Shivaganga case, a new Sunnud. We have no evidence of the intention of the grantors except that which is to be collected from the proceedings and correspondence already referred to, nor have we any record of the proceedings in the Council-room, or any means of knowing the precise grounds on which Lord Cornwallis' government rejected the recommendation of the Board of Revenue, and determined to confer the property on Chatter Dhari. Again, it cannot be denied that in these proceedings the term 'Raj' is never used, or that in some of them the subject of the grant is spoken of as 'the land in Hosiarpur, which belonged to Futteh Sahi.' On the other hand, there is no expressed intention to alter the nature of the tenure. The estate, whilst it was in the hands of the Company, had never been broken up. The policy of the Decennial Settlement was to form a body of landholders by ascertaining in whom the zemindary interest in the soil actually was, and making with these persons, a permanent settlement of the Government revenue, so as to give them greater fixity of tenure. Lord Cornwallis' government determined to set up Chatter Dhari as the zemindar with whom the settlement in respect of this property should be made. But

the estate of a zemindar was not merely the right to the possession or enjoyment of certain lands, it involved rights against, and corresponding obligations to, dependents, Talukdary or other under-tenants, royts of various classes and others; and the Decennial Settlement, as a reference to the rules, re-enacted by Regulation VIII of 1793; will show, proceeded upon an inquiry into all or many of these particulars. In the absence of all evidence to the contrary, it must be presumed that the settlement was made precisely as it would have been made, had the estate continued in the line of Fateh Sahi; and, therefore, that the subject conferred on Chutter Dhari was the old zemindary with all its incidents, excepting, at most, its descendible quality. It seems to follow that the intention to alter that quality, if it existed, would have been expressed.

Again, the selection of a member of the old family, the next in succession to the excluded line, is a very strong circumstance in favor of the hypothesis that the intention of Government was to restore the zemindary, as it had existed before confiscation or attachments, making no further change than was involved in the forfeiture of the rights of Fateh Sahi and his descendants, and in the substitution, by an act of power, of the person next in the order of succession and consequence, so that the transaction was not so much the creation of a new tenure, as the change of the tenant by the exercise of '*vis major*.'

It has thus been settled for good, by the decision of the highest tribunal, that the Hutwa Raj is now, as it was before Maharajah Futteh Sahi's defection, an impartible Raj, descendible, under the *kulachar*, or rule of inheritance, to the eldest son, to the exclusion of all his younger brothers.

Maharajah Rajendra Pratap Sahi died, while yet in the prime of manhood, regretted by an extensive circle of friends and dependents, leaving behind him an only son, Kishen Pratap Sahi, the present chief, who happened then to be under age. The Hutwa estates thus passed again under the protection of the Court of Wards, and remained for several years under the very successful management of Mr. Hodgkinson, now Commissioner of Arakan (British Burmah), and Babu Blubaneswar Datta, his assistant. Mr. Hodgkinson, after meeting all the usual expenses of the Raj, was able to invest Rupees 434,000 in Government securities previous to the famine of 1874, when that calamity took away Rupees 2,90,000 of his accumulations. A survey of the estates in the Raj was undertaken and completed before the withdrawal of the management of the Court. Not the least commendable act of the management of the Court of Wards has been to give a high and liberal education to their protégé.

Maharajah Kishen Pratap Sahi attained his majority in October 1874, and received the title of "Maharajah Bahadur" from the Government, on the 31st August 1874. The installation ceremony took place with great *éclat* at Hutwa, his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal being present on the occasion. The Maharajah, on assuming charge, thought that he could not do better than to preserve in its integrity the excellent mode of management adopted by the Court of Wards, and, with this view, invited all the leading servants of the Court to accept service under him. Only Babu Bhubaneswar Datta, the assistant manager, was prevailed on to stay, and his able management, under the personal supervision of his chief, has rendered the Hutwa Raj, one of the best managed estates in Behar. The Maharajah, while he reposes entire confidence in his Dewan, takes a very intelligent interest in the management. He is always moving about his extensive zemindaries, and takes a keen interest in the welfare of his ryots and the improvement of the Raj.

A great part of the zemindary income, after meeting the ordinary expenses of the Raj and the various charitable and religious institutions founded by the predecessor of the present Maharajah, is applied in making different permanent improvements. 733 *pukka* or masonry wells have been completed, about 4,000 *katcha* wells have been sunk, and additional tanks made, and the old ones repaired. Several *baulis* and drinking fountains have been set up, 116 embankments repaired, and a number of roads, sluices and bridges have been constructed. A new palace is being built, surrounded by ornamental gardens. The Raj also maintains a number of primary and secondary schools, and a higher class Entrance School at Hutwa, the foundation stone for a building for which was laid by Sir Ashley Eden, during his visit last year. It also maintains three or four charitable dispensaries at convenient centres for the treatment of the ryots, and there are, besides, several alms-houses, where the poor are amply cared for.

Nor is the liberality of the public-spirited Maharajah confined to his own Raj. The Maharajah came forward with the munificent donation of Rupees 25,000 when the Bankipur Industrial School was projected on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and has, ever since his succession, made very handsome donations to many other useful and charitable institutions of the country. An appeal to this worthy chief for a useful public object is never made in vain. Only a short time ago, it having come to the knowledge of the Maharajah that the Bankipur Girl's School, a very useful institution, was labouring under some difficulties for want of a

suitable school-house, the Maharaja nobly came forward with a liberal donation for the construction of the same.

The hospitality of the Maharaja of Behar is proverbial. European visitors to Hutwa have but a pleasing tale to tell of the agreeable hours they spent under the hospitable roof of the Maharaja, and society in Calcutta, will long remember with pleasure the grand ball which the Maharaja gave in January 1880, in honour of their Excellencies Lord and Lady Lytton.

The Maharajah takes the most lively interest in all public questions of importance, and his views are always moderate and sound. He is one of the founders of the Behar Landholders' Association (an Association fast rising into importance), and joins in all its proceedings, oftentimes at great personal inconvenience to himself. As one of the chief Behar Landholders, the Maharajah is oftentimes consulted, and has to give his opinion on questions of legislative and administrative measures. The local authorities, it is well known, have a high regard for such opinion.

The Maharajah was present at Calcutta to pay his respects to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in the month of December 1875, and was warmly received by the Prince and His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

The Patriotic Fund for providing creature comforts to the soldiers engaged in the Afghan war, and for looking after the sick and wounded, and the families of the dead, was first projected by the Behar chiefs at a meeting of the Behar Landholders' Association, the Maharajah of Hutwa subscribing Rupees 20,000 on the spot and subsequently sending, in addition, to the troops engaged in Afghanistan warm clothing at a further charge of Rupees 5,000.

The Maharajah has always enjoyed the reputation of being a good landlord, and it was a great surprise to all his friends, when in 1879, Mr. O'Donnell, then the sub-divisional officer of Sarun, brought forward a charge of rack-renting and mis-management against him. The Maharaja did not long put up with this stigma. He courted an enquiry, and the Hon'ble Sir Stuart Bayley, then acting as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, after going fully into all the circumstances of the case, not only acquitted him of the charge, but severely blamed Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Pawsey, Officiating Collector of Sarun (then new in the district) for their proceedings in the matter.

We will close this notice, with a short account of the Hutwa Raj. The property is distributed over the six following districts:—Sarun, Champaran, Tirhut, Goruckpur, Patna and Shahabad, and there are also house properties at Agra and Benares. The main

portion forms a compact block in North-West Sarun, and is bounded on the North by the district of Goruckpur and the river Gunduck; on the South, by the Parganah Chaurasia in the district of Sarun; on the East, by Parganahs Bara Barai and Dāngsi, and on the West by the district of Goruckpur. The following table, copied from the *Statistical Reporter*, to which we are also indebted for much other information regarding the Raj, shows the area and income, together with other particulars.

Names of Districts in which property lies.	No. of villages.	Area in bighas.	Government Revenue.		Gross rental.		Net income.	
			£	s.	£	s.	£	s.
Sarun ...	1,319	360,515	17,266	10	84,763	12	64,498	2
Champarun ...	23	16,000	887	4	3,478	0	2,640	16
Tirhut ...	5	4,500	135	12	750	0	614	8
Shahabad *	15	8,500	1,024	2	1,970	8	946	6
Goruckpur ...	3	500	89	14	159	4	69	10
Patna ...	...	...	...	...	145	6	145	6
Total ...	1,365	390,015	19,353	2	88,266	10	68,914	8

* The Jagir in Shahabad, is not included, the table appears to have been prepared in 1873: additions have since been made to the Raj property; and, including the Jagir, the gross income is now 10 lakhs of rupees, from which, after deducting the Government revenue and the cesses, there remains a net income of 8 lakhs of rupees per annum. A telegraphic line for the success of which the Maharajahs of Hutwa and Bettiah and the Indigo-planters of the District of Chaprah, stand guarantee, is now in working order, connecting Chaprah, Hutwa and other

important stations in the District of Sarun in telegraphic communication with the rest of the world. The Gandack Irrigation Canals, for the lands of which no compensation has been asked by the Maharajah of Hutwa, secures the country against future drought, and a line of Railway from Sonepur to Baraich, which will pass through Chaprah, Sarun and Hutwa, is now in the course of construction. It may be fairly assumed that, with all these new advantages, the resources of the Raj will find a fuller development.

G. P. S.

ART. VI.—THE EURASIAN MOVEMENT OF 1829-30.

IN January 1822, in consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court in Calcutta which declared that a large proportion of East Indians did not come under the denomination of British subjects, a subscription to defray the expenses of an appeal to the King (George IV) in Council was inaugurated. This was the commencement of the first combined movement of the East Indian community, which, after eight years of agitation and organisation, culminated in the Petition of the East Indians, Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the "Presidency of Fort William" to the Hon'ble the Commons of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled," presented to the House of Lords by the Earl of Carlisle on the 29th March 1830, and to the House of Commons, by the Honorable Williams Wynn, on the 4th of May of the same year.

Towards the close of last century, fears regarding the increasing numbers and loyalty of Eurasians were spread abroad chiefly amongst the servants of the Company; and, whether from a sense of danger, a feeling of shame and disgrace, or a determination to hedge round the preserves of office in the gift of the Directors from all but those of pure European birth and education, Eurasians were effectually excluded from positions and offices which they were well fitted to occupy. A general letter of the Court of Directors, 14th March 1786, prohibited those wards of the Upper Orphan School of the Bengal Military Society who were born of native mothers by British fathers from being sent to England for education. In the *Gazette* of June 1792, it was notified that no person; the son of a native, shall henceforth be appointed to employment in the Civil, Military or Marine services of the Company, or as sworn officers of the Company's ships, between Europe and India. In 1795, during the Governor-Generalships of Lord Cornwallis, all persons not descended from European parents, on both sides, were prohibited from serving in the European branch of the army unless as fifiers, drummers and bandsmen. Those of their number, debarred from serving in British regiments, who entered the service of native princes, were immediately recalled on the outbreak of hostilities. This was the case in 1801, when the Mahratta war began. Indeed, up to the renewal of the Charter in 1834, the general tendency of the rule of the Company was to level Eurasians to the same rank as natives, while, at the same time, offices to which natives were eligible, such as those of Munsiffs and Sudder Ameens,

were closed against Eurasians. Besides this, outside the Presidency towns, they were subject to the rule of Muhamedan law. English by parentage, the majority were denied the rights of British subjects, and in the Mufasal they had the benefit neither of *Habeas Corpus* nor trial by Jury. Christians by profession, they were subject to the hateful rule of the Koran in criminal matters. English by birth, education and habits, they were in the eye of the law natives; nevertheless, when lavish grants were made for the education of natives, no provision was made for Eurasians; they were then considered not natives, and, loyal to the race of their fathers, many of them, with the feelings, tastes and habits of gentlemen, were debarred from entering the British army, or, indeed, serving India in any but the lower offices of the service. Before the year 1791 the Company's services, civil and military, were open to Eurasians; and members of the community before that date, and for some time after, held positions, in the service which, on the whole, notwithstanding a few recent exceptions, they have never attained since. The soldier who commanded the Bombay army during the campaigns of 1803, 1804 and 1805 was General Jones, a Eurasian. Colonel Stevenson, another Eurasian, was Quartermaster-General of the army for many years. To these we may add the names of Colonel Nairne, Major Deare, Captain Routledge, Lieutenant Mullins and Colonel Skinner of the Irregulars, all of them distinguished officers, notable for fearless bravery and gallantry in action, capable soldiers and leaders of men in the days when war was learned in the field and camp, and not as now-a-days in a cramming establishment and in the bureau of a Military Department. There are yet in the civil service, and still more largely in the army, members of the Eurasian community who, through family connexions with the Directors of the late Company or other high officials, found an entrance to these services; but if the fact of their birth is not denied or ignored, it has been frequently suppressed.

The causes that worked together to produce this exclusion from the higher offices of the Indian service we have hinted at. We do not think that the Eurasians were entirely blameless. In all probability an amount of self-conceit, not always well-grounded in sterling capacity, was as apparent towards the close of last century, as it is to-day, among many individuals of Eurasian birth; and there may have been foolish talk and vapouring amongst the more restless and headstrong which gave some ground of truth for statements issued, not with the authority of the Company's responsible officers, but nevertheless from the Government press, which damaged considerably the chances of Eurasians occupying any but subordinate posts, and represented them as a dangerous

element in India to be suppressed and regarded with suspicion. Besides this, it seems to us, there can be little doubt that the influence of many Directors and other Indian officials was exerted to prevent the rise of Eurasians to higher offices, in order that European uncles and cousins might not meet in the various services of India, and be continually associated on terms of equality with nephews and cousins born of native women, who, even if they were legitimate, and on this account, brought no stain on the family honour, had nevertheless in their veins some of the blood of the subject-races; and might be ready to presume on their European ties, and be a standing dishonour and disgrace to the family escutcheon. Whether we have been successful or not in enumerating all the causes which produced the *Gazette* Notification of 1792, and the Resolution of Lord Cornwallis' time, 1795, Eurasians were effectually excluded by these orders; and notwithstanding the *Lex Loci* Act of 1831, the concessions granted to men of Indian birth at the renewal of the Charter, 1853 and 1855, and the various minutes and resolutions since these dates, it is certain that Eurasians have not, during this century, occupied the favourable position with regard to service in the great departments of State in India which they occupied before 1790. Nor is this all; before the Missionary and Government schools and colleges were established, it was only a comparatively small number of purely native men who possessed a sufficient acquaintance with English to render their services available as clerks and writers and in other posts in the various Government and mercantile offices. These positions were filled almost exclusively by Eurasians up to about 1835. Since then, not only has the Eurasian community largely increased without any corresponding multiplication of offices in which their services are desirable; but the consequence of Missionary and Government education has been, that large numbers, yearly increasing, of pure natives have been competitors with Eurasians for those very posts which, up to the first quarter of this century, they, because of their English education, almost monopolised. While pure native races have been provided by Missionaries and the Government with schools, colleges and splendid staffs of teachers to carry on their education, Eurasians have had to depend almost entirely on their own resources aided by private philanthropy. The consequence is that all the advantages and facilities are on the side of Hindus and Muhamedans, and so culpably negligent have successive Missionaries, Church dignitaries and rulers of India been, that a large proportion of the lower section of Eurasians have sunk in the social scale and practically disappeared among native races.

In November 1825, a general meeting of East Indians was

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held at the house of Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. W. DaCosta, in the chair. This meeting, acting on the advice of an eminent firm of Solicitors in London, Messrs. Collett, Wimbourn and Collet, appointed a committee of seven to draw up a draft petition to Parliament. The gentlemen composing this Committee were Messrs. Wordsworth, DaCosta, G. Reed, J. L. Heatly, A. Imlach, H. Martindell, with J. W. Ricketts as Secretary. By February of the following year, 1826, the draft petition was ready, and lay for some time at the house of Mr. Imlach, 40 Cossitollah, for the inspection of all who might feel interested in, or care to make observations on, it, and subscriptions amounting to Rs. 2,731 were obtained to meet the probable expenses of its presentation to Parliament. By the end of March 1826 the petition was in the hands of a member of the Calcutta Bar for the purpose of undergoing legal revision. There it remained till the May of 1827. It was then evident that the petition should be entrusted to other hands. Accordingly a second member of the Bar received the petition for legal revision, with the usual fee of 40 Gold Mohurs. It was not till the December of 1828 that it found its way back to the Committee, who, anxious for its completeness in all its parts, submitted it to a third gentleman. On the 28th February 1829 a Meeting of the Committee read, discussed and approved of the thrice revised petition, had it engraved, and placed in the Town Hall for signature, and printed in several newspapers. A General Meeting of the Committee was held in the Town Hall, on the 20th April 1829, at which J. W. Ricketts was unanimously appointed the Agent of "the East-Indians," a designation, which, as including the whole body to which they belonged, they preferred to all others, to proceed to England as a deputy in support of the petition, and it was agreed that a fund should be raised "to promote the great and important objects contemplated by us." By the 18th of July 1829, subscriptions amounting to Rs. 12,677-5-6 had been received by the Committee, which, after deducting necessary expenses, left a balance of Rs. 8,906-4-0.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts generously offered to undertake the journey to England and the advocacy of the claims of the East Indian community there, on condition that his passage money and the bare expenses incident to the journey and residence in England should be defrayed by the community. The community on their part, while gladly availing themselves of Mr. Ricketts' services, considering the responsible public character with which that agent was invested, and the "suitable degree of respectability to be sustained on the occasion, authorised him to draw the sum of £500 a year for his support in England, including travelling expenses. It is not to be supposed that these preliminaries, scattered, as they were, over a

period of nearly eight years, were so far concluded without a considerable amount of public discussion, letter-writing and opposition. A small section of the Eurasian community, choosing for themselves the name of Indo-Britons as distinguished from East Indians, headed by Mr. Charles Reed and J. L. Heatly, the former a gentleman of considerable ability and possessed of a genius for litigation, opposed the action of the East Indian Committee, and did their best to invalidate and render abortive what had already been effected. The Indo-Britons were worsted in the discussion and their efforts rendered unavailing. J. W. Ricketts sailed for England in the *Andromache*, Captain R. L. Laws, and, after a protracted voyage, reached London on the 27th December, 1829, the very month in which Lord W. Bentinck, acting on the advice of Butterworth Baley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, abolished *Sati*, and the year which saw the suppression of the *thugs*. George the IV. was entering on the last year of his reign. The Test and Corporation Acts of Charles II's reign, which excluded dissenters from civil offices unless they qualified themselves by taking the Sacrament according to the rules of the Church of England, had just been repealed. Pitt, Castlereagh, Canning, and the whole strength of the Whigs had unsuccessfully advocated the remission of the disabilities of Roman Catholics. Ireland, under the complete control of Daniel O'Connell, the priests and the Catholic associations was on the verge of rebellion, clamouring for the admission to the Imperial Legislature of members of the Romish Church. The Metropolitan police and the Irish and Scotch constabulary were founded by Sir Robert Peel, and in the same year Benjamin Disraeli published his first novel, *Vivian Grey*, while Gladstone was an undergraduate of Christ's Church, Oxford. The Radicals of Glasgow and the west of Scotland, incited to rebellion by Richmond, the ever-to-be detested Government spy, armed with pikes, were shot down and ridden over on their way from Glasgow to Sterling by a party of dragoons; and Baird and Hardy, Scotch Radicals, were executed for treason, because they gave expression to political sentiments much less strong than may be met with any morning now in the columns of a liberal newspaper. Parliament was to meet in February of the following year, 1830. In that Parliament O'Connell introduced a bill for universal suffrage, triennial parliaments and vote by ballot which was rejected by a majority of 306 on the 28th May. When Ricketts landed in England, and during the whole period of his residence there, the great struggle for reform occupied the chief attention of statesmen and politicians, and through every grade of society the rising wave of liberalism was producing a commotion unequalled in the history of English politics. To gain the ear of statesmen, to get a

hearing for the Petition of the East Indians from the Lords and Commons of England, and to produce an interesting debate in both Houses, amidst the turmoil of reform and the struggle of opposing statesmen, was no easy achievement, as Ricketts' countrymen were not slow to acknowledge. On his first landing in England, Ricketts interviewed the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, President of the Board of Control (Lord Ellenborough), and several Directors of the East India Company. By the middle of February he considered that he was in possession of sufficient data to warrant him in believing "that nothing in a satisfactory or tangible shape was to be looked for at the India House;" and he resolved to turn his undivided attention to Parliament. Accompanied by Mr. John Crawford, he called on the Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn and obtained his consent to present the Petition to the House of Commons. The Earl of Carlisle undertook to present the Lords' petition. Lord Ashley, then a member of the Board of Control, received Mr. Ricketts with the greatest cordiality, entered with interest into the subject of his mission, was himself anxious to present the petition to the House of Lords, and would have done so, but for the influence brought to bear by the Board of Control and the Government. In the interest of East Indians and their petition, Mr. Ricketts corresponded with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Carlisle, the Right Hon'ble Sir Robert Peel, Lord Calthorpe, the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Johnston, for some time Chief Justice and President in Council, Ceylon, Sir John Bowring, then Dr. John Bowring, Editor of the *Westminster Review*, and others. He was also examined at great length before the Lords' Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, on the 31st March 1830, and before the Commons, on the 21st and 24th of June; and, although, on the last occasion, suffering from fever, he acquitted himself in a manner which won for him the highest praise.

The following is the full text of the East Indian Petition :—

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—

1. That your petitioners are members of a numerous increasing and widely-dispersed class of subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, living within the territories at present governed by the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies, in the province of Bengal, and in the town of Calcutta.

2. That the body of which they compose a part, forms a distinct class of society in British India, which dates its existence more remotely from the time when the East India Company first formed permanent establishments on the continent of India, but chiefly from the more recent period, when the

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acquisition of immense territories required the presence of an increased number of Europeans to maintain and govern them.

3. That they are descended, in most instances, on the father's side, from the European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and on the mother's side, from the natives of India; and that, in other instances, they are the children of intermarriages between the offsprings of such connexions; but that, although thus closely allied to the European and Native races, they are excluded from almost all those advantages which each respectively enjoys, and are subject to peculiar grievances from which both are exempt.

4. The first grievance which your petitioners beg leave to bring to the notice of your Honourable House is, that a very large majority of the class to which they belong are entirely destitute of any rule of civil law, to which they can refer as a standard that is to regulate their conduct in the various relations of society. Those of your petitioners who live in Calcutta within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, are guided in their civil relations by the Laws of England; but the moment they pass beyond that jurisdiction, to reside either temporarily or permanently in the interior, they are thereby placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindu, or Muhamedan. By the rigid interpretation, which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Fort William, have given to the phrase "British subjects" in the various acts of Parliament relating to India, your petitioners are excluded from coming under that denomination, and are consequently prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Laws of England, and, by their profession of the Christian religion, they are equally debarred from the adoption of the Hindu or Muhamedan civil law; while there is no other civil code, to which they can have recourse as their guide in the various transactions and relations of life. However extraordinary the fact may appear, your petitioners, affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is no law which regulates their marriages and makes them lawful,—there is no law which shows the rule that is to define the legitimacy or illegitimacy of their issue,—there is no law which prescribes the succession to their property,—there is no law which points out whether they possess the right of bequeathing by will, and, if so, to what extent,—there is no law that declares which of their children or whether one or all shall succeed in case of intestacy. In these and other equally important particulars, they have no law to direct or control them; and they are thus treated as utterly unworthy of any one of those rights, which it is the express object of a code of civil law to define and the primary design of society and Government to protect. Your petitioners thus literally compose a great body of out-laws, not made so by any crimes of their own, and on that very account feeling the more deeply the legalized wrongs that have been inflicted on them, and the contemptuous indifference and neglect with which their anomalous civil condition has been regarded. It is not, however, the invidious judicial construction of the doubtful language of the Acts of Parliament, that has alone tended to degrade their civil condition; nor have they ever been permitted to enjoy the full advantage that would have arisen to them from the absolute and total neglect of that condition by their immediate rulers. A Rule and Regulation* of the Government of the East India Company has, by clear and express definition, included your petitioners in the class of "native subjects of the British Government," and has thereby subjected them to the numerous disabilities of their Hindus and Muhamedan fellow-subjects; while, by another enactment† of the local Government, they have, as belonging to the

* Regulation VIII of 1818.

† Regulation III of 1818.

above-mentioned class, been deprived in a body of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus ; having been made liable to be taken up on suspicion by any of the local authorities, and confined as State prisoners, without the legal possibility of ever obtaining their release ; since the only appeal they could have would be to the local Government. Thus they are not virtually and by implication but directly and immediately, denuded of the first and most important of all civil rights—personal security ; and they may, therefore, be justly considered as holding their property, their liberty, and even their lives, at the discretion of every powerful public functionary.

5. The second grievance under which your petitioners labour is, that they are amenable in the interior to Mahomedan criminal law,—a law in itself barbarous and imperfect, founded on the most intolerant principles, and intimately interwoven with a system of religion, and a state of society, wholly opposed to their opinions and habits. The law of Muhamed was promulgated only for believers in the Koran ; and towards all who are considered infidels, it bears a most oppressive aspect. Many of the punishments, when specific, are of a sanguinary description ; and in others, an almost unlimited discretion is given to the judge. It is arbitrarily administered ; and, though a right of appeal is in many cases allowed to the Superior Court of Criminal Jurisdiction of the East India Company, called the Nizamut Adawlut, yet that tribunal possesses the extraordinary power, on such appeal, of increasing the punishment which is awarded at their discretion, and without hearing fresh evidence. The only modifications which the Muhamedan criminal code has received, in its application to your petitioners, have been produced by the supplementary Regulations of the East India Company, which, instead of softening and mitigating its inflictions, have, in some instances, even increased the harshness of its character. In proof of this statement, your petitioners beg to cite the third Regulation of the year 1821 ; by the express provisions of which, they are made liable, in all cases, to be dealt with as Hindu and Muhamedan natives, of the lowest rank ; and to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely at the discretion of the European Judges or Magistrates of the East India Company, but even of the Hindu and Mahomedan officers of justice ; while from the operation of this Regulation, not only British subjects, in the restricted application which has been given to that appellation, but also, European and American foreigners resident in the interior are exempted. Thus the law recognizes the existence of your petitioners, only for the purpose of punishment, and never for that of protection ; while the criminal code, to which they have been made amenable, is distinguished by the intolerance of its spirit, by the aggravated severity of its provisions, by its total incongruity with their religious belief and social condition, and by the deep-felt degradation to which, in its actual administration, your petitioners are subjected.

6. The third grievance, to which your petitioners are subject, is that they are excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. The invariable preamble to the appointment of an individual to any of these services, runs thus :—“ Provided A. B. (the person receiving the appointment) be not the son of a native Indian,”—a restriction which was first adopted by the Directors of the East India Company on the 9th November 1791, and which is always republished in the *Gazette of Government*, on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India. Your petitioners do not dispute the right of the Court of Directors to give the appointments in their service to those whom they may deem most worthy ; but they humbly submit that no wise,

just, or beneficent Government will ever impose any other general condition on candidates for employment than fitness for the offices they may seek ; still less will it exclude any class of men, on the ground of birth or colour, when it does not possess the power of limiting their increase, or of diminishing their number ; and, least of all, will it wantonly add insult to injury, and to proscription a load of public and gratuitous contumely.

7. The fourth grievance of your petitioners is that they are not only expressly excluded from all those offices of trust and emolument in the Civil, Military and Marine services of the East India Company's Government, which are open to "British subjects," but that they are also treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments in the Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments, and even in the Military service, which are open without reserve to the Hindu and Muhamedan natives of the country. Your petitioners are prohibited from being appointed to the situations of Munsif, Sheristadar, and almost all other inferior Judicial offices ; they are prevented from practising as Vakeels or Pleaders in every one of the courts of justice of the East India Company, from the highest to the lowest ; they are shut out from all the subordinate offices in the departments of General Revenue and Police ; and in the army they are not permitted to fill the posts of native commissioned or non-commissioned officers, nor even that of a naick or corporal in a native regiment, although leave is given to them to shed their blood in the ranks as privates, and to officiate in the regimental band as drummers and musicians. Thus, of the many thousand subordinate employments under the local Government, there are few from which they are not excluded except on condition of abjuring the Christian faith : in which case, their eligibility as natives of India would be at once restored.

8. The fifth grievance, of which your petitioners complain, is, that they are expressly declared to be disqualified from holding His Majesty's commission in the British Indian Army. The Commander-in-Chief for the time being of His Majesty's Forces in India, on the 27th of February 1808, issued a general order, still in force, by which no person can be recommended in India for any vacant commission in His Majesty's service, who belongs to the class of which your petitioners compose a part. Your petitioners humbly trust that His Majesty, in the exercise of his Royal prerogative will see fit to rescind this invidious order, and though they are aware that it does not belong to your Honorable House to free them from the galling disability to which it has subjected them, yet they have deemed it important to be mentioned in this place, as an additional proof of that system of cruel proscriptions, of which they have been made the unoffending victims.

9. The sixth grievance imposed upon your petitioners is that, by stipulations in treaties with all the powers in India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, they are debarred from employing your petitioners in any capacity, without the permission of the Supreme Government of India. It is true that, in those treaties, only "Europeans and Americans" are expressly prohibited from being so employed ; yet, although these are denominations under which your petitioners cannot be classed, the restriction is practically applied to them also. Thus, by the limited signification which has been given to the phrase "British subjects" so as to exclude your petitioners, who are subjects of the British Crown, they are exposed to intolerable grievances ; and by the extended meaning which has been given to the terms "Europeans and Americans," so as to include your petitioners who are natives of Asia, they are prevented, except under special license seldom given, and always liable to be recalled from employing their talent

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and industry in the service of any of the Native Princes. In both cases, but by contrary means, alike cruel and unjust to your petitioners, the one great object of exclusion is effected; and thus whatever step they take in life, and to whatever quarter they look, exclusion, disability and proscription meet them at every turn.

10. The last grievances to which your petitioners will advert is that every plan proposed by others, or adopted by themselves, for the improvement of the class to which they belong instead of receiving the fostering countenance of the paternal Government, has met with positive disapproval, or cold neglect, strongly contrasted with the active and liberal encouragement that has been laudably given by the local authorities to various institutions formed for the benefit of other classes of the population. In support of this statement your petitioners beg to refer to the benevolent plan proposed by the late Colonel Kirkpatrick, in 1782, having for its objects to secure a provision for the sons of European officers by native mothers, by educating them in England, and obtaining cadetships for them in the Indian army. This scheme, which received the approbation of the whole military service, and was not opposed by the local Government, was rejected in the most unqualified manner by the Court of Directors; the residence of such children in Europe for education being that part of it, which especially called forth their reprobation. In the same manner, at a more recent period, two Institutions were commenced by the exertions of your petitioners, and devoted to the education of their children, called the Parental Academic Institution (now the Doveton College) and the Calcutta Grammar School, amidst severe pecuniary difficulties, and with the certain prospect of great advantage resulting from even a slight measure of assistance from Government, have been refused a participation with other similar institutions in those funds, which the East India Company is required, by Act of Parliament, to apply to the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives of India. Thus their European parents are frowned upon, for endeavouring to send them to England for education. Your petitioners themselves are discouraged in their humble attempts to extend the blessings of education among their own class in India. Every avenue of honourable ambition and of social improvement is shut up against them; and it is with a keen and long cherished conviction of the wrongs they have suffered from the race of their fathers, that they now bring themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and respectfully ask for that equality of rights and privileges, to which, in common with every other class of His Majesty's subjects, they are unquestionably entitled.

11. Your petitioners have now briefly enumerated the principal grievances, for which they seek redress from your Honourable House; but the statements they have made are very far from expressing the depth and the extent of the degradation which has been entailed upon them, and the numerous ramifications of the evils which they suffer. What they have styled their grievances, are not individual cases of grievances peculiar to one person, one time, and one occasion; but they are classes of grievances, each class extending to the whole body to which your petitioners belong, and all of them spread over the entire period of existence, pervading every transaction and relation of life, and doubly felt, first, in their own persons and fortunes, and, secondly, in the condition and prospects of their rising offspring.

12. However diversified and pervading the particular effects of the grievances your petitioners suffer, there is one unvarying general result which they produce:—there is one point to which they are all made to tend, and that is, to place your petitioners in the situation of a proscribed class, to

prevent their amalgamation with the European population, and to create and perpetuate against them the most mortifying and injurious prejudices. Your petitioners are aware that the abolition of those social prejudices, which they are made the object, cannot be brought within the scope of legislative enactment; and it is with no such view that they seek for the interposition of your Honourable House. They trust to the loyalty and rectitude of their own conduct for that place and consideration in society which belong to them; but they think they have a right to complain when the acts of the legislative and governing powers, instead of having a tendency to neutralize and destroy the prejudices that exist against your petitioners, have had the direct and certain effect of calling them into existence. Your petitioners neither ask nor expect any special interference in their behalf; but they warmly protest against those invidious distinctions which mark them, in the land of their birth, as outcasts and aliens, bereft of all privileges, and strangers alike to the rights of society, and to the feelings of humanity. It is surely not the characteristic of a paternal and an enlightened Government, which should be the common and equal protector of all its subjects, to scatter with its own hands the seeds of discord and to array the different classes of society against each other in bitter contempt and implacable hatred. Yet such is the undeniable tendency of the exclusive and contumelious system of misgovernment, under which your petitioners have long suffered, and which, if continued, must produce in the class to which they belong, hitherto free from the slightest reproach of disloyalty or disaffection, permanent dissatisfaction, and even entire alienation of mind from the British authority in India.

13. Your petitioners disclaim every invidious or unfriendly feeling in the contrast, which they have had occasion to present of their own depressed condition, with the superior advantages and privileges enjoyed by other parts of the population. There are numerous and weighty grievances which they suffer, in common with British-born subjects on the one hand, and with Hindus and Muhamedans on the other, but which, as organs of a distinct class, your petitioners have not considered it proper on the present condition to detail. These common grounds of complaint have produced in their minds a sympathy with those classes; and in those instances, in which your petitioners labour under peculiar disadvantages, they are far from wishing to bring their fellow-subjects to the same level with themselves, or to claim any exclusive countervailing privilege. Although professing the Christian religion, speaking the English language, and assimilated in dress, manners and education to their paternal ancestors, they do not, on these or other grounds, ask for any favours or immunities which they would not equally solicit for their fellow-subjects of the Hindu and Muhamedan religions. But being Christians, and descendants of Englishmen, your petitioners humbly submit that it is cruel and unjust to make their belief and descent the grounds of civil outlawry, of degrading disqualification, and of a uniform and persevering course of contumelious and insulting treatment; and that it is especially inconsistent and impolitic in a Christian and British Government to adopt and reduce to practice such an odious system of exclusion, and thus to fix marks of deep contempt and degradation on the partakers of their own blood, and the professors of a common faith.

14. Your petitioners may be permitted to observe that, however strong the language they have deemed it requisite to employ in the exposition of their grievances, and however acute the feelings of which that language is the feeble and imperfect expression, they have never lost sight of the obedience and respect which have been claimed by their immediate rulers. From them,

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indeed, the condition of your petitioners has not received the consideration which they had a right to expect, and which they earnestly hope your Honourable House will bestow. Their complaints when presented in the most respectful terms, through the proper channels, have been treated as futile and unfounded; nor has any disposition been shown to alleviate the acknowledged extreme hardships under which they suffer. To the East India Company, herefore, in its own character, or to its local Government, your petitioners, as a body, feel that they owe nothing. They have received from it no sympathy or redress—nothing but studied insult, contemptuous indifference, or at best empty profession. But in that Company and its servants, your petitioners see the legally constituted representatives of British power and authority in India, and they have therefore conscientiously discharged the duties of peaceable and obedient subjects, in the fond, although hitherto vain expectation, that their peculiar grievances would attract the attention of those who have the ability, and, they trust, the will to remedy them.

15. Your petitioners hope that it is only necessary to bring to the notice of your Honourable House the evils which have been entailed upon their body, to produce at once the disposition to remove them. With regard to such matters as may appear fit for the direct interference of Parliament, your petitioners cannot doubt that an immediate remedy will be applied, and, with regard to such as seem to reside during the existence of the present charter of the East India Company, within the province of that body and their local Government, your petitioners pray, that to them their rights and interests may no longer be committed, without appeal; and that, in any new charter which the Legislature may grant, a clause may be inserted, expressly prohibiting, in all its parts, that system of exclusion directed against your petitioners, which has hitherto formed a distinguishing feature in the policy of the Company's Government. They pray to be delivered from that state of neglect and abandonment, in which they have hitherto been allowed to remain, beyond the pale of civil law, ignominiously driven from all community of rights and privileges with any of the denominations of the society in which they reside. They pray your Honourable House to admit them to the fellowship of their fathers, to rescue them from subjection to institutions the most degrading and despotic, and to treat them as subjects of the British Crown, to which alone they recognize their allegiance to be due; and to which they desire to bind themselves and their posterity by the indissoluble ties of justice and of gratitude.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The following is a report of the debate in the House of Lords on the occasion of the presentation of the Petition. The notes are those made by J. W. Ricketts:—

HOUSE OF LORDS, 29TH MARCH 1830.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—I rise to present a Petition from the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, praying for the revision of the laws affecting the native Christian population of India.* I can only say, my Lords, that I have a most earnest desire that relief should be afforded to the petitioners, who labour under great hardships.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—This is far from being a favourable opportunity or entering into a discussion upon the statements of the Petition. I must,

* These are the descendants of Europeans of intermarriages, means by native mothers, and the offspring

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however, assure the Noble Earl that I feel, as every person of the slightest humanity must do, the greatest compassion for the unfortunate situation of the class to which the petitioners belong. I am fully conscious, too, that it is of great importance to alleviate the evils of their condition, and no man will rejoice more at such a circumstance than myself, if a way can be found of doing so, without a violation of the principles essential to the conservation of the British empire in India.* There are some grievances stated in that Petition, which, if they practically exist, I think might be redressed without danger, and that at no distant period. If, for example, they lie under inconveniences with respect to the law of marriage or of succession, I see no reason why a remedy should not be applied. What, however, is really asked by the petitioners, is not an equality of civil rights, but an admission to privileges from which the great body of the native population of India are excluded. They are the illegitimate offspring of European fathers and native mothers†; and they wish to be placed in a situation, such as is filled by illegitimate children in no part of the world.‡ Nevertheless, since the arrival of the Petition in this country, it has received the greatest consideration both from the Board of Control, and the Directors of the East India Company. I am not prepared to state the result of that consideration at the present moment; but will say that there is every disposition to ameliorate the condition of the petitioners, and grant their prayers, as far as may be consistent with the two great objects we must always bear in mind, when legislating for India, namely, the conservation of our empire and the well-being of the great body of the people.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—What difference is there between the children of half-castes, and the half-castes themselves?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—As regards the privileges of Europeans, the children of half-castes are in the same situation as the half-castes themselves,—but not so as regards offices under the Company, for as natives they may be appointed to any military situation in the Company's service to which natives are eligible.

* Here is an apprehension of danger altogether without foundation, and is only calculated to mislead the English public. It is the same as saying, "If we do wrong, we are safe; but if we do right, we are surrounded with danger." Danger and insecurity may certainly spring from the wrongs and grievances of a discontented people; but if the petitioners have been uniformly loyal in their conduct under all the load of degrading disabilities heretofore systematically heaped upon them, is it to be supposed that the abolition of these disabilities would lead them all at once to abandon their loyalty for rebellion?

† The petitioners are persons born both in and out of wedlock who labour alike under the same disabilities.

‡ Quite the reverse. In England, for instance, no enquiry is ever made into legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth, either to qualify or disqualify for office; and, if it were not thought injudicious to mention names, many individuals might be pointed out as coming under the latter class, who nevertheless fill responsible and im-

portant offices in the State. On this very subject, too, speaking of the legal incapacity of an illegitimate child, Blackstone says—"And really any other distinction but that of not inheriting, which civil policy renders necessary, would, with regard to the innocent offspring of his parent's crimes, be odious, unjust, and cruel to the last degree." Nor indeed, is the political disability, as applicable to East Indians, the sons of the European fathers and native mothers, really grounded upon the fact of illegitimacy of birth; since there are instances of persons, the illegitimate sons of European parents on both sides who have been unscrupulously admitted into the East India Company's service, both civil and military. The objection, then, is merely *skin-deep*, and destitute of all reason and justice; applying, as it does exclusively to persons descended from Indian mothers; but shall such an objection, alike absurd and unjust, continue to operate as a libel upon the British administration in India, in this liberal and enlightened age?

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Ricketts' note to the last statement is:—"Not so, they are ineligible to the posts of Soubadars, Jemadars, Havildars and Naicks in the Native army in India."

The following letters passed between Lord Carlisle and Mr. Ricketts regarding his Lordship's statement "in the House of Lords:—

GROSVENOR PLACE,
9th June 1830.

Lord Carlisle presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of the copies (of report of the debate from the "Mirror of Parliament") which have just reached him.

He is aware that the observations he made upon presenting the Petition to the House of Lords were very imperfectly, if at all, reported. He must, however, be allowed to say that he did state the various grievances, which were enumerated by the petitioners; and concluded with professing, that he was actuated by no unfriendly feeling to the Government of India or to the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control, and that he was disposed to believe, that the noble Lord was sincerely desirous of correcting the anomalies detailed in the Petition; and of remedying the grievances, and ameliorating the condition of what must be considered an unfortunate portion of the population of British India. If Lord Carlisle had been apprised of the intention of publishing the debates upon presenting the petitions in the two Houses, he could have easily furnished the short account of what he did say. As the statement appears at present, it omits what he did say, and put words into his mouth he never used.

Lord Carlisle must also observe, that he was aware that it was the intention of the Committee of the Lords to examine Mr. Ricketts, and imagined that his evidence would afford more information than a discussion in the House.

J. W. RICKETTS,

6, Cloudsley Terrace, Liverpool Road.

Although in this note Lord Carlisle declares that he is reported to have used words he never uttered, and that the account omits what he did say, his Lordship's short speech appears in Hansard as we have quoted it without any note to the effect that this is not what Lord Carlisle did say. It might be interesting to learn in how many instances speeches quoted in the early days of Parliamentary reporting are really in every respect what they propose to be.

Mr. Ricketts' reply is as follows:—

CLOUDSLEY TERRACE, LIVERPOOL,
10th June 1830.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts presents his compliments to Lord Carlisle and is extremely sorry to find that the report of his Lordship's speech, as given in the Parliamentary debates on the East Indian's Petition, is so very imperfect.

Mr. Ricketts was of course very anxious to obtain a correct report of the debates, and not relying on what appeared in the newspapers, he had

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recourse to the "Mirror of Parliament" Office for their version of them, but he regrets to be still disappointed. Mr. Ricketts unfortunately reached the House of Lords a little too late to hear what took place on the occasion, as he was misinformed as to the usual hour for the commencement of business. Mr. Ricketts begs to apologize to Lord Carlisle for his apparent want of attention, in not making his Lordship acquainted with his intention to publish the debates, which was formed only, since the presentation of the Petition in the Commons.

RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CARLISLE,

12, Grosvenor Place.

With regard to the incorrection of the reported debates in the Lords, Mr. Ricketts wrote as follows :—I can only account for it in this way :—When his Lordship rose to present the Lords' petition, having commenced with stating that it was one from a certain class of the Christian population in India, it is likely enough that this circumstance alone was quite sufficient to produce a sort of narcotic effect on the mind of the reporter who must have treated the matter as one of subordinate interest, relating to scenes separated by the distance of half the globe ; and hence, a mere hurried guess, as I must now call it, at Lord Carlisle's speech on the occasion, as given in the "Mirror of Parliament." Quite otherwise, however, with the Lower House. When Mr. Wynn rose to present the Commons' petition, the cry of "Order, order" resounded more than once from the speaker ; and Mr. Wynn himself, experiencing some little inconvenience from the prevailing buzz in the house, very courteously turned round and requested the Honourable Members to desist for a few moments. Perfect silence and order being now restored, Mr. Wynn proceeded without interruption, and was attentively listened to ; and the whole of the debate growing out of the matter, became strikingly spirited and interesting.

Before finally quitting this branch of the subject, I must be allowed to express my sense of gratitude to Lord Carlisle, for the kind share of interest he took in presenting our petition in the House of Lords, and in examining me before the Lords' committee ; and, though he had but a simple part to act in the matter, and abstained, for the reason assigned in his letter, from enlarging on our case while presenting the petition, yet our obligations to his Lordship remain unaffected by that circumstance.

Mr. Ricketts wrote of the debate in the House of Commons as follows :—

"After the Easter recess our Petition was presented by Mr. Wynn in the House of Commons on the 4th of May. Never before, since my arrival in England, did I witness a more interesting spectacle, than the one presented to my sight on this occasion ; and Mr. Wynn very kindly secured a seat for me in the house below the gallery, where I truly enjoyed a rich mental feast, afforded by the warm debate arising from the subject ; one which was now, for the first time, fairly and tangibly brought before the Legislature. Without exception, it was decidedly the best thing in the way of a debate in the house that evening, as was also acknowledged by others ; and Mr. Crawford, who was likewise present, came up to congratulate me on the peculiar warmth of interest shown to be felt by the different speakers, and on the happy issue of the business, so far as it went.

To Mr. Wynn, therefore, and also to Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Charles Forbes, to Mr. J. Stewart and Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, are the East-Indian public pre-eminently indebted for the highly beneficial results

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arising from their parliamentary exertions in an affair, which concerns a politically degraded and proscribed class of Christian population, subject to the rule of a British Christian Government, at half the distance of the sea. Nor are our obligations, in this respect, the less due to Dr. S. Ashington and Mr. J. Hume; who, but for the lateness of their arrival at the particular evening referred to, would have taken their full share in the debate.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 4TH MAY 1830.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I regret, Sir, that the duty of presenting the Petition which I now hold in my hand, has devolved upon me, in consequence of the indisposition of my Noble Friend, the Member for Woodstock (Lord Ashley). I regret that it is not in the power of that Noble Lord to present the Petition, because I am sure that it would have made a greater impression upon the House, if it had come from his hands, instead of from mine; and that, not merely on account of his official character as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, but also on account of the great vigilance and attention which he has been in the habit of bestowing upon all subjects connected with that country. This Petition is very numerous, and I may also add, very respectably, signed by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, descended on the one side from European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and on the other, from natives of India, who may, therefore, be denominated Indo-Britons, though they are more generally known by the title of half-castes. The grievances of which the petitioners complain are numerous; but may, I believe, be comprised under two heads. Whilst they live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, they are guided in their civil relations by the laws of England; but the moment they pass from that jurisdiction, they complain that they are placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindu or Muhamedan. They likewise complain that they are excluded from all superior offices in the civil and military services of the East India Company. To this subject I alluded last year, when I had the honour of presenting a Petition from the natives of India, complaining that they were excluded from all offices of trust and emolument in the land of their fathers. For my own part I cannot separate the cases of these two different classes of petitioners. This, however, I must say, that whatever arguments are applied to the case of the natives of India, apply with infinitely stronger force to those unfortunate individuals who compose the subscribers of this Petition. They, at least, are of our blood and of our religion; many of them have been educated in this country, and are possessed of capacity and acquirements of the first description. Though they profess themselves to be, and actually are, Christians, they are, when in the interior, amenable to the Muhamedan criminal law. They are thus deprived of all the advantages of trial by jury; and, when accused of offences, are liable to be fined and imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely by Europeans but also by Muhamedan officers of justice. Questions may arise as to the validity of their marriages; and all such questions must be decided not according to the principles of Christian, but according to those of Muhamedan law. How great the disadvantages are, which arise from this system, have been made apparent in the inquiries that have been recently instituted into this subject by the Committee of both Houses now sitting on the East India Company's Charter. It happens that a great many females, the daughters of European fathers, by native mothers, are married to European officers, high in the service of the Company, at Calcutta. I have been told that, among the officers who

hold the highest situations on the staff in the Company's service at Calcutta, there is not at present one who is not married to a female of Indian descent. Supposing that an offence should be charged against any of these married couples, whilst residing in the interior, the husband would be sent to Calcutta, to be tried by Europeans, according to the principles of British law ; but the wife might be tried and condemned before any Muhamedan magistrate. This is not merely a grievance in itself, but it gives rise to a feeling among the half-castes, that they stand in a different situation from their European relations, with whom they would otherwise mix upon terms of equality, and to whom they are, in point of fact, equal in this country.

There is nothing in the law or constitution of this country to prevent any half-caste from being elected a Member of Parliament, or from taking his seat in this House. They are frequently sent over to this country for education, and, in many instances, receive one equal to that received by any gentleman whom I am now addressing ; and they are, consequently, equally competent to discharge the duties of any situation, however important. The grievance which the petitioners feel the most severely, is their exclusion by the East India Company from all employments in their service, civil and military. Within these few years, this injustice, glaring as it originally was, has received considerable mitigation ; for the exclusion has been confined to the sons of parents, either of whom were of unmixed Indian blood. Formerly, any one who had a tinge of colour in his skin, was certain to meet with obstruction, in his road to preferment ; indeed, it was impossible for him to advance at all. It came within my own knowledge that, on one occasion, the son of an English officer, by a lady whom he had married in England, was darker than suited the taste of our military critics : and there was, in consequence, a refusal to admit him, though regularly nominated, into the Company's service. I know that there are those who talk of the inherent unsuitness of persons of Indian descent to fill offices of trust and importance in India. I should be ashamed to argue with those who uphold such doctrines. I should blush if I were compelled to go through the names of those who, in spite of these regulations, have worked out their way to greatness by the commanding force of their talents.

I last year adverted to a distinguished instance in the case of Colonel Skinner, who, though he was excluded, owing to his descent from a native mother, from serving in the East India Company's regular Army, raised a corps of 8,000 men, and distinguished himself in an eminent manner during the late wars. For his intrepid and disinterested conduct, although rejected by the Company's service, he earned for himself the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service, and obtained the cross of a Commander of the Bath. I have seen evidence* within the last two days, which proves Colonel Skinner's influence in India to be so great, as to enable him to raise 10,000 men at any time. That officer is a gallant man, and as loyally attached to his Sovereign as man can be ; but is it wise, I would ask, to make such a man, with such influence, the object of proscription ? If such policy is to be permanently adopted, individuals in his circumstances will soon be animated with feelings of hostility to our Indian Government. If the career of honor is shut against them, those talents which cannot be used in favor of the Government, will be used for its destruction. Others hold it to be politic, that these men should be systematically degraded,—and why ? "Because (say they) the natives

* See the evidence of R. D. Mangles, Esq., before the Lords' Committee.

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of India look upon these half-castes in a very different manner from that which they look upon Europeans." This mode of argument is really monstrous. The governors of India first place these individuals in a state of degradation, and then urge that degradation as a reason for continuing it.

Upon this subject, I will only refer to what has been so well stated by Sir Thomas Munro. That excellent officer, in a minute upon this subject, dated 31st December 1824, says, "With what grace can you talk of your paternal government of India, if you exclude descendants of European fathers by native mothers from all offices; and if, over a population of 60,000,000, you enact that no one but an European shall order any punishment? Such an interdiction is a sentence of degradation on a whole people, from which no good can arise. How can we expect that the Hindu population will be good subjects, unless we hold out to them inducements to become so? If superior acquirements cannot open the road to distinction, how can you expect individuals to take the trouble of acquiring them? When obtained, they can answer no other purpose, than that of showing their possessor the fallen condition of the caste to which he belongs. This is true of every nation, and of every country—it is true of our own. Let England be subjugated by a foreign force,—let the natives of it be excluded from all offices of trust and emolument,—and then all their knowledge, and all their literature, both foreign and domestic, will not save them from being, in a few generations, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

This is the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, and I think it applies most forcibly to the present subject. The whole of the minute, indeed, from which it is selected, appears to me well worthy the attention of the House; and, as it has not been published in the very valuable *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, which has lately appeared, I shall, when this Petition is disposed of, move that it be laid before the House: and I only wish that every gentleman may take the trouble of reading it through, since I am convinced, that every one must be no less delighted than benefited by the sentiments of enlightened humanity, and by the high-minded and liberal views which it contains.

Before I sit down, I cannot help observing that the effects of this system of exclusion are not merely confined to their legal operation, but are also productive of great moral and personal degradation. I found that to be the case during the period, in which I myself superintended the affairs of India. I discovered that, in a charitable institution, founded by Lord Clive, for the benefit of the widows and children of his companions in arms and without any intention on the part of that great man of establishing any system of an exclusive nature, it had since been directed that, before any widow could receive the benefit of it, an affidavit must be made that she was not of native blood. This restriction I was enabled to abolish; but by the regulations of the military fund, established both at Madras and Bombay, the one in the year 1808, the other in the year 1816, it is still provided that it shall be an indispensable qualification to any child who seeks relief from it, that both the parent and the child should be European, and of unmixed blood; and it is likewise added, that four removes from African or Asiatic blood should be considered as restoring the blood to purity. I thought, then, and I am still of the same opinion, that a state of society in which such regulations were publicly avowed and acted upon, was one which required revision and reformation. I trust, therefore, that whatever may be the issue of the inquiry now proceeding up-stairs, the House will take into its consideration the situation both of these petitioners and of the natives, and will admit them to every office which their

education and acquirements render them qualified to discharge. I may perhaps, be asked, "Would you wish the whole government of India to find its way into the hands of Asiatics?" To that question, I would merely answer, that it is my belief, that such a permission as that which I now seek to obtain, as matter of right for the half-castes, would never be too extensively granted to them in practice. No matter in what hands the patronage of India may be hereafter vested, whether it be in those of the East India Company, or of the British Government, we may be sure that, under any European administration, sufficient favor will be shewn to Europeans, and that nothing but decided merit will place an Asiatic on the same level with them. It is unwise to let men in the situation of these petitioners feel that the career of honor is shut against them; and in a House of Commons which has removed the exclusion which for so many years operated upon a large class of its Catholic fellow-subjects—an exclusion which was only justified on political grounds, even, by those who advocated its continuance—in a House of Commons which has also taken the first step to emancipate the Jews from the state of degradation to which they have been so long consigned by the law of this country—in such a House of Commons, I say, I do not expect to find any opposition made to so reasonable a prayer as this; that men should not be shut out from all offices of trust in the country of their birth, simply because they derived their origin from its original inhabitants. I beg leave to move, Sir, that this Petition be brought up.

The Petition was then brought up; and on the question that the Petition be now read.

Mr. STUART WORTLEY said,—As the whole subject of the Government of India is now undergoing the consideration of a Committee above stairs, I am sensible that the present would be an unfit opportunity to enter into a discussion upon the situation of that class of persons from whom this Petition has been presented by my Honorable friend. Yet, after what has passed, I should not feel myself justified, if I suffered the Petition to be brought up without offering a few observations to the attention of the House. The principal object that I have in view, in rising at this time to address the House, is to assure the Right Honorable Gentleman, the House and the petitioners themselves, that the half-castes are not looked upon with any of that contemptuous feeling which they are disposed to attribute to the Government of India. I believe it to be the disposition of the local Government, and I am sure it is the disposition of the Government at home, to give every consideration to the state and condition of the people of India. They are very far, indeed, from being insensible to their condition, and are always ready to consider in what way relief can be afforded to them, consistently with the principles that must regulate the Government of a country so situated. Amongst the grievances stated in the Petition, there appear some to which a remedy may be applied—namely, those relating to marriages and successions. These are points affecting the relations of social life, and remedies might, I think, be easily discovered; but though I admit this, yet, when I am called upon to go beyond these grievances, and into the consideration of others, I then am certainly unable to decide whether these can be remedied, and for this reason, that they involve very great and important considerations respecting political government.* I beg also to say that I am obliged to consider, that it would be highly inconvenient to enter into such an explanation as the subject necessarily requires, on

* This is the old bugbear again; or, under a colour of danger in the very at-
in other words, a pretence to do wrong tempt to do right.

the question of the bringing up or reading of a Petition; for, Sir, the question is one of a most extensive nature, and must, of necessity, be brought under the consideration of the body now delegated by the House to inquire into the subject of India. This I conceive to be the most proper course to be pursued on this subject; and I must also say, I am sure, that whoever will carefully, and in detail, inquire into it, will see how exceedingly difficult it will be at once to find a remedy for what is complained of. I shall also take leave to add, as the Right Honorable Gentleman has taken this opportunity of adverting to the evidence given before the Committee, that although what he has mentioned is quite to the purpose, and well illustrates his views, yet, there is one point on which the evidence has not reached the bottom. In the course of that evidence, the number of persons situated like the petitioners in the provinces of Bengal was inquired into. One of the complaints made is, that they are excluded from all government and other situations; and let us consider the answer which does not prove their condition to be so very bad, though I will not assert that a very extensive field lies open to their ambition. The fact is, that the witness, whose Petition I believe this to be, was examined before the Committee. On being asked what is the number of this class of persons in Bengal and its dependencies, he says, he believes about 2,000.* He is then asked what proportion of these is fit for the holding of offices, and he says 1,500. Then the question is put to him, what number of them are actually employed? and his answer is, that there are two-thirds of that number, or about 1,000 persons in actual employment. I do not mean to say that this is an answer to the Petition; but it is at least a palliation of the case; and it is, at all events, a clear proof that there is not such a number of them destitute of employment as it is wished that we should believe. Unless I were to enter fully upon the whole subject of the law, and of the distinctions which have resulted from peculiar circumstances, I could not with propriety now go farther; and, in conclusion, I will beg to repeat what I said at the commencement—that I should be one of the last persons who would throw any obstacle in the way of allowing these petitioners to forward their interests—that it is by no means from any prejudice against either caste or colour that the Government excludes these individuals from the higher offices; but that the question involves other points of the greatest magnitude; and that it remains for the Parliament alone to consider and decide on the course that ought to be pursued.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.—Sir, I confess I have been anxious to deliver my sentiments on this subject, and the causes of that anxiety are; I trust, of such a nature as may excuse it. I have had an opportunity of observing the persons and characters of the men whose Petition is now before us, and I have made them the subject of as much inquiry and reflection as I was capable of. I need not say that I will not condescend to urge any thing against the pretended inferiority of national character, or against the notion of there being one class created to rule, and another merely to obey. I have ever accounted such doctrines as the common phrases of the advocates of oppression; and sure I am that there is no reason, and not a shadow

* In the evidence here referred to, the number is estimated at 20,000; not at 2,000, as stated by Mr. Wortley. Of this number 1,000 or more are supposed to be employed in public and private offices, and about 500 are deemed to be qualified for offices of trust and responsibility; but, instead of their being so employed, they are just tantalized with a sight of these offices, to decipher the harsh and unjust prohibition inscribed upon them,—“Touch not, taste not, handle not;” while they are permitted to hold inferior situations, the highest salaries of which fall below the level of what is enjoyed by every beardless youth in the Civil service at the very threshold of his public career.

of foundation for them in any part of the character of the natives of India. I shall not follow my Right Honorable Friend in giving the example of a single person of high attainments, which might not be admitted as an argument, from the singularity of the circumstance; but I will say, that I made minute inquiry in places of education, in counting-houses, and in the offices of Government,—where, it is true, some of these unfortunate beings are admitted to inferior offices, and in which they have just liberty enough to enable them to get a sight of what would be the object of their ambition, and are tantalized with the view of what it is impossible for them to attain. My main reason for rising has been the impulse of my conscience, and that obliges me to declare that there is no class of individuals not in actual slavery, throughout the dominions of the Crown in these realms, that is used with so much needless harshness and oppression as this race.

I do not agree with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control, that this is not a proper opportunity to enter upon this subject, because the whole must come before the Committee now examining into the state of India. I am quite sure, and on this I think even he will agree with me, that this Committee cannot go into all the branches of so vast an inquiry as the government of one hundred millions of men; and I am equally convinced that, unless we take frequent opportunities of preliminary discussion in this House, we shall never be ripe for the proper consideration of this great and extensive subject. I confess I feel surprised at the idea implied in what the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control has said, namely, that the petitioners have brought forward overcharged statements; and I am sure that if he will reflect and consider for a moment on the grievances they have laboured under, the patience with which they have endured them, and the profound silence observed for many years by the petitioners, and then compare those with the negligence and the progressive insults of the Government, he will entertain no feeling but one of surprise at the forbearance they have manifested. The stigma, however, remains as deep as ever—the brand still burns—they are disgraced and degraded, because they are deprived of all those honors that ought to be the reward of their exertions; and it is of this disgrace and degradation, brought upon them needlessly and unwisely, that they now complain. The Honorable Secretary also left out of consideration one or two of the chief exclusions they suffer from. He talked of their marriages, and of rules respecting them. I confess I do not know by what regulations marriages are governed in the provinces,—it certainly cannot be the law of England;—but this at least appears, that these unfortunate people are in what may be, without any exaggeration, designated a state of outlawry. Although the regulation only extends to exclude them from the higher offices of the Company, yet, the fact is, that, under pretence of this, they are also excluded from all the lower offices—even those which may be held by natives. If, because Mahomedans may fill many offices which they actually do, in the collection of the revenue, and in the courts of the provinces, and from which the petitioners are in point of fact excluded, then it may be, and it is said, that, there is no law to this effect. I know that is true: I know there is no such law; but, since the fact is so, they are still in a state of outlawry, and the disgrace and the stigma still remain: for no sooner are they excluded from the higher offices, than by practice they are shut out from the others. Nothing is more deplorable than the way in which we see tyrannical laws followed up by still more tyrannical practices.

I am surprised that gentlemen have not taken into consideration this question, whether the exclusion from offices of a particular class of natives

on account of their professing the doctrines of Christianity, is not an argument against the line of policy we pursue. It is nothing to say that this results from usage, and not from law: this usage is only the tyrannical child of a tyrannical parent. I say, that when we take into consideration the events of the last forty years, and that the class whose grievances are now the subject of complaint, have become as respectable a body as any in India, this result will be made clear, that as soon as it is declared that any one class is inferior to the others—no matter what the character of the community may be, when this declaration is made—from that moment the class thus branded will be visited by evils of a deeper die. No man who knows me will doubt the high esteem and the warm regard I entertain for all those with whom I had the happiness to be acquainted in India. I say, I believe that there is greater generosity, and a higher point of honor to be found amongst the British population in India, than in most other parts of the world; but if I am called upon to point out the most odious light in which the exclusions that are sanctioned there, are to be regarded—I almost hesitate to state it, but still I will avow that these exclusions of the half-castes do assume the odious appearance of exclusions made by fathers against their children. I do not believe that those who made these regulations ever could have contemplated their subsequent effects; and I am sure that many of those who, from motives of State policy, are induced thus to act, put their hands to what they would have recoiled from with horror in a private station. But I am still sure that, if the signatures to these regulations prove that they are the disfranchisement of children by their parents, and such as the parties would be incapable of, if they had considered for a moment, these regulations are such as ought not to be allowed to continue.

I shall not longer delay the House; but I have this day read an account of a meeting held at Calcutta, on the 15th of December, and I read speeches delivered in the English language by two Hindus of rank and learning, and containing sentiments which would do honor to the members of any assembly. One of them, Rammohun Roy, has embraced your religion, notwithstanding the degradations you impose upon those who profess Christianity. He says, he is convinced that the more the natives of India come in contact and associate with English gentlemen, the more will they improve in every light, whether political, commercial, or moral. I cannot but agree with him in this view; and, thinking that the abolition of distinctions is the best course to be pursued, I most heartily concur in the prayer of this Petition.

MR. R. C. FERGUSON.—I cannot help offering my opinion to the House upon this very important subject. Shortly after I had the honor of a seat in this House, I did state my opinion upon it, and called the attention of the Right Honorable Gentleman then at the head of the Board of Control to its consideration, and his answer was similar to his statement of this day,—that the question was one which required the deepest and most serious deliberation. I never was the advocate of exclusion; and I said, then, and I say now, that it will be the policy of the Government of England to draw more upon the talents and the acquirements of the natives of India, than they now do. I say, also, that some of the statements in this Petition are of a very questionable description; but I, at the same time, admit that the petitioners are placed in a very painful situation. In the first place, it is difficult to say what law they are under. They are not Muhamedans,—but it is a subject of consideration whether it be policy that Muhamedans should have the benefit of laws which they have not, or whether they should be excluded from the law which applies to other Christians. They are, at present, subject to the laws which are administered by natives; and although no injury may, in fact, accrue, yet it is hard to subject them to the verdict

of a Muhamedan or a Hindu tribunal. The interest I have taken in them, they have long known. I felt it long before I had the honor of a seat in this House. If this class wish for all the advantages and privileges of British subjects, I think they ought to have them; but, at the same time, I do not know that much real advantage would result to them, for then they would be subject to all the regulations and all the restrictions that British residents are now governed by. If they wish to be considered as natives, and as British subjects, too, then they will have greater privileges than British subjects enjoy; and, if the matter be left to their own choice, I think they will wait a long while before they will choose to be considered merely as British subjects.

When, however, we enter upon the consideration of this subject, we ought not, in my opinion, to confine ourselves to the case merely of the half-caste Christians, as distinguished from that of the Hindus and the Muhamedans; nor ought we to make any difference in their favor, notwithstanding their being partly of European blood. The petitioners are not, as they would wish to have it believed, excluded from all offices. They certainly are not in a situation to fill the highest offices; but there are vast numbers of places of emolument filled by this class. I say this to their credit; for they owe it to their intelligence and their industry, and in these qualities they are not excelled by any other class of men. They are not, however, practically oppressed. If, as is true, they are excluded from the higher employments, they do not suffer more than other classes, and there is no greater injury inflicted by the exclusion of a Christian, than of a Hindu. My Right Honorable and Learned Friend has spoken of the case of Rammohun Roy; and of him I can also speak, from acquaintance, as one than whom there is no man of more intelligence. I wish I could say with my Right Honorable Friend that he is a Christian, but I do not believe he is. He has certainly shaken off his prejudices, and believes that there is but one God, and not a thousand, as some persons believe to be the faith of other Hindus; but he is so far advanced, that his faith would not disable him from the enjoyment of any office that his talents would entitle him to. I think we ought to examine how far the talents of all the natives may be used for the benefit of our Government; but this, in fact, may be considered as in progress; for now, in point of fact, more and more confidence is daily placed in them; both as respects their admission to offices, and to the administration of justice. The present question, then, I am of opinion, ought to be considered with reference to every class of natives, at the same time that I desire to be known as one friendly to the petitioners; and I shall be their friend, and be always ready to render them every service in my power. In conclusion, I will observe that not only is this a subject for serious consideration, but that it is a state of things, the remedy for which cannot be afforded at once, but must be given by degrees.

MR. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.—After the discussion that has taken place, I will not detain the House; but I should not discharge my duty, if I did not offer one or two observations. I congratulate, then, both the House and the natives of India on this discussion—the House, because we perform a sacred duty in showing that we extend our care and our protection over every portion of the dominions under the British Crown; and not only that, but that we are ever ready to do our duty. I congratulate the natives of India, and especially the class to which the petitioners belong, on the effect of this Petition, because I am sure that it is only necessary for their interests to have the subject publicly discussed, in order to their progress and advancement. I feel also that we should not confine ourselves, in our consideration of this subject, merely to the half-caste; but I cannot concur with the Honorable

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Gentleman in thinking that the exclusion of that particular class is not an injustice. It is a subject that must occupy the attention of the Committee, and I think it quite as important as the question whether Englishmen shall be restrained from holding land; and my opinion is, that natives ought to be allowed to fill every situation accessible to other subjects, except, perhaps, some very few, in which their admission might be accompanied with the idea of danger or insecurity.

SIR CHARLES FORBES.—Sir, I rise to support this Petition, and to give my testimony in favor of all that has been said of the high character of the natives of India. I shall not go further into the subject at present, but will conclude by saying that, after an experience of twenty-two years in India, and seventeen years here, the more I see of my own countrymen, the more I like the natives of India.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I shall make but one or two observations. In the first place, with respect to the situations of emolument held by this class, the highest office possessed by any of them does not yield more than £600 or £760 a year. They are excluded from all military offices, and from civil stations under the Government. I can see no reason why this exclusion should always be enforced in the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors, in which, when an appointment is bestowed, it is always accompanied with these words—"provided he be not the son of a native of India." Now, there is no reason why this should be continued, or why a person should be excluded from all commissions in the Army, as well as all civil employments, because he may happen to be the son of a native mother. Neither can I see why native Christians should be on a worse footing than any other class, and excluded expressly by the regulations of the Madras Government from the offices of District Munsifs, which are open to other natives, whether Hindus or Mulamedans.*

MR. STUART WORTLEY.—As to the statement of the Right Honorable Gentleman, I confess I was not aware of the continuance of the exceptions in instructions sent out; nor did I imagine that there was the distinction he alluded to in his last observation.

MR. JOHN STEWART.—I rise to bear testimony to the respectability of the class to which the petitioners belong; and my wish is, that all the disabilities of which they complain should be removed. I do not agree with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control that the present is an unfit opportunity for the discussion of this subject; on the contrary, I concur with the Right Honorable and Learned Gentleman opposite, that the oftener we discuss the affairs of India, the better prepared we shall be to legislate for the natives of that country. I fully agree in the account given of the grievances suffered by the petitioners, one consequence of which is, in a great measure, that they are excluded from mixing in European society; and the native Indians are thence induced to look upon them with a degree of distrust and contempt. These are the very painful effects that result from these regulations; and I have thought it right to state them, in the hope that Government may take the subject into their serious consideration.

The Petition was then read, and laid upon the table.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—In moving that this Petition be printed, I merely wish to accompany the motion with a desire that it should be referred to the East India Committee.

MR. STUART WORTLEY.—As my observations have been commented on by the Right Honorable Member for Knaresborough, as well as by the Honorable Member for Beverley, I beg to observe that I neither had, nor have any objection to discussion upon this subject; and that the only reason why I did

* See Bishop Heber's Correspondence, and Madras Regulations, 1816.

not think it convenient to enter upon it was, that at this moment another branch of the subject was under consideration. I do confess I am still of opinion that such a course is inconvenient on the presentation of a Petition; because, were we to go fully into the question, it would necessarily occupy the attention of the House for a long period. I beg at the same time, to say that, so far from wishing to decry discussion, I am sure that it will be productive of the best effect; and that I shall, on every proper occasion, forward it as much as lies in my power.

The Petition was then ordered to be printed.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I beg now to move for the copy of a Minute by the late Sir Thomas Munro, on the state of the country and condition of the people under the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated 31st December 1824.

MR. RICKETTS' evidence before both Houses of Parliament contains a mass of valuable information relating to Eurasians, to Calcutta Institutions, means of education, and other interesting matters which at the present day will, we are sure, be read with interest. We have ventured to summarise it, prefixing the following note of Mr. Ricketts :—

On the 31st of March, in obedience to a summons from the House of Lords, I attended to give evidence before their Select Committee on the affairs of India.

The Committee Meeting was well attended, and the Duke of Wellington was also present on the occasion. Most of the Peers showed an inclination to draw out to public view, by the fair drift of their questions, the aggravated evils of our civil and political condition; while Lord Ellenborough was the only one among them, who, assuming a sort of ex-officio position in the affair, endeavoured, by the ordinary process of cross-examination, to palliate and soften down, as much as possible, the otherwise glaringly self-evident hardship of our case.

I am a native of Calcutta, the bearer of a Petition from a portion of the inhabitants of that town, and of the Presidency of Fort William, which has been presented to the House of Lords. The Petition is signed by between six and seven hundred, mostly persons immediately descended from European fathers and native mothers, as well as of intermarriages between these descendants. Our first grievance is, that we are destitute of civil law. We are not recognised as British subjects by the Supreme Court of Calcutta if residing in the *Moffussil*; we are thrown upon the jurisdiction of the *Moffussil* Courts which are regulated by the Muhamedan law. As Christians, we cannot avail ourselves of the Muhamedan civil law, though we are subject to the Criminal Code. In all that regards marriages and succession to property, we are without any definite rule of civil law by which our affairs can be regulated. The provisions of the Muhamedan Criminal Code are barbarous, as applicable to a Christian population, even though the Code is modified by the Company's Regulations. We may appeal to the *Sudder Dewany Adawlat* in Calcutta; but in the year

1821, when the question of appeal was tried, it was the opinion of the Judge that we could not claim a right of appeal to the Supreme Court; even though the Sudder Dewany Adawlat Court possessed the power of increasing the punishment without fresh evidence being adduced. We are excluded from all superior covenanted offices, either by the positive Regulations of the Company or by the established usage of the service. It is provided by Regulation that the son of a native Indian shall not be appointed to the regular service of the Company, or to the Military service of the Company. Even the descendants of intermarriages are not eligible, but there has been some modification of this within the last two years by order of the Court of Directors, though there is no law on the subject. I know instances in which persons not immediately descended from native mothers have been refused appointments under the Company, simply on account of their parentage,—and if there has been an alteration of the phraseology of the Company's Regulations since 1827, the fact of refusal of appointments remains unchanged. We are not allowed to act as pleaders in any of the Courts. We can hold no commissions in the Company's or the King's service. We may be drummers and fifers, but I am not aware of any instance in which a member of the community has been advanced to the rank of corporal, the order withholding commissions was passed in the year 1808, by the Commander-in-Chief, and it has never been repealed. There are instances of deviation from this rule. Some of our class were admitted into both the civil and military services prior to the prohibition. The Quartermaster General of the army is an East Indian, admitted before 1791, and Mr. Achmuty, of the civil service. Colonel Skinner is an officer who has served with great distinction. He is the son of a native mother. I have never heard of any objection on the part of the natives of India to serve under him, or any objection on account of his mother having lost caste. Members of our class who take service under native States are required to return to the Company's territories on the outbreak of war. The Mahratta officers who were employed in the year 1801 and 1802 were invited back to the Company's territories under promise of being pensioned. Some availed themselves of the pension, others were barbarously murdered by the native princes, the moment they were aware of their intention to leave the State. Treaties with native States prevent Europeans from taking service, but we are, in this instance recognised sometimes as Europeans, and sometimes as natives, as it serves the purposes of the Government. We are recognised as natives except within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court,—and yet the officers who were employed by the Mahratta States of Scindia and Holkar were threatened

to be dealt with as traitors if they did not return to the Company's territories. The public and private schools for the education of children of East Indians have never received assistance from Government in any shape, whatever. We are excluded from participating in the grant for the education of the natives of India. The number of East Indians would not, I think, be overrated, were they estimated at 20,000 more or less in Calcutta and all the province. There was a police report made in the year 1822, and the Christian population in Calcutta alone was estimated at 13,138, of which there were 2,254 Europeans; consequently we were included in the remainder, that is, 10,884. Since 1822, the number must have considerably increased. We outnumber the Europeans very considerably, and our number is on the increase owing to the increased number of Europeans and of inter-marriages..... We are principally employed in subordinate capacities in the public offices of Government, chiefly as clerks. During the Nepaul war East Indians were employed in the irregular corps; but the corps was disbanded. I say, with perfect confidence, that there are many persons of half-blood qualified to hold high positions. I dare say we might collect about 500 so qualified. Many are employed in trade of various kinds, in the Calcutta and China trade, as officers and captains of ships, and as merchants. Baretto's house was considered one of the wealthiest in India; there are also Lackersteen's, Brightman and Bruce, and Allan's houses. The educational establishments for the education of East Indians in Calcutta are—the Military Orphan School, Parental Academic Institution (now Doveton College), and the Calcutta Grammar School. In the Military Orphan schools, Upper and Lower, there are perhaps 800, including both sexes. There are from 130 to 140 in the Parental Academic Institution, and about 40 or 50 in the Grammar School. Besides these there are private schools. Pupils continue in school till the age of 17 or 18, and there is no collegiate education in Calcutta, unless it be in the Bishop's College, which is confined to Missionary purposes. The Parental Academic Institution has succeeded to a happy extent in raising the tone of education in the country. There are other persons of half-blood who have no education, and are in a state of great destitution; their children are educated at the Free School, and the Benevolent Institution. The children of European soldiers by native mothers are brought up at the Lower Orphan School and sent out as drummers, fifers or apprenticed to tradesmen. Three different applications were made to the Government, one for medicines for the Parental Academic Institution, and two for pecuniary assistance. All were refused, although the assistance

sought for would have been as valuable for the sanction it would have afforded the school as from the amount of pecuniary aid. East Indians have been employed as preachers, missionaries and teachers,—and in these positions have never subjected themselves to any degree of censure or reproach. The influence they possess in such occupations would be very much increased by the removal of the restrictions to which they are at present subject. It is a thing for which the natives themselves cannot account, that the Government should reject, as it does, their own Christian offspring, and treat them with marked neglect and proscription. My opinion of the education in Calcutta is such, that having brought two of my own sons to England for education, and not being satisfied with what I have seen in the country, it is my intention to take them back to Calcutta. As natives of the country and as fixtures of the soil, the East Indians might be rendered instruments of great good to the country. If the real interests of India be sought, they cannot be more effectually promoted than through the instrumentality of those who have been born, educated, and are destined to spend their lives in the country. Dr. Marshman made an application for pecuniary assistance for the Benevolent Institution, which the Government complied with. Mr. Thomason made an application for the Female Asylum; this was also granted; and grants have been made to other institutions in consequence of applications from Europeans in their behalf, such as the Free School and others. My father was an ensign in the Engineers, and died at the Siege of Seringapatam, in 1792. I was educated in the school supported by the army, the Military Orphan School, and never went to another. Many of my countrymen, who have been educated in England, Scotland, and Ireland have, on their going back to India, been so much disappointed at the state of things, that they have, in many instances, returned to Europe to seek a living, finding that the door was completely shut against them in their native land. I mean men of first rate education. There was a son of a General officer, who returned in 1825; he had obtained the diploma of a doctor of medicine, but he found that the state of society was such as to compel him to return to Europe, and I believe he is now practising in England. There have been some other instances of this kind.

The following is Mr. Rickett's account of his attendance before the House of Commons:—

I attended in the House of Commons, on Monday the 21st of June, for the purpose of giving my evidence. The interrogatories put to me on this occasion, happily discovered much of a feeling of deep interest in the details of our case. Hence the eliciting of many fresh points in my examination before the Committee in the Lower House which were left untouched before

that of the Upper. The Committee adjourned about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and resumed my examination at their next sitting on Thursday, 24th. My bodily health had, since my first arrival in England, now begun to decline sensibly, from a perpetual struggle with the extreme coldness of the climate; and, on this occasion, I proceeded to the House under a violent irritation of fever, which becoming known, I was advised to leave. This, however, I declined doing, from my great anxiety to complete the business, lest a total cessation might take place from the approaching event of the King's death which occurred, as it turned out, but a few days after; and my adjourned examination was accordingly gone through.

Upon now taking a cool and deliberate retrospect of the whole matter, I have only to regret my failure in repulsing, with a due regard to justice and in the strongest terms compatibly with a sense of proper decorum, certain antiquated notions of an illiberal stamp, hatched in a particular quarter connected with the India House, as embodied in the question put to me in the course of my examination. For this self-conscious failure on my part, I hope not to stand chargeable with a deficiency of right feeling suited to the case; since in my own defence, I can truly plead a weak state of health, very sensibly affecting my spirits, doubtless superinduced by the benumbing influence of a desperately severe and changeable climate. What I here allude to, regards questions relative to "colour, caste of mother, want of mental qualifications;" and so forth; the two former being indeed of so grave a magnitude, as to prop up a system of aristocracy, based on the flimsy texture of the skin, to the utter overthrow of every principle of sound moral philosophy.

So far as regards any silly prejudice, arising from "colour and caste of mothers," these are distortions of the fact too puerile and unfounded to deserve a serious thought in the mind of a reasonable being; but, with regard to the matter of "mental qualifications," the question seems to call for a little sober treatment. And here, I would ask, what are the qualifications necessary to fit men for the public service in India? Are they human, angelic, or divine? If the two latter, cold and hopeless despair belong to our case, until the millennium shall have done its perfect work among us; but I rather think that the qualifications so much insisted on are merely human; and what are they? Embracing the circle of moral qualities, they consist in principles of uniform probity and rectitude, which lead to correctness of public character and conduct through life; and with regard to mental qualities, they are made up of such ingredients as common sense, a sound understanding, combined with a competent knowledge of English and the vernacular dialects of the country and a practical aptitude for the despatch of public business. With these qualifications (taken on the lowest scale, for the mere sake of argument, but which may be carried to a still higher pitch, if desirable,) superadded to an honest regard for the public good of India, it must require the presence of a monstrous political anomaly to bar the door against candidates for public employments, such an anomaly as has, I must say it to the shame of England, already too long been allowed to exist in India.

The leading points in Mr. Ricketts' examination before the House of Commons are as follows:—

"I am the agent of certain parties in the town of Calcutta, and have presented a Petition to the House of Commons. They have been called by various names, such as Eurasians, Anglo-Indians, Indo-Britians, Half-Castes, &c., but they have latterly selected

name of East Indians for themselves. The class of persons included in that designation are the descendants of European British subjects and European foreigners by native mothers, legitimate and illegitimate, as well as their offspring. The religion or caste of the native mothers of most of the East Indians within the Province of Bengal are Muhamedans of respectable families, but reduced circumstance; they are in many instances Moghuls and Pathans. There are a large proportion of the officers in the Company's service married to East Indian ladies.

"The disadvantages we labour under are set forth in the Petition of which I am the bearer. We are liable to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished at the discretion of the Judge, or to trial for capital crime, and in none of these instances can we claim the intervention of a jury. We are excluded from the regular service of the Company, civil and military, and none but the subordinate situations of clerks are open to us. Before 1791 the Company's service, civil and military, was open to us, and the Bombay army was commanded by General Jones, an East Indian, during the campaigns of 1803 and 1805. The present Quartermaster General of the Army, Colonel Stevenson, is also an East Indian. There are also members of the community in the King's army, such as Major Deare, Captain Rutledge, Lieutenant Mullins, and others. Colonel Skinner is in the Irregular service; he has commanded from 8,000 to 10,000 troops. In the medical profession there have been Drs. Lumsdain, Breton and Lycke; the latter practised in Calcutta and retired to England with a fortune; there have also been Drs. Frith, Gordon, Clarke, Imlach, Dick, Freer, and Casey, all East Indians, and more or less eminent in their profession. Besides these professions, there are East Indians engaged as Indigo Planters, Schoolmasters, Architects, Carvers and Gilders, Undertakers, &c., and the East Indian commercial houses in Calcutta are the firms of Lackarsteen, Vrignon, Mendes, Baretto and Brightman, and Mr. Kid is the Master Ship Builder of the Company in Calcutta. The sons of private soldiers by native women are employed as drummers and fifers in the army and apprenticed to trades at the expense of the Lower Orphan School, which was founded for the reception and education, along with the Upper Military Orphan School, of between 800 and 900 children. The Upper Orphan School is intended for the sons of officers by native women. Both schools have been established by the army, not by the Company, and the legitimate children are sent to that branch of the institution which is in England. A large proportion of the lower class of East Indians used to be much neglected, but the European Asylum, the Benevolent Institution, the Free

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School, the Parental Academy (now Doveton College), the Calcutta Grammar School, and other schools have spread education much more extensively than formerly. The usual salary of an East Indian employed as a clerk is between Rs. 50 and 100 a month. I think that an East Indian might perform the duties of Judge or Collector for one-third the salary of a European with comfort to himself and advantage to the public service. An East Indian being a native of the soil, his views and prospects are confined to India, and he has no idea of amassing a large fortune to return to a distant land, where he would be subject to expenses from which he is exempt in India. East Indians who have been in the Company's services in various capacities, in the professions and in mercantile pursuits, have been as much respected as Europeans have been in these positions. There is no distinction made by the natives between East Indians and Europeans; the distinction emanates from the authorities of this country. They first originated the distinction, and then used it as an argument for keeping us where we are. The prejudices against us have diminished of late. A much more liberal policy has been adopted towards the descendants of European fathers by native mothers by the Dutch, French, Spaniards and Portuguese in all their settlements. Two-thirds of the council of Ceylon are composed of gentlemen born on the island. Sir Alexander Johnston found them the most efficient instruments in the public service, and with their assistance he was enabled to carry the measure of slave emancipation, and bring into operation trial by jury. I was educated entirely in the Upper Military Orphan School of Calcutta, and was taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the use of the globes, English grammar, &c., but neither Latin nor Greek.

Up to the year 1827 East Indians were excluded from sitting upon grand or petty juries; since then, they are admissible by law to sit on juries, and have been summoned and served in common with Europeans. We are held in equal respect by the natives of India, with Europeans. I could instance the case of Indigo-planters and merchants who are scattered in different parts of the country, who are visited by Princes and Nabobs, as Europeans are, and treated with equal respect. Rammohun Roy, "a learned and respectable native in Calcutta," associates with us as he does with Europeans, and so would any other respectable native.

The native mothers of East Indians are chiefly Muhamedans, there are some Hindus. The natives identify us with our fathers, and make no inquiry regarding our mothers. It would be an improvement of our class; it would tend to the general improvement of society, if we were placed exactly upon a footing with

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British-born subjects not in the King's or the Company's services. The odious distinction now made strikes at the root of all civil and social improvement in India."

The result of the Eurasian Movement of 1829-30 was, the passing in the year 1832, when a new Charter was granted to the Company, of what is known as the *Lexi Loci* Act, which in some measure freed East Indians from the anomalous position they occupied in the eye of the law.

Mr. Ricketts' reception in India was warm and enthusiastic. We have elsewhere (Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, *Calcutta Review*, 1881) noted how the parent society of Calcutta, which sent him to England, valued his services and continued to regard him as a true friend and natural leader of the community.

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. VII.—PUBLIC WORKS POLITY IN FRANCE
AND ITS APPLICATION TO LOCAL SELF-
GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

THERE are many points of strong resemblance between the system of local government in France and Italy and the local self-government which it is now proposed to introduce in India. The functions of the *Prefet* in each Department, of the *Sous Prefet* in each arrondissement, of the *Maire* in each *commune*, closely correspond with the functions of the Commissioner, the Collector, and the Sub-divisional officer in India.

Each of these officials in France acts in most administrative matters in concert with a Council of a representative character—and these Councils partake very much of the nature of the Local and District Boards which it is intended to establish in India.

We propose to place before our readers a short account of the working of these institutions in France, and to examine first the constitution of local Representative Committees, appointed for the execution and administration of agricultural works of collective interest.

No. I.

LOCAL COMMITTEES FOR THE EXECUTION OF AGRICULTURAL
PUBLIC WORKS OF COLLECTIVE INTEREST.

The broad principles underlying the institution of these associations in France are, that no public money is to be expended for the benefit of individuals, and that Government reserves a right of coercion for the execution of works of public interest. The law gives ample facilities to the persons interested to combine for the execution of public works which benefit them, but except in certain cases, which will be noticed hereafter, the initiative is usually taken by the persons benefited.

Works of collective interest may be divided into two classes:—works required for protection against injuries, and which, by their nature, require combined action, and works designed to increase the value of land or property already placed in a normal condition.

In the first class may be placed embankments for protection against floods, and the conservancy of drainage channels; in the second class may be placed irrigation canals.

The French law provides extended facilities for the execution of works for protection against injury, beyond those required for the simple improvement of land. It prevents the execution of works required for protection against injury from being obstructed by the

opposition of individuals, by conferring a right of coercion on the majority of the persons interested. Further, when the persons interested do not know how to combine for protection against a common injury, the local administration is empowered to carry out the work, and apportion the cost between the persons benefited.

The duty of organising local Committees for the execution of these works is vested in the *Prefet*, and in 1865 there were 2,475 such Committees in France, of which 857 were for embankments, 804 for drainage, 750 for irrigation, and 64 for sub-soil drainage. The law relating to the constitution of these Committees, as it stands at present, was passed in 1865.

It deals with two classes of local Committees; free, and authorised. The essential principle governing the formation of these Committees, is the consent of the persons interested. The difference between the two classes is that, in free associations the unanimous consent of the persons interested is required in writing, and in authorised associations the consent of the majority only is required.

Both free and authorised Committees have corporate powers; they can buy, sell, borrow or mortgage, and they can sue and be sued in Courts of law.

The proprietors interested in the works cannot be sued individually, but only through their representative Committees. Local Committees may be formed for the execution of works for—

1. Defence against the sea, rivers and torrents.
2. The maintenance and constitution of drainage channels.
3. The drainage of swamps.
4. The execution of works for the manufacture of salt.
5. Rendering wholesome undrained and unhealthy lands (*assainissement des terres humides et insalubres*.)
6. Irrigation and reclamation of land.
7. Sub-soil drainage.
8. Local and village roads.
9. All agricultural improvements of collective interest.

Local Committees may be formed for the execution of any of these works, by the unanimous consent of the persons interested in writing. The consent may be given by proxy, and minors may be represented by their guardians.

A deed of association must be drawn up specifying the object of the undertaking, and forwarded to the *Prefet* for publication in the local Gazette. It must specify rules for the administration and working of the society, and the appointment and powers of its officers. It must also state the method of raising and recovering the funds required for the construction and maintenance of the work.

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The local Committee thus constituted, after publication in the Gazette of the articles of association, enjoys corporate powers, and is administered under the conditions and rules embodied in the deed of association. In this form the local Committee does not differ materially from a limited liability Company. It will be seen that authorised Committees enjoy privileges which cannot be conferred on public companies.

For works for drainage and embankments enumerated in the first four classes of the list given above, the law confers greater powers and privileges on these associations. For works of this class the consent of the majority of persons interested is required in writing, and unanimous consent is no longer necessary. The law then confers a power of coercion on the majority.

It is clear that embankments can only be carried out by the whole of the estates protected combining for their construction; that if drainage channels are not maintained, fertile plains may be converted into swamps; and that the public health depends largely on the execution of works of embankment and drainage.

On the other hand, works for irrigation, for local roads, and, for facilitating sub-soil drainage, are carried out solely for the benefit of individuals. The question of extending these coercive provisions to irrigation works has several times been discussed in France, and in 1875 a commission was appointed to consider the expediency of abolishing altogether the distinction between free and authorised local Committees. The report of the commission states, that very great care should be exercised in conferring coercive powers on local Committees for the execution of works which, although they have considerable influences on the material progress of the empire, are generally promoted in a spirit of commercial speculation.

They, however, recommend that works for irrigation and sub-soil drainage should be privileged when it can be shown that they are necessary for the protection of property, to guard against the ravages of the Phylloxera, for instance, or if it can be clearly shown that they are necessary in the interests of the public health. They do not recommend the application of coercive measures for local roads or other miscellaneous agricultural works.

In India, a supply of fresh drinking water to a rural population by irrigation channels, and protection against well established periodical famines, would seem a valid reason for including irrigation works among the list of works to be carried out by authorised local Committees.

Authorised Committees are constituted in the following manner:

The initiative may be taken by one or more of the persons interested, or by the Prefet at the instance of engineers of the Public Works Department. Plans, drawings and estimates are

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prepared either by a Government engineer or any other independent engineer. Articles of Association are drawn up specifying the object of the enterprise and determining the ways and means of meeting the cost of the works. The plan shows the boundaries of the estates interested.

The Prefet then holds a local and preliminary enquiry into the scheme. The local Government has powers to determine in each particular case, as it arises, the mode and time of holding this enquiry. Generally the plans are deposited at the Mayor's office, and a register of objection is opened, and remains open for twenty days.

An officer appointed by the Prefet then receives personally for three days the representations of the persons interested on the spot, and a notice is issued to each proprietor, warning him that the inquiry is instituted and its object.

After the preliminary inquiry, a public meeting of the persons interested is convened by the Prefet. The Prefet nominates the Chairman who need not be one of the persons interested, and is generally an independent individual chosen on account of his impartiality and local influence. A formal record of the proceedings of the meeting is drawn up by the Chairman and signed by all the persons present. Absent proprietors may signify their assent in writing.

If the majority of votes is against the prosecution of the work, it is placed on one side and falls through, unless the local Government intervenes under circumstances which will be hereafter explained. If, however, a majority of proprietors, representing two-thirds of the area interested, or if two-thirds of the persons interested, representing at least half of the area affected, consent to the work, the papers are forwarded to the Prefet, and he may authorise the establishment of the Committee, or he may refuse it. If he authorises the execution, the persons dissenting may appeal to the local Government.

The order of the Prefet is published in the local Gazette, and is open to the criticism of the press. Appeals against the order must be preferred within fifteen days and are dealt with by a resolution of the central Government, published in the *Imperial Gazette*.

If the Prefet refuses to authorise the Committee, a similar publication of his order is necessary, and an appeal to Government may be preferred by any persons interested.

In addition to the privilege of appeal, the law confers on dissentients the right of ceding the lands affected by the proposed works to the local Committee.

In this case notice must be given to the Prefet within one month from the publication of his order, and the local Committee

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must then arrange to pay the market value of the land ceded under rules similar to those for the acquisition of lands for public purposes, and the lands then vest in the local Committee. In the case of embankments and water courses for drainage, this right of giving up lands does not exist, and it is only permitted in the case of salt works, the drainage of swamps, and the rendering wholesome of swampy lands.

The land thus acquired by the local Committee is generally in practice resold, and the proceeds credited to the general revenue of the Association. After four months from the publication of the list of proprietors interested, no proprietor can dispute his liability to pay for the construction and maintenance of the proposed work.

The business of the Association is conducted by a Committee elected from the persons interested at a general meeting of the proprietors.

The Articles of Association must specify the minimum interest which gives a right to a proprietor to take part in the general Meeting. All the persons interested have not a right to vote at these meetings, but the persons excluded may combine the smaller holdings, and appoint members to represent them in proportion to their aggregate area.

By fixing the minimum interest with some reference to the magnitude of the area interested, it is generally possible to bring the number of proprietors attending the general meeting within a manageable limit. The Articles of Association must also specify the greatest number of votes allowed to each proprietor. It must state the number of members of the executive Committee and the duration of their term of office. The members of the Committee are elected at a general meeting of persons interested; but, if after two meetings, the members are not elected, or if the meetings are not held, the Prefet may appoint the members of the Managing Committee.

In case a grant-in-aid to the work is made by the State or district, the Prefet may appoint members of the Committee in the proportion the grant bears to the total capital of the association.

The Chairman of the Committee and Vice-Chairman are elected by the members. The law does not state what is to be done in case the Committee does not satisfactorily perform its duties, and this omission is said to have caused inconvenience, which is remedied in practice by special provisions to meet the case embodied in the deed of association.

The deed of association specifies the powers and duties of the local Committee and its officers. The lists of contributions due

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from each proprietor are prepared periodically and submitted to the Prefet. When they have received his countersignature, the contributions are recoverable under the laws applied to public taxes and demands, either by the Prefet or by an officer appointed by the local Committee and approved of by him. Disputes as to the boundaries of lands benefited, and the share or vote of a proprietor in the association, are decided by the Prefet with the assistance of his council. Land required for the work may be taken up as land required for public purposes.

In the case of the drainage of marshes and the embankment of lands, the Prefet may summarily appoint local Committees and compel them to execute work required in the interests of the public health and safety, but at present these compulsory laws are seldom acted on, and the elective system of authorised associations is put in force as far as possible.

Some such provisions as these should form part of the local self-Government Bill now under the consideration of the Bengal Legislative Council. They would meet the case of numberless small works for irrigation and drainage which remain to be carried out in these provinces, and would not affect the great irrigation works now carried out by the State.

The chief difficulty met with by the collector of a district, in instituting works which interest a number of estates, is the money difficulty.

The fact that the taxation levied by the local Committee is made recoverable by law as a public demand, and the law by which the articles of the association to which the majority of persons interested have given their written assent, are binding on the persons interested, and may contain provisions authorising the Prefet to enforce them, affords a basis of financial security on which it is possible to go into the open market and raise loans for the execution of the works. The provision by which the articles of association may be enforced by the Prefet is very elastic, and may be applied to any circumstances which arise in the practical administration of works of collective agricultural interest.

The power of acquiring land and coercing the minority, is a provision which in India should be extended to small irrigation works, which are often undertaken in the interests of the public health for the supply of drinking water to the rural population, and in the interests of public safety, as a provision against drought. The provisions of the Act opens out a large field for the enterprise and institution of such works by independent engineers and for the investment of foreign capital.

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Government will not always advance money for the prosecution of these works, and we have now no administrative machinery for raising funds for them or for initiating and promoting them.

The representative character of the local Committee is in accord with the principle of local self-Government, and such a law in Bengal will place unlimited powers in the hands of the local officers for the extension of small works of agricultural interest with the least possible degree of Government interference and responsibility, and it will tend to promote, in a high degree, local and commercial enterprise for the execution of public works of a very important class.

From the large number of these local committees in France, Spain and Italy, under very varying circumstances, for works of agricultural interest of all kinds, the institution has been practically shown to be useful and workable, and in the hands of Collectors of districts in India, it would probably be as successful as in the hands of the Prefet of a department in France or Italy.

If this statement of the successful results of these institutions in France, and if these suggestions for their organisation in India, are to have practical effect, it is necessary to define them more precisely.

The legislation required would, I think, best take the power of a chapter in Local Self-government Bills containing the following clauses :—

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL COMMITTEES FOR THE EXECUTION OF AGRICULTURAL PUBLIC WORKS.

Whenever, on the application of one or more of the persons interested, or at the instance of an officer of the Public Works Department, the Collector of a District shall see fit to organise a local Committee, for the execution and administration of Public Works of agricultural interest, having for their object the increasing of the value of land, and affecting more than one estate, he shall proceed as follows, and cause the preparation of the following papers and statements :—

I. Plans and estimates and full engineering details, and a description of the works to be carried out.

II. A map shewing the estates to be benefited.

III. A clear statement shewing the estates to be benefited and the proportional share of each estate in the work.

IV. Articles of Association specifying—

(a.) The object of the proposed work.

(b.) The ways and means of raising the funds required for the proposed works and for maintaining them.

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(c.) The method of appointing a representative Committee from the persons interested in the work by the votes of the persons interested, the number of members of the Committee, their duration of office, and the procedure for re-electing a Committee periodically.

(d.) The vote of each person interested in the proposed association for the election of the Committee. The maximum vote allowed to each shareholder and the least interest which confers a vote and a provision for authorising unrepresented estates to combine for the appointment of voters in proportion to their aggregate interest.

(e.) The powers and duties of the representative Committee and the officers appointed by them.

V. On the receipt of these papers the Collector will cause their translation into the vernacular of the district, and cause printed notices to be delivered to the owners of each estate interested, informing him that the plans, papers and drawings aforesaid will be deposited in the Collectorate for public inspection for a period of one month.

VI. The Collector shall then, by a written notice, require the attendance of the proprietor of each estate to be benefited or of his duly authorised attorney on a specified date at a public meeting to be held in the Town Hall, or Municipal Office, of the Sudder station of the district.

The Chairman of the Committee shall be nominated by the Collector of the district, and he need not necessarily be a person interested in the work, or a Government official.

The Chairman of the meeting shall record the names of the persons interested at the meeting in writing, and whether they assent or dissent to the execution of the proposed work and the establishment of a local Committee.

The local Government shall frame rules for the record of the votes of the proprietors interested, and for holding public meetings for initiating the institution of local Committees.

The local Government may make the written assent to, or dissent from, the proposed work compulsory on the persons interested, under a penalty not exceeding a fine of (500) five hundred rupees.

The Proceedings of the General Meeting shall be forwarded by the Collector of the District to the local Government through the Commissioner of the Division with his recommendation.

VII. The local Government will then consider the nature and importance of the proposed work, and either sanction the institution of the proposed local Committee, or refuse sanction in a Resolution to be published in the local Gazette.

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VIII. The sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor to the institution of the local Committee confers the following privileges :—

(a.) Corporate powers on the local Committee to buy, sell, borrow, and mortgage, and sue and be sued in Courts of law.

(b.) Immunity to the individual shareholders from process of law in matters relating to the proposed work, except in so far as relates to the responsibility accepted by them, or by a majority of them, binding the minority and embodied in the Articles of Association.

(c.) The power of acquiring land with the intervention of the Collector under the rules for taking up land for public purposes. This privilege will only be exercised under special rules framed by Government and published in the Gazette.

(d.) The local Committee shall submit annually to the Collector a statement showing the taxation it is proposed to impose on the shareholders of the Association.

The countersignature of the Collector to this roll shall make the demands recoverable either by the Collector or by an officer of the local Committee approved of by him, as arrears of public revenue.

IX. Whenever in the opinion of the local Government the proposed work is necessary to the public health or safety, it may, on sanctioning the institution of the Committee, order that a proportional share of the work shall be borne by persons interested who have not recorded their votes, or who dissent from the execution of the proposed work, provided that the majority of persons interested, owning two-thirds of the area interested, or that two-thirds of the owners of the estates interested, owning one-half of the area, have given their assent in writing to the proposed work.

In the Resolution sanctioning the proposed work Government may pass orders—

(a.) Limiting the taxation to be imposed by the local Committee.

(b.) Regulating the issue of loans and debentures required for the execution of proposed work.

(c.) Enforcing the liabilities of the representative Committee and shareholders towards the fulfilment of undertakings made with debenture-holders and capitalists for loans raised with the sanction of Government for the execution of the proposed work.

(d.) To guard against danger to the public health and safety caused by the neglect of the representative Committee to fulfil the duties of their office.

The duties of officers of the Public Works Department with reference to these institutions in France are of two kinds. In the first place Administrative :—They may advise their initiation, and originate projects ; they may at the request of the Collector prepare the plans and estimates required by law, and concert with him the

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preliminary statements and papers required for the institution of the local Committee.

They assist the Collector in deciding disputes as to the area interested, and other technical points which occur in the execution of these works.

If the plans and estimates are prepared by independent engineers, as often is the case, they advise on their reception, and point out if they affect the public interests by obstructing drainage, or by interference with existing rights of using water, or in any other way interfere with the public health and safety. If grants-in-aid of the work are given from the funds of the State, the Collector has generally a right of nominating a number of members of the local Committee in the proportion the grant-in-aid bears to the capital raised by local enterprise ; as a rule, officers of the Department of Public Works are the official nominees in these cases.

In many of the Departments in France these Committees have become so numerous, that an officer of the Public Works Department is appointed specially for the duty of inspecting and reporting on their work, and keeping Government fully informed as to its progress, and for enforcing the fulfilment of their obligations to the State.

With reference to the practical execution of the work entrusted to these Committees, full powers are given to them to carry out their own arrangements by appointing qualified engineers, subject to the general orders issued by Government constituting them. Most frequently they apply for the services of officers of the Public Works Department, which are given on terms fixed by Government in its administrative capacity, according to the special circumstances of each case.

If these institutions are to be promoted and fostered in Bengal, if they are to be placed beyond the narrow limits of centralization, of bureaucratic inertia and of reliance on grants from the funds of the State, a larger scope must be given to the institution of these works by private enterprise ; larger powers must be given to our district officers for their organization, and larger opportunities must be afforded for the introduction of foreign capital for their execution by some such legislation as I have endeavoured to outline in this paper.

A. J. HUGHES,
M. Inst., C. E.

3rd December 1882.

ART VIII.—THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

History of the Egyptian Religion. By Dr. C. P. Tiele. Translated from the Dutch with the Co-operation of the Author. By James Ballingal. London, Trübner & Co. Ludgate Hill.

British Encyclopedia. Art. *Egypt*,

THE most emphatic answer ever given by any section of mankind to Mr. Mallock's question:—"Is life worth living?" is, perhaps, that which finds expression in the eschatology of the ancient Egyptians.

No more passionate protest against the finality of death is to be found in the whole literature of religion than that embodied in the famous "Book of the Dead." No more convincing testimony to the strength, the constancy, or the universality of their yearning after a renewal of conscious activity beyond the grave, has been supplied by any people, than is furnished by these dwellers on the Nile, in the extent to which that protest was reflected in every phase of their lives.

The future state of the justified, described in the "Book of the Dead," was, it is true, a state of ideal beatitude, and, so far, the yearning expressed in it may be said to have implied a sense of the imperfection of mundane existence. But it is none the less certain, that the conception of life as at all desirable must, in this, as in all similar cases, have been based on mundane experience alone. In the "Book of the Dead," in the whole worship, and in the every-day life, of the ancient Egyptian, the fundamental note is the cry, loud, clear and poignant:—"Let me not die!" The plea for a more perfect form of life is but the over-tone which accompanies this fundamental note, and which, though in the nature of things inseparable from it, in no way impairs its independent significance, as a confession that life, however imperfect it may be, is, on the whole, worth the living.

The faith in a beatified immortality, which is the dominant idea in Egyptian eschatology, based as it is upon an aspiration common to the greater part of mankind, stands in need of no further explanation. But to understand the special form assumed by it, and the details of the progress of which, as described in the "Book of the Dead," it was the goal, it is necessary first to comprehend the attitude of the Egyptian mind in relation to the scheme of the physical universe.

Science has so completely shattered the foundations on which that attitude rested, that a powerful effort of the imagination is needed to reconstruct them. But, when once the process has

been performed, much that was obscure becomes clear, and much that seemed childish appears natural enough.

Let us conceive, then, of the earth, not as a revolving sphere, circling the sun, and turning all portions of its circumference successively to the great luminary, but as a plane, irradiated by it in its diurnal course, and set above a region of perpetual darkness. Let us conceive again of the sun, not as suspended in circumambient space, and pouring forth on all sides a perennial flood of light and heat; but as travelling through the visible firmament by day, and the dark under-world by night. To these conceptions let us superadd that of the sun as a living god, the source of all life, and light, and good, and of the under-world as a place peopled with the powers of death, darkness and evil; and what more natural than to suppose that the night is an interval of tribulation for the day-god, during which he is engaged in fighting his way through the realms of gloom, while his return to his beneficent work in the morning is a sign that he has triumphed in the contest? What more natural, again, than to suppose that man, at his death, descends into the same under-world, there to go through a similar struggle, and to re-issue triumphant with the sun, or be imprisoned in never-ending darkness, according to his deserts?

Such, stated broadly, was, in fact, the belief of the ancient Egyptians regarding death and a future state.

We may pause, before pursuing further the details of the subject, to realise, with the necessary imagination, something of the fervour with which the ancient Egyptian would pray, nightly for the victory of the sun-god; something of the grateful joy and thanksgiving with which, every morning, he would welcome his return.

We may pause again to reflect how largely every form of dualism—the belief in an independent power of evil, here Apepi, there Ahriman, now Satan, waging perpetual conflict with the good—is based on primitive notions regarding the nature of familiar astronomical events. The view which looks upon darkness, not as a mere negation of light, but as a positive quality, emanating from an independent and antagonistic source, is comparable with that which regards heat and cold as separate and opposite entities, and is the view proper to a stage of mental development which was once universal, and from which only the cultured few are yet wholly emancipated. The identification of the one quality with good, and the other with evil, was something more than a metaphor to primitive man, as it still is to children; and that it should have found expression in his religious beliefs, was inevitable.

In India the same condition of mind finds a vivid illustration in the views entertained regarding the nature of eclipses and

the ceremonies performed during the continuance of these phenomena. Only with the conception of law as regulating the succession of natural phenomena, can the human mind be said to emerge from the stage of childishness. Until this conception is fully realised, the supernatural must enter more or less into all theories of the government of the universe, however much the forms it assumes may differ.

The series of documents which composed the "Book of the Dead" being independent compositions, belonging to widely different epochs in the development of the Egyptian religion, and representing various phases of the popular faith, rather than parts of one organic whole, consistency of detail is not to be looked for even in its descriptive passages. Indeed, it is a misnomer to speak of it as a book at all in the ordinary sense of the word. It is rather a collection of texts, hymns, and prayers, regarding a particular set of subjects, which had, at one time or another, come to be recognised as authoritative.

The accounts given in these documents of the fate of mankind after death are numerous, and exhibit considerable differences in points of detail. In certain main features, however, a general agreement is observable. These features are the judgment; the justification, or condemnation, of the deceased according to his conduct in life, and his consequent punishment or reward; the subsequent conflict of the justified with various powers of darkness, and his final triumph and manifestation in the light.

The principal features of the judgment are thus summed up by Dr. Tiele:—"Ma, the goddess of truth and righteousness, or Horos himself, conducts him within. His soul is then weighed on the divine balance by Anubis, Horos and Thoth. The last mentioned records the sum total, and, if it be possible, justifies the soul. Finally, he is brought by Horos before Osiris, who, seated upon his throne of judgment, with the hell monster before him, the four genii of the dead close by, and surrounded by the seventy-two judges, gives a verdict."

The testimony necessary for the justification of the deceased includes, according to one ancient canon, such as the following:—"I have not oppressed the miserable; I have not imposed work beyond his powers on any servant; I have allowed no master to maltreat his slave; I have injured no one; I have caused no one to weep or to perish with hunger. I have not told lies, or stolen or committed murder; I have not even ordered anybody to be treacherously put to death. I have not committed adultery; I have not been a hypocrite, or licentious, or a drunkard. I have not falsified weights or measures; I have not appropriated the animals of the divine offerings, or stolen anything belonging to the deity; I have not taken the milk from the mouth of the

nurselings ; I have blasphemed neither the king nor my father, nor have I mocked God, or despised God in my heart. I have given bread to him that was hungry, water to him that was thirsty, clothes to the naked, and shelter to the wanderer."

If the deceased was condemned, he was sentenced to second death. This death, however, did not extinguish consciousness ; it was rather eternal exclusion from the light, attended with everlasting torments, such as being compelled to eat and drink putrid food ; being cast into fire ; being torn and devoured by an evil spirit.

If the deceased was justified, the use of his members was restored to him, " especially of his mouth, that he might be able to utter the sacred words indispensable as a means of warding off the evil spirits, and of his heart, which is the principle of life." Then, like the sun-god himself, he had to go through a series of terrible conflicts, passing through fifteen portals, at each of which new trials awaited him. " Monsters attacked him, he was menaced by dangers, nets were laid to ensnare him ; at one time he was obliged to travel through desolate tracts where nothing grew, and which were under the dominion of seven evil spirits." Even when he emerged from the under-world, his troubles were not at an end. In his voyage over the heavenly ocean, he was constantly in danger of falling overboard and being drowned. At last, with the aid of the sacred spear, and by the magical power of the words from the sacred books and hymns which he had learnt upon earth, or carried with him, having overcome all enemies and surmounted all difficulties, he became a spirit of light and could assume any form he pleased, cultivating the happy fields, and reaping fabulous harvests, or accompanying the sun-god in his bark by day, and shining in the heavens as a star at night.

To place the deceased in possession of the potent formulæ just referred to, was the object of the " Book of the Dead." The first sixteen chapters of the collection were described, in the words written at the head of the first, as " Chapters by the magical power of which the deceased may issue forth at will during the day, and accompany the sun in his triumphal march." About the meaning of the expression " during the day," some difference of opinion exists. Lepsius would refer it to the great day of judgment. But the justification of the deceased, as we have seen, depended entirely on his conduct during his life upon earth. It was in the conflict that followed, and not during the judgment itself, that he required the assistance of the sacred texts ; and there can be no doubt that " the day," whatever its precise meaning, referred to the state entered by him after he had achieved victory in that conflict. There is some reason, however, to see in it the expression of a belief that for the justified soul, as for the

sun-god himself, the conflict was renewed every night, and this view is borne out by other passages in the "Book of the Dead."

As might be supposed from the supreme importance of the functions attributed to its contents, the Book of the Dead occupied a place in the mind and life of the Egyptian people to which the history of other sacred literatures furnishes no parallel. They learnt it by heart; its most sacred texts were inscribed on their sarcophagi and on the cerements of the dead; and, where his relatives could afford it, the book itself was buried with him.

Besides the "Book of the Dead," there were, however, other magical papyri which were held in hardly less respect. Among such compositions was the "Book of the Breathings of Life," containing similar doctrines, and supposed to be possessed of similar virtues, which was placed next the heart, beneath the left arm of the deceased.

In estimating the ethical significance of the Egyptian eschatology, the fact to which we have already adverted, that, notwithstanding the immense value attached to these texts and formulæ, they became of service to the deceased only after he had come successfully through the ordeal of judgment, is of the highest importance. Justification by works, in fact, preceded justification by faith. If the deceased was condemned, not all the magical texts in the world could save him. What happened to him in the opposite case; what was his fate if, though justified by his works in the day of judgment, he lacked the knowledge of the magical words so necessary to him in the subsequent conflict, we do not clearly know. There is reason, however, to think that even in this case he triumphed in the end. "He who knows this book," says one of the texts, "is one who in the day of resurrection in the under-world, arises and enters in; but he who does not know this chapter, does not enter in *so soon as he arises*."

To the view held by the Greeks, that the doctrine of metempsychosis was included in the eschatology of the Egyptians, the results of modern investigation lend but a qualified support. No trace of a belief in metempsychosis, as understood by the ancient Greeks, is to be found in the sacred texts. On the other hand, one of the virtues attributed to the magical formulæ contained in the "Book of the Dead" and similar documents, was to enable the justified to assume, during the conflict in the under-world, the forms of any animals he pleased, for the purpose of baffling his enemies.

"According to the "Book of the Dead," says Tiele, "the deceased may assume all sorts of shapes—that of a sparrow-hawk, an adder, a crocodile-headed god, in order by this expedient to

to trick his enemies, exactly as we learn from the myths Osiris used to do. Not until after this is the soul, which always accompanies the shade in the form of a sparrow-hawk with human head, reunited to the body. But all this happens in the kingdom of the dead, not on earth. * * * Perhaps, at a later period there may have arisen among the inhabitants of the Nile valley, a dogma of the soul's incarnation evolved from the ancient eschatology. If so, that dogma is certainly not ancient, and their original doctrine of immortality is nothing but a mystic representation arising out of sun-worship."

This feature in the eschatology of the Egyptians has its parallel in the position held by animals in their pantheon, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was an intimate connexion between the two. The precise nature of that connexion depends on the origin of their worship of animals, a question which is not free from obscurity. The most rational explanation of the matter is, that this worship was a survival of aboriginal fetichism, and that its incorporation with the religion of the dominant race was a concession to a conquered African population, very much as Hinduism, in its later forms, is the result of a fusion of the religion of the Aryan invaders with those of the non-Aryan populations whom they absorbed.

In all probability, it was part of the belief of this aboriginal African population, that they would be converted, after death, into the animals which they worshipped during life. Hence, in accordance with that spirit of compromise which was a marked feature of the Egyptian religion to the latest times, their adoption into the official pantheon. Hence, too, the inclusion among the privileges of the justified in a future state, of the power of assuming their forms at will. While this theory furnishes an explanation of the want of any organic connexion between the distinctive mythology of the Egyptians and the worship in question, it finds strong confirmation in the prevalence of such a form of fetichism among the surrounding African tribes to the present day.

In the course of the above attempt to put before the readers of the *Calcutta Review* a succinct account of the eschatology of the Egyptians, reference has been made incidentally to certain features in their mythology. In the present state of our knowledge of the subject, a synthetic treatment of the several religious systems which prevailed in different parts of the Nile Valley and at different periods of its history, can lead to no satisfactory result. It seems doubtful, indeed, whether such a treatment is appropriate to the subject. At no time can it be said that a single religion prevailed throughout the country; no

is any continuity to be found in the successive forms which the State religion assumed. Different systems, exhibiting a certain family likeness along with wide specific differences, flourished simultaneously in different more or less clearly defined localities, and now one, now another of these systems, dominated the rest, according to the proclivities of the reigning dynasty.

Of all the cults, perhaps, that of Heliopolis, or Pa Ra, is at once the simplest, and that in which the common, are least complicated with variant elements. At Pa Ra, as the name of the place implies, the worship of Ra occupied the same position as that of Osiris at Thinis Abydos, with whom there can be no doubt he was essentially identical. Like Osiris, he was a sun-god, and, like Osiris, he was a dual divinity, Ra-Tum. As Ra, the god of the sun by day, the sun manifested, he was the offspring of himself. As Tum the god of the hidden sun,—not merely the sun at night, but the sun of primal chaos, before there was light at all—he was the father of himself. In other words, Tum and Ra were different manifestations of the same divine being; Tum the pre-existent, the one alone, before all things, and Ra his transformation, who, returning into himself in Amenti, the place of concealment, is daily purified and renews his course in the light.

In the hymus of Chap. XV of the "Book of the Dead," he is thus addressed :—

"Hail, thou who art come as Tum, and who hast been the Creator of the God!"

"Hail, thou who art come as soul of the holy souls in Amenti!"

"Hail, supreme among the gods, who by thy beauties dost illumine the kingdom of the dead!"

"Hail, thou who comest in radiance and travellest in thy disc!"

"Hail, greatest of all the gods, bearing rule in the highest, reigning in the nethermost, heaven!"

* * * * *

"Hail, thou who hast slain the guilty; thou who hast destroyed Apap (the serpent of darkness.)"

Associated with Ra-Tum were two other cosmogonic deities, Shu and his wife, Tefnut. Shu was the god of the atmosphere, and Tiele considers that he represented the cosmic heat and light principle. Perhaps it would come nearer the truth to regard him as occupying in the cosmogonic system much the same place that the æther occupies in the theories of modern physicists. The "Book of the Dead" describes Ra, the god of light and heat, as walking on the props of Shu. He was also the son of Tum, and the sun was said to have begun to exist with the beginning of his existence. In other words, he was a necessary condition of the manifestation of the sun. Again in the "Book of the Dead," he is described as "dividing the waters which are under from those which are above the firmament," an expression strongly reminding one of the phrase—

ology of the more modern Genesis. Tefnut was the wife of Shu. She was identified with moisture and with the productive power of Nature, and yet again as the destructive power.

The myth of Heliopolis," says Tiele, comparing it with the Osirian myth, "represents the conflict between light and darkness, but in it Ra himself takes more the part of a king, general of his army; the warrior-god in the strict sense of the word is a Horos of a lower rank. At the time of the commencement of the new year, the combat has come to an end, and Apap, pierced through, is thrown into the sea. This victory is, however, neither decisive nor final; the conflict begins again without ceasing. Every morning, even when Ra is mounting into his bark, Apap makes an attempt to stop him, but in vain. Four-times a year the opposition of the demon of darkness is made with redoubled energy, and Apap contests the right of Ra to be king, but on each occasion is victoriously repulsed."

"It would be a mistake to see here nothing but a poetic representation of the conflict between light and darkness in nature. What we have here was at the first an article of faith among the peoples of antiquity. They did not know with scientific certainty that every day darkness must give way to light, that the apparent course of the stars is subject to fixed laws and to annual revolutions. The life of the sun, renewed each morning, was in their eyes a miracle, a result of the superior power of the gods of light, and although the phenomenon was daily renewed throughout the course of innumerable centuries, its permanence was not believed in, or relied on, except by virtue of an act of faith, of which the myths are the expression, the dogmas."

The Osiris myth, while more complicated in its symbolism than that of Ra, is based on the same main ideas. Seb, the earth-god, the "Lord of the length of time and of eternity, and Nu, or Nu-tpe, the goddess of heaven, and the cosmogonic water, are the progenitors of the rest; and Osiris is the sun-god who "dies every day and falls a prey every evening to the demon of darkness, the serpent Apap," the place of the latter being subsequently taken by Seb, the god of the scorching heat.

Of the conception of Horos, Dr. Tiele says:—

"The signification of his name Asar, As-iri, which Lauth not long ago proposed to translate, 'son of the earth,' is indeed uncertain, but that he cannot be other than a sun-god is evident if we notice his peculiar relation to Horos, the sun-god, who at one time is identified with him, and then is called his father, and oftenest of all his son. Osiris is also designated as son of Seb, the god of the earth, and of Nu, goddess of the heavenly

ocean, as grandson of Ra, the sun-god, *par excellence*, who is called first in his circle, the father of fathers, and of whom it is said that he is united with Osiris in Suten-se-nen. This conception, that Osiris is a sun-god, is confirmed by a number of expressions used regarding him. In the hymns, his accession to the throne of his father is compared to the rising of the sun, and it is even said of him in so many words: 'He glitters on the horizon, he sends out rays of light from his double feather and inundates the world with it, as the sun from out of the highest heaven.' Like the sun he is called in the sacred songs, Lord of the length of time. Yet it would be a great mistake to say that Osiris signifies the sun. He is the divine being who reveals himself in the sun. One of his usual appellations is 'mysterious soul of the Lord of the disk,' or simply 'soul of the sun.' He is thus the soul of the sun, not dying when it dies, its ever-abiding vital force, which at nights is displayed in the glittering constellation of Orion, and in the morning is united again to the revived body of the sun. He is also more definitely this in a special character. The operation of the sun is two-fold, beneficent and terrible; it quickens or it destroys life. The Greeks united both characteristics in Phœbus Apollo. The Egyptians kept them separate. They called Osiris Unnefer, that is, the good being representing the beneficent power of the sun that triumphs always over the powers of darkness, and cannot be annihilated by those injurious powers that are also exercised by the sun. That is the original physical signification of Osiris, always evidently betrayed in words and symbols even after his moral significance came more into the foreground. Becoming ever more and more detached from nature and exalted above her, he grew by degrees to be Lord of the universe (*Neb ter*), to whom everything owed its origin, who formed the sun, and who makes it rise and set, the Lord of life without whom nothing can live. How these conceptions arose out of the original natural one is self-evident, and it is equally clear how he soon became the type of the good man, of the human soul which is obliged to carry on a conflict similar to his against the powers of death, and which finds in his victory a guarantee of its own triumph, in his rising again a pledge of its own immortality. From the most ancient times accordingly, we find the dead, both men and women, represented as identifying themselves with him, their everlasting ideal.

ART. IX.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," April 1882.)

CHAPTER III.

Cheaper Production ; to relieve indebtedness.

"Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces, the evil is all absorbing, a whole population of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the webs of usurers."—*Hints on Agricultural Reform in India*, by Allan Hume.

"Money-lenders are obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."—*Sir John Strachey*.

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one..... The money-lender has taken the place of Government."—*Mr. E. C. Buck*.

"Step by step the Government has receded from its people."—(The late) *James Geddes*.

THE object of the reforms proposed in the last two chapters has been to increase the ryot's food, that is, his happiness, by securing a larger outturn for division between him and his landlord; a fairer share in the crop for him; and, in particular, the full portion of the harvest which equitably belongs to him, as having been produced by his 'improving' energy and outlay.

Let it be supposed that these reforms have been carried out: that fixity of tenure, fair rent, and fair dealing with improvements have been conferred on the Indian cultivator, and that, by a combined effort of State, landlord, and ryot, the fields have been protected from drought to the widest possible extent. Will then the great task have been accomplished? Will rural India have been relieved from its wretchedness? The answer turns on the degree to which these reforms may emancipate the ryot from his present servitude to the money-lender and grain-dealer, and enable him to work with his own, instead of borrowed capital, and secure for himself the full market value of that part of his share in the grain-heap which is not kept for food or seed. The probable extent of such emancipation cannot, of course, be calculated with any approach to precision. All that can safely be said is that, whatever may be the intensity of the pressure of this servitude now, it will be greatly less then. On the one hand there is the direct improvement in the ryot's financial position, produced by the fixing of a fair rent; the stimulus to his productive energy represented by fixity of tenure and fair dealing with improvements; and the narrowed scope of one of the chief causes of his embarrassments, by the better protection of his fields from drought,

and, when exceptional calamity befalls, by the equitable sharing of the loss between himself, his landlord, and the State. On the other hand there is the melancholy fact that indebtedness is not the condition only, or even chiefly, of the helpless tenant-at-will. On the contrary, "it is commonly observed that landholders are more indebted than tenants with occupancy rights, and tenants with rights than tenants-at-will, a result obviously attributable to the fact, that the classes which have the best security to offer are the most eligible customers of the money-lender." (Famine Commission Report, II, p. 131). Of the causes of indebtedness the Commission say that, among "the most prominent are the failure of crops from drought, expenditure on marriage or other ceremonies, general thriftlessness, an improvident use of sudden inflations of credit, the exactions of an oppressive body of middlemen, and administrative errors, such as unsuitable revenue settlements; and debt once incurred very rapidly grows with exorbitant rates of interest." Working on borrowed capital seems to have been an immemorial custom of the rural classes. "We have found," say the Commission, "no reason to believe that the agricultural population of India have at any known period of their history been generally free from debt, although individuals or classes may have fallen into deeper embarrassments under the British rule than was common under the native dynasties which preceded it. It has been usual for the landholders, in all times, habitually to have transactions with the money-lender of their village, with whom they carry on a running account on friendly terms, *taking from him advances for seed and food in the months preceding the harvest, and handing over to him the greater part of their produce*, from the money proceeds of which he pays their dues to the State, and places any balance to their credit." (Report II, p. 130.) If this is true, then the rural classes may be expected to give up borrowing when the Ethiopian succeeds in changing his skin.

It may perhaps be assumed that the net result of this permanent tendency to borrow, and of the modifying forces represented by the reforms already proposed, will be to reduce the general indebtedness of the average ryot by at least two-fifths of its present extent. This does not seem to be too extravagant an expectation. Without making some such guess as this, it is impossible to form any clear conception of the probable dimensions of the work remaining to be done, or to suggest, with any prospect of success, a machinery for doing it. If the assumption under-estimates the remedial effects of the reforms, then, to that extent, the bulk of the mischief remaining to be dealt with will be reduced.

It is then assumed that, whatever may be the present extent of the depression caused by the ryot's chronic servitude to the

money-lender, two-fifths of it will gradually disappear on the application of the remedies already suggested, and that only three-fifths will remain for treatment by the further reforms about to be proposed. If, then, we can roughly measure the extent of the existing depression, we can also roughly measure the extent of the mischief which, on the above assumption, has to be attacked.

The Famine Commission have learned (*loc. cit.*) "from evidence collected from all parts of India, that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves." Their use of the term landholding class includes occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will as well as land-owners. The evidence on which this conclusion is based has not been published yet. Some of the data at hand for testing its correctness will now be noted. A summary of the Oudh replies to the Commission's questions on this subject has recently been published in the Review of the Revenue Administration of the Province. In the year ending 10th September 1881 the proportion of tenants believed to be indebted in 1878 is given as ranging from 33 and 37 per cent. in Gondah and Partabgarh to 75 per cent. in Sitapur, Kheri, and Fyzabad, and 80 per cent. in Barabanki. The average proportion for the twelve districts is 60 per cent. There are some indications in the summary that the extent of indebtedness has been under-estimated. Thus, in Partabgarh, it was reported in 1868 that the very large majority of the cultivators were in debt. The conclusion, in 1878, that only 37 per cent. are in debt, is based on observations that extended to only 48 cultivators in a population of 750,000.

In the North-West Provinces many of the settlement reports give valuable statistics, collected over a much wider area than seems to have been examined in Oudh.

In Cawnpore, out of a thousand cultivators examined by Mr. Buck in Pargana Bilhaur, more than 70 per cent. had borrowed after the failure of the autumn crop of 1871. "The circumstances of the Cawnpore cultivators are, generally speaking, very low; they are, as a rule, under-fed, and have not enough clothes to keep out the cold of the winter months." An examination of over 2,000 cultivators, made by Mr. Wright, "with the greatest care, and much trouble in ascertaining the real truth," showed that only 37 per cent. were able to pay their Kharif (autumn) rent from the Kharif produce, and only 22 per cent. could sow their Rabi (spring) crop without borrowing the seed. (Settlement Report, pp. 116-118.)

In Banda the peasantry are "generally deeply involved in debt." (North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, II, p. 110). In Hamirpur

"the peasantry are not only in debt, but hopelessly so." (*Ib.*, p. 181.) In Fatehpur, "the mass of the population is as poor as the lower agricultural classes are in all districts in the North-Western Provinces. The peasant with a small holding is very little better off" (than the day labourer), "as he is so much at the mercy of the seasons, and is invariably in debt to his money-lender. When he has paid his rent, and fed and clothed himself and his family, he has nothing left even in a prosperous season, and in one even slightly unfavorable, he invariably increases considerably the burthen of that debt which he has never been free from; which he probably inherited from his fathers, and which he will certainly hand down to his descendants." (*Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces, 1877.*)

In Gorakhpur "the cultivators are, as a class, ignorant, unenterprising, and indebted.... Their progress is still opposed by two great obstacles, ignorance and indebtedness..... The latter sweeps off into the coffer of the money-lender their fair share of the increased wealth of the district." (*North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, VI, p. 404.*) In Basti, "poor and indebted from birth," the peasant "knows not better things..... If indebtedness is the lot of the tenant, it is none the less the lot of the landlord. By both it is regarded as an immemorial custom, almost as necessary accident of existence." (*Ib.*, p. 690). In Azamgarh, says Mr. J. R. Reid, "the mahajan is indispensable to the agriculturist, for the latter's great money-yielding crop is his sugar-cane..... Poverty, habit, and sentiment are too strong for him, and he remains the mahajan's submissive constituent..... The great bulk of the agricultural population loses part of the value of its sugar produce." (*Settlement Report, p. 144.*)

In Mirzapur (Pargana Dudhi) "the cultivators are, as a rule, too poor to procure seed except by borrowing it from mahajans, who charge interest at exorbitant rates, which rob them of the profit on occasional good harvest yields. It is, I think, essential to the prosperity of the State that trustworthy cultivators, needing advances to procure seed, should obtain them at very low interest, if the season is favorable, and without interest if it is adverse." (*Dudhi Administration Report, 1874-75.*) In Benares the mass of the population is in extreme poverty. (*Gazetteer, North Western Provinces, 1877.*) In the poorer parts of Ghazipur, the peasantry are generally in debt, but in the richer parts they are well off.

In Jhansi, "the people are in a chronic state of indebtedness to the village banker." (*North Western Provinces Gazetteer II, p. 285.*) In Lalitpur "the cultivators are for the most part tenants-at-will, deeply involved in debt to the village banker." (*Ib.*, p. 342.) In Jalaun "the normal state of all of them (the tenants-at-

will) including the zamindar, is indebtedness to the village banker." (*Ib.*, p. 226.) In Bijoor "the greater part of the rural population, whether labourers, small tenants, or small proprietors, are in most instances wretchedly poor. They are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and have hardly any interest in life beyond the care of sustaining it." (*Ib.* V, p. 331.)

Of Moradabad Mr. Smeaton says:—"The great mass of the cultivators require regular periodical loans for their business . . . Where the trade consists merely in temporary advances repaid *fasl* (season) by *fasl*, I do not think it does much harm When, however, the loans are not cleared off, and the cultivator gets at all deep into the money lender's books, the matter changes. It is then customary for the creditor to take over the whole of the cultivator's grain or cane juice, and dispose of it to the best advantage for himself, giving the debtor credit for a price always somewhat, and sometimes very much, below the current rate. The creditor then advances the debtor sufficient means just to subsist and work his land, and this goes on till he either decamps or dies. Under such circumstances the cultivator is little better than a slave. I am glad to say, however, that I do not think that such cases are very common." (Settlement Report, p. 63).

Of Bareilly the late Mr. Moens wrote:—"The peasant's condition is one of perpetual debt, but not therefore of misery. Debt is considered, like labour, the natural lot of his class, an unpleasant, but inevitable, accident of existence. He therefore incurs it as recklessly, and bears it with as blithe a patience, as his father did before him Enquiries made during settlement in ninety-three villages, taken at random from various parts of the district, showed that but 66.8 per. cent of the peasantry borrowed their seed grain, and that of those who did, the majority repaid the loan at harvest." (North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, V., p. 627.) In Pilibhit "as a rule, either the landlord himself, or a *bunneah*, steps in and advances on the crop. The tenant pays interest instead of rent, and the sum he pays as interest pays nothing as land revenue into the State coffers." (Settlement Report, p. 28.)

In Agra the circumstances of 54,791 cultivators, in five parganas, were ascertained; lists being made out by the village accountants of the number of tenants in each village known to be out of debt, and the number who worked on borrowed capital. 78 per cent. were found to be in debt. In pargana Firozabad, "if a tenant takes an advance of cash to pay his rent when the crops are ripe, he pays one auna per rupee per mensem as interest, or 75 per cent. per annum. This is double the ordinary rate." In pargana Fatehabad only 11 per cent. of the cultivating body

were found to be clear of the village banker's books, and 89 per cent. were in debt, (Settlement Report, p. 24). In Muttra, says Mr. Whiteway, "the grain-dealing class comprises a guild or fraternity, to which not only no outsider not of the caste can get admittance, but which also monopolizes the money lending or banking trade. Thus the members, be they bannias or zamindars, can compel the producer, who lives solely by the advances they grant him, to bring his produce to their shops and prevent him getting the full open market value for his goods:

The cultivator is therefore not only crippled by the heavy interest he has to pay, but also by the low price he is compelled to take for his produce." (Settlement Report, p. 90.) In Farukhabad "the village bannia and the land-owner still retain for themselves the exclusive right of advancing money to the peasants and thereby retaining them in their power." (North Western Provinces Gazetteer, 1877). In 1867 Mr. C. A. Elliott stated that he was afraid that the vast majority of Farukhabad tenants came under the category of the cultivator who lives from hand to mouth, making over his whole crop to his bannia, and borrowing from him food and seed-corn, and money to pay his rent. "I have employed," he wrote, "several capable men to make a sort of census of the cultivators, dividing them into classes according to their borrowing or not borrowing seed-corn, and the general result of their replies is, that only about five per cent. borrow neither, and that about sixty or seventy per cent. of the cultivators borrow both kinds of corn." (Settlement Report, Appx., Pargana Kans.) The interest charged is nominally 25 per cent. but is really much more. "The lender takes advantage of the natural fall in prices between the time of sowing, when they are highest, and of reaping when they are lowest. The terms of the account are astutely shifted from kind to cash when grain is dear, and from cash to kind when it is cheap. Thus, if ten seers of seed are borrowed for the spring sowing in Kartik (October-November) when the price is Rs. 4 per maund of 40 seers, the lender's books debit the borrower with R. 1. At the reapings in Baisakh (April-May) when the market rate has fallen to (let us say) Rs. 2 the maund, the cash figure is reconverted to grain, and the debt appears as 20 seers. Interest is now added at the rate of 25 per cent, which raises the sum to 25 seers. As a matter of fact much more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ times the loan is repaid. In the extreme case just taken, the debtor returns $2\frac{1}{2}$ fold." (North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, VI., p. 694.) Mr. Beames mentions even worse cases. "I have heard," he says, writing of Gorakhpur and Champarun, "of cases where grain was lent at *siwāiyā*, or 25 per cent. the first harvest, at *deorhiyā*, or 50

per cent. the second, at *tinpāwiyá*, or 75 per cent. the third, and so on; so that out of an original amount of one maund lent, a debt of 100 maunds had (owing to bad harvests, and various additional extortions) arisen in two years. The lenders are generally zamindars, and there is a class of Rajputs converted to Islam, and called Thakuráis, who have earned a specially bad name by this practice. During the famine of 1867 the houses of these men were naturally frequently pillaged. In some cases, bands of starving ryots, headed by their *putwari* (accountant), surrounded the bursting granaries of these men, and helped themselves to the contents, the *putwari* writing down each person's name, and the amount taken by him, and then handing the list to the owner, when they all departed quietly and orderly to their houses, after promising to repay when times improved." (Supplemental Glossary, I., p. 231). Of Etawah Mr. Neale says:—"I think that there can be no doubt, from the enquiries made personally from cultivators, that, with very few exceptions, they just get enough to eat and to clothe themselves with, and no more. As a body they are in the *bania's* hands, who doles out to them a just sufficient allowance." (Settlt. Rep., p. 103). In Etah "there is still . . . a large amount of indebtedness to the village money-lender, though the people, as a rule, appear well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed." (N.-W. P. Gazetteer, IV, p. 85). In Dehra Dun, "in the Dun proper, the peasantry have not extricated themselves from a condition of indebtedness to the village-banker, but in Jaunsár Báwar, they occupy a comparatively enviable position, free from debt." (Impl. Gazr. III, p. 74r. In Saharanpur, "the peasantry (with the exception of the sturdy Rajputs and Gujars . . .) are, as elsewhere, in a most miserable condition, being, to all intents and purposes, merely serfs of the petty money-lenders, who not only exact usurious interest, but also sell with light weights and short measures, and buy according to standards arranged on the opposite principle. Again, if a man borrows twenty rupees to-day, and pays the equivalent in grain or otherwise within thirty-six hours, inexorable custom compels him to give from six to twelve months interest all the same, at the rate usually charged." (North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, I, p. 227.) In Aligarh "the mass of the agricultural classes are fairly well-to-do, but while some are substantial farmers, with a good stock of cattle and a reserve for a bad season, many still discount the harvest at the door of the village money-lender, and rely upon his advances for food and seed alike." (*Ib.* p. 461). In Meerut "most of the peasantry are never out of debt from the time they begin life to their death. The cause of this is the enormous rate of interest exacted from them by native mahajans and *sáhu-kárs*. A cultivator, if not a proprietor, who borrows money for ever so short

a period less than a year, has to enter into a contract by which he engages to give four annas on every rupee borrowed by some certain date within the year, and, in addition to this, he binds himself to sell his corn to the banker at from one to two seers above the market rate of the day when the grain has been winnowed. Thus, on an ordinary loan for six months, a cultivator has, as a rule, to pay interest at the rate of sixty per cent. per annum. The cultivators are now so indebted, that mahajans have become necessary to their existence." (*Ib.* III, p. 297).

In Bengal "the indebtedness of the cultivator as a class is not so serious as it once was, but it still largely exists. It is worst in Behar, less in Central and Western Bengal and Orissa, and least in Eastern and Northern Bengal, where it has, in places, altogether disappeared. The ordinary rates of interest are as high as..... 37½ per cent. per annum, and 50 per cent. is usually paid as interest on rice advances. The security is the standing crop. The creditors are generally the village bankers, but often also the zamindars or landholders." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 25).

In Bombay the cultivator's "chronic condition of indebtedness to the village money-lender has produced consequences not dissimilar to those caused by the zamindari system in Bengal. No intermediate rights in the soil have been suffered to grow up between the cultivator and the State, but the personal obligation under which the cultivator has placed himself towards the money-lender, enables the latter to appropriate to himself the unearned increment as completely as if he were a landlord." (*Ib.* p. 193.)

In Madras the bannia is as prominent a figure in rural life as elsewhere. "He shares the money gained from the produce of the land with the Government, and his share is generally a very large one. He is the great evil, though at the same time the great necessity, of the village.....Nominally it (interest) may be only 24, or 30 per cent. per annum, but in reality it is 75, or even one hundred. This is brought about by the way in which the interest is made up. It is reckoned on the whole sum for the whole time that the money has to be repaid.....It often happens that a small debt in the beginning is swelled into a very large one by continual renewals, and is in the end perhaps paid half a dozen times over. It is no wonder that the ryots are so miserably poor. *It has been recommended that the Government should open a bank to lend money to the ryots on the security of their crops. If some thing of the kind could be done, it would do more good for the ryot than almost any thing else.*" ("Calcutta Review," April 1875, p. 277. "Rural Madras" by F. Goodall.)

Speaking of India generally, Dr. Hunter says:—"It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India

as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum still prevails." ("England's Work in India," p. 42). And the Famine Commission remark:—"At present 24 and 26 per cent are commonly paid by agriculturists, rates which would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country." (Report II. p. 135).

These extracts show that the Famine Commission had ample grounds for their conclusion that two-thirds of the landholding classes are more or less seriously in debt.

As there are no data for computing the *degree* of indebtedness prevailing in the different provinces, its total extent cannot be directly measured. It can only be indirectly and imperfectly represented, by noting the proportion of the rural population found to be indebted. But this flaw in the analysis is not of serious consequence. The uncertainty caused by it, makes it impossible to calculate the period required for removing the evil, the proportion of the indebted population which no reforms can extricate. But it does not affect the process of ascertaining the means by which the financial position of every producer may be improved, whether he be an independent capitalist, or over head and ears in debt. The lines to be followed in cheapening the cost of production, and in securing a better market for the commodities produced, can be traced out with sufficient precision without knowing the details of the producer's bank account.

In the attempt now about to be made to mark out these lines of action, the actual extent of the indebtedness of rural India will be treated as an unknown quantity. The numerical proportion of the rural class involved in debt will be treated as a known quantity, *viz.*, two-thirds. It will be assumed that the economic reforms already proposed will gradually remove two-fifths of the existing indebtedness, and also that this proportion of two-fifths will obtain numerically as well as quantitatively; that is to say, that two-fifths of the indebted cultivators will be freed from debt by the same process that will gradually extinguish two-fifths of the total debt. It follows, upon these assumptions, that the scope of the further reforms will be to relieve the indebtedness of $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of $\frac{2}{3}$ rd's = $\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the rural classes.

For the purpose in view it will not be necessary to carry the enquiry up to the non-cultivating land-owner or down to the day labourer. My object will be attained if I can succeed in showing how the impoverishment of the cultivating class may be greatly diminished by cheapening its cost in producing, and by enhancing the realizable value of its produce.

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The first thing to do is to ascertain, approximately, the number of persons contained in the class, and so obtain a definite idea of the scale on which the work has to be done.

The following table gives for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, Punjab, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, the number of ryotwari and tenant-holdings, as ascertained by the Famine Commission (Report II, pp. 111, 115 and 116); the number of holdings represented by two-fifths of the total number; the number of districts in each of these seven provinces, and the average number of holdings (at two-fifths of the whole) to be dealt with in each district.

Assam, British Burma, the Berars, and Ajmir are excluded from the calculation, because the question of the indebtedness of cultivators has not there been raised.

PROVINCE.	Total number of ryotwari or tenant holdings.	Two-fifths of total number.	Number of districts.	Average number of holdings to be dealt with in each district.
Bengal	9,752,884	3,901,153	43(a)	90,724
North-West Provinces ...	2,700,000	1,080,000	37	29,189
Oudh	(b) 1,510,642	604,256	12	50,354
Punjab	1,640,000	656,000	(c) 31	21,161
Central Provinces ...	755,553	302,221	19	15,906
Madras	2,392,064	956,825	(d) 19	50,359
Bombay (including Sind) ...	1,367,622	547,048	22(e)	24,865
Total	20,118,765	8,047,503	183	43,975

Note.—(a.) Calcutta omitted.

(b.) Taken from Revenue Administration Report, 1880-81.

(c.) Simla omitted.

(d.) Nilgiris and Madras city omitted.

(e.) Bombay city omitted.

The next step is to form a distinct conception of the probable magnitude of the financial part of the business. The likeliest way of getting at this seems to lie in working out, approximately, the amount of rental paid by the cultivators concerned, and the probable ratio between their annual rent and the advances annually required by them. Now, two-fifths of the cultivators of the seven provinces will pay two-fifths of the gross rental, and, consequently, two fifths of the land revenue. The following table (cols. 3 and 5) shows approximately what two-fifths of the revenue and rental will amount to. It assumes for the four temporarily settled provinces that the rental is double the revenue, as it is generally understood to be; and that in Madras and Bombay the rental and the revenue are identical. For Bengal it takes the rent as valued under the District Road Cess Act.

PROVINCE.	Land-Revenue.	Two-fifths of Land-Revenue.	Approximate proportion between rental and Land-Revenue.	Resulting amount of two-fifths of Rental.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
Bengal	3,72,64,000	1,49,05,600	(Rental valued at Rs. 13,11,68,000)	5,24,67,200
North-West Provinces ...	4,24,67,440	1,69,86,976	2 : 1	3,39,73,952
Oudh	1,44,91,470	57,96,588	2 : 1	1,15,93,176
Punjab	2,00,58,140	80,23,256	2 : 1	1,60,46,512
Central Provinces ...	61,46,530	24,58,612	2 : 1	49,17,224
Madras	4,54,50,130	1,81,80,052	1 : 1	1,81,80,052
Bombay	3,69,43,560	1,47,77,424	1 : 1	1,47,77,424
Total	Rs. 20,28,21,270	Rs. 8,11,28,508		Rs. 15,19,55,540

There is an extraordinary lack of data for estimating the probable proportion between rent and advances. In 1869 Mr. C. A. Elliott supposed "that in the entire North Western Provinces fully ten million sterling is borrowed by the agriculturists for seed and food grain, rent and revenue, clothing, and other expenses. (Revenue Reporter, Vol. IV. No. II. p. 84). The steps by which this estimate was reached were not published. It points to a proportion of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 as subsisting between advances and rent. The point was carefully enquired into some time ago by the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Allahabad, Mr. J. S. Mackintosh. Mr. Mackintosh consulted many officers, European and native, about it. Every officer consulted by him was of opinion that, on an average, not less than the rent paid or payable for the land, was borrowed yearly for the cultivation of it. His own view, which he has kindly communicated to me, is that in an ordinary year, in the North-West Provinces, the amount borrowed is nearer fifteen than ten millions, and that in a year of severe distress, it is between twenty and thirty, and probably nearer thirty than twenty.

If we were to assume that in the North-West Provinces the average borrowing of the borrowing cultivator is one-and-a-half times his rent, we should, probably, be not far from the mark. For in these provinces the existing rents, "taking one year with another, and valuing the produce at the low rates which it realizes locally at harvest time," represent about one-third of the gross produce. (*Pioneer*, 13th October 1881). If, therefore, the average borrowing is one-and-a-half times the rent, it is equal to half the value of the gross produce at harvest. It is unlikely to exceed this proportion. For, as a rule, the cultivator has no security to offer but his crop, and of that, since one-third is practically hypothecated to his landlord as security for the rent, only two-thirds can be mortgaged by him as security for advances. But these two-thirds are not more than enough to repay a loan equal to one-half the value of the crop with interest at 33 per cent. : *e. g.*, if a year's gross produce of a cultivator's holding is 100 maunds, $\frac{1}{3}$ of this, or $33\frac{1}{3}$ maunds, is the landlord's share and cannot be borrowed upon. $66\frac{2}{3}$ maunds represent the security on which the cultivator can borrow. If he borrows up to the value of half the gross produce, or 50 maunds, he has borrowed as much as he can repay with interest at $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent ($= 16\frac{2}{3}$ maunds) out of his own share of the crop. Now 33 per cent is lower than the average rate of interest between bannia and cultivator. On the other hand, a large part of the cultivator's borrowing is to pay his rent, and for this part, of course,

he can and does give his landlord's share of the crop as security. Allowing for these considerations, it seems probable that, on an average, the sum annually borrowed does not exceed the value of half the gross produce, or one-and-a-half times the borrower's rent. Applying this assumed proportion to the whole area under reference, I give in the following table, for each of the seven provinces, the probable amount of annual advances (in two-fifths of the holdings), the average per district, and the average advance per holding.

PROVINCE.	Assumed amount of two-fifths of rental.	Amount of annual advances at one and a half times two-fifths of rental.	Number of districts.	Average amount of annual advances per district.	Average number of holdings to be dealt with in each district.	Average amount of annual advance per holding in each district.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Bengal	5,24,67,200	7,87,00,800	43	18,30,251	90,724	20
North-West Provinces	3,39,73,952	5,09,60,928	37	13,77,322	29,189	47
Oudh	1,15,93,176	1,73,89,764	12	14,49,147	50,354	28
Punjab	1,60,46,512	2,40,69,768	31	7,76,444	21,161	36
Central Provinces ..	49,17,224	73,75,836	19	3,88,201	15,906	24
Madras	1,81,80,052	2,72,70,078	19	14,35,267	50,359	28
Bombay	1,47,77,424	2,21,66,136	22	10,07,551	24,865	40
Total ..	Rs. 15,19,55,540	Rs. 22,79,33,310	183	Rs. 12,45,537	43,975	Rs. 28

The amount, then, to be yearly advanced, on these assumptions, will be Rs. 22,79,33,310 (=£ 18,994,442, at 1s. 8d. to the rupee), to the cultivators of 8,047,503 holdings. The average advance will be Rs. 28 (=£1. 13s. 4d.) per holding, ranging from Rs. 24 in the Central Provinces to Rs. 47 in the North-Western Provinces. The average amount to be annually advanced in each district will be Rs. 12,45,537 (=£103,794) varying from Rs. 3,88,201 in the Central Provinces to Rs. 18,30,251 in Bengal. And the average number of holdings to be dealt with in each district will be 43,975, ranging from 15,906 in the Central Provinces to 90,724 in Bengal.

Assuming that these figures represent, approximately, the

amount of capital required and the number of persons requiring it, the administrative problem for solution presents itself in the shape of these three questions:—

(1.) Can the State furnish the required nineteen millions?
 (2.) If it can, ought it to do so, or should it leave the enterprise to private capitalists?

(3.) By what agency, and in what mode, should the advances, if made by the State, be distributed and recovered?

(1.)—*Can the State furnish the required nineteen millions?*

The total sum believed to be required (Rs. 22,79,33,310) is not much in excess of the land revenue (Rs. 20,28,21,27) of the seven provinces. The period within which it would be lent and recovered would be very short, probably four months or less for advances on the kharif (autumn) crop, and six months or less for advances on the rabi (spring) crop. If, therefore, it were found possible to use the Rabi collections of land revenue as a fund from which to make the Kharif advances, and to use the Kharif collections for the Rabi advances, the collection so applied would be regularly replaced within four and six months, or less, respectively. The investment of capital in these advances is not an investment of the ordinary kind, in which the capital is permanently sunk, and only the interest on it is recovered. Nor, probably, would more than half of a year's total advances be outstanding at any given date. If, therefore, ways and means could be so manipulated as to admit of the application of the receipts from land revenue to such charges as would not fall due, or could, without inconvenience, stand over till October-November and April-May of each year, *the required amount of capital could be regularly provided by the State, without any borrowing, and in the most natural and convenient way possible.* That such an adjustment of ways and means is practicable, I have very little doubt. My belief is based on a consideration of the large amount of the cash balances; of the fact, that the nine and a half millions of revenue, (to be twice a year temporarily diverted in their passage from the district treasuries to their ultimate recipients), are less than a sixth part of the total State income; and, of the considerable extent to which many disbursements,—*e. g.* among others, those for interest, pensions, furlough allowances and purchase of stores are made, not monthly, but quarterly and half yearly.

(2.)—*If the State can furnish the capital, ought it to do so, or should it leave the enterprise to private capitalists?*

It is everywhere admitted that the scarcity of local capital injuriously retards the development of the material resources of India, and that the rate at which, at this day,

private capital is advanced to the cultivator, "would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country," and is one of the most powerful factors in producing the present depression. There are no signs that private enterprise is about to come to the cultivator's relief on any large scale, or on any scale at all, where the cultivator has no substantial security to offer. Nor could private enterprise, even if ready to come forward, offer its accommodation nearly so cheaply as the Government can. For the Government can borrow more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and *it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction, but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss.*

The Government of India, as chief landlord, is distinctly bound to relieve, in all practicable ways, the wretchedness of its tenants, to improve their material condition, and make it possible for them to do justice to the land they till so toilfully.

Power, and opportunity, and relation, constitute, more than any thing else, the measure of duty. If, as I believe, the State in India can, without serious difficulty, give immeasurable relief to millions of its suffering people by itself supplying the capital they want, then, for the "Má-Báp" of the Indian ryot to withhold that help, is, to compare a political with a human relation, almost as unnatural as for the mother to forget her sucking child.

This view, however, of State duty and capacity is not at present held by the Government of India. In the recent proceedings of the Legislative Council (26th October and 2nd November 1882) the question has been curiously mixed up with the amendment of the Land Improvement Act. And the strange conclusion has been arrived at, that, because in Berar revenue-paying cultivators are unwilling to take advances for improvements, lest they should disturb the harmony of their relations with the village money-lender, therefore, this is the real reason of the general failure of the Land Improvement Act all over India, and, therefore, Government had better hand over to companies or banks, conducted by private enterprise, the whole business of advances to the agricultural classes, (whether for improvements or any other purpose), except the business of recovery. It is, however, admitted by the Government, that it will be difficult to take this step in Northern India, "the main reason being that, in Northern India, the ryot has no transferable right of property, and that his crops are already hypothecated, in the first instance, to the landlord."

This very difficulty may, I hope, be the means of leading the Government to consider whether, at all events in Northern India, another and better course is not open to it than that of throwing away

a great opportunity for bridging the widening gulf between the rural classes and itself; of handing over the ryot to a new and foreign species of *bannia*; and of involving the chief landlord in the toil and odium of collecting the money-lender's demands.

(3) *By what agency, and in what mode, should the advances, if made by the State, be distributed and recovered?*

In the belief that useful help towards a sound decision of this and of the last question is to be gained by *looking back*, I allot a considerable part of this chapter to the following attempt to review historically past State action in India in this matter of assisting the supply of agricultural capital.

State advances to cultivators were a feature of the revenue system introduced in 1582, A. D., by Akbar's great minister of finance, Raja Todar Mal. The revenue officer of those days, when the true business of a collector seems to have been understood a good deal better than it is now, was instructed "*to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman.....He must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money, and receive payment at distant and convenient periods.....Let him learn the character of every husbandman, and be the immediate protector of that class of subjects.*" (Gladwin's *Ain Akbari*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, vol. 44, p. 378).

Todar Mal's system was, 'only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah', who "was intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India—a knowledge without which no ruler of that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects." (Cowell's *Elphinstone*, p. 541, and Erskine's *India under Babar and Humayun*, II, p. 442). Shir Shah's system, again, was based upon "the old rent-roll of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlul (Lodi)." (Thomas' *Pathan Kings*, p. 437.) It is, therefore, probable that from a much earlier period than that of Todar Mal's reforms, State advances had formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system. This probability is greatly increased by the fact that one of the highest and earliest expounders of the Muhamadan law, Abu Yusuf (born A. D. 731) prescribes such advances: "Aboo Yoosoof has said that *the Imam (Muhamadan Chief) should lend the owner of the land, from the public treasury, as much as will enable him to buy cattle and implements of husbandry*, and take from him a deed, binding himself to cultivate the land; and, when the grain is ripe, he may take from it the *Khiraj* (land revenue) and what he lends him will be a debt against the owner of the land." (Extract from the *Fatawa Alamgiri*, Baillie's *Land-tax of India*, p. 15). Shahjehan's vizier, Saiadulla Khan, "the most able and upright minister that ever

appeared in India," (Elphinstone) "combined the duties of Amin and Faujdar in one person, and appointed him superintendent of a chakla (or circle) of several parganas. It was his business to encourage agriculture, to make advances, station watchmen over the ripening crops, and report when any indulgence and leniency appeared expedient. This system lasted during the time of Aurangzeb, and till the dissolution of the Empire." (Elphinstone).

A firman of Alamgir's, dated 1668, A. D., addressed, soon after his accession, to the Diwan of Guzerat, directs that the land revenue shall be collected "in the mode and proportion enjoined by the holy law and the tenets of Huneefah, as laid down in the following articles:—*First*, you will deport yourself towards the ryots with kindness and humanity, and by wise regulations and practical expedients encourage them to extend their cultivation, so that no land, capable of being rendered productive, may remain uncultivated. *Secondly*, at the commencement of the season you will ascertain whether the cultivators are employed in their cultivation, or appear inclined to neglect it. If they possess the means you will induce them to cultivate their lands by encouragement, and to those who require assistance, you will afford it. *Should it appear that the cultivators are incapable of furnishing the means of cultivation, you will assist them with money, taking security for the same.*" (Selections from Harington's Analysis, p. 95.)

Jaffir Khan, Nazim of Bengal from 1713 to 1726, A. D., dispossessed the zemindars from the management of the collections, measured all the land in cultivation, "and obtained information of the ability of every husbandman in every village throughout the Soobah. *To those who were so distressed as to be unable to purchase the necessary implements of husbandry, or grain to sow their land, he advanced tuckavy, (takavi) and by this humane attention to the wants of individuals, cultivation was increased, and the revenue consequently augmented.*" (Translation of a Narrative of Transactions in Bengal under the Native Government, prepared by Mr. H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal. Selections from Harington's Analysis, p. 59.) In 1767, two years after Clive had obtained for the Company the Diwani, or fiscal administration, of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, we find the first British Government of Bengal already recognizing the necessity of carrying on the native system of advances.

"Agreed," say the proceedings of 2nd February 1767, "that we write to the resident at Midnapore, observing to him that it will be necessary for such advances to be made to the farmers as may enable them to go on with the cultivation of the lands,

but that the rate of interest for such advances must never exceed 12 per cent., agreeably to the positive orders lately received from the Company; and that unless other means are found of supplying them at that rate, the money must be advanced out of the Company's cash." (Long's Selections from the unpublished records of Government, 1748 to 1767, I., p. 500.)

To his minute, dated 2nd April 1788, on the rights of zemindars and talukdars, Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) appended a series of questions put to a former Nazim of Behar, Ghulam Hosain Khan, (author of the *Sair-ul-Mutakherin*) and to the Roy Royan, who was, I suppose, a sort of Kanungo-General. Presumably these were the best informed natives that could be found in Bengal. Among their replies were the following:—"It is incumbent on the ruler to consider the ryots as entrusted to his care by Providence, to esteem them in the light of his own children, to protect them from oppression, to feel and participate in their miseries, and above all, to regard them with an eye of benevolence and kindness. Such conduct cannot fail of conciliating their affection and gaining their esteem."

"The duties of a zemindar comprehend a complete discharge of his revenue, the cultivation and improvement of his country, the protection and security of his ryots in conformity to the usage of the country, his conduct of any other affairs committed to him, and a constant observance of the orders and regulations of the Ruling Power It is incumbent on him, in each case, to obey the Ruling Power, to be responsible for the affairs of his zemindary, to defend his country, and to cherish his ryots." "The duty of zemindar and talukdar towards a ryot, is to guard and protect him, to cherish and encourage him, *to advance him tukavy in case of need*, to reduce his grievances, and if by any accident he should have sustained a loss, to grant him an indulgence or allow him a remission, with a view to prevent his desertion, and to be responsible to Government for his conduct." (To the question, "what is the meaning of the term *khidmat* [service] in a zemindary sunnud?") :—"To attend to the cultivation of the country; to promote its produce; *to apportion part of that produce to the purposes of cultivation*, part to his own subsistence, and the remainder, under the head of revenue, for the use of the State, and to be at all times obedient to the authority of the ruling power, are considered as the prescribed services of a zemindar." (Selections from Harington's Analysis, pp. 141, 148, 164, 166.) The rules passed at this time (1787-88, A. D.) for the guidance of the Collectors and Board of Revenue of the British territories in Bengal, were afterwards incorporated in Regulation II. of 1793. By sections 23 and 44 of this Regulation

the Board was authorized "to grant advances of tuckavy to proprietors or farmers of land where it shall appear essentially necessary, in proportions not exceeding five per cent. on the revenue payable from the lands to Government, reporting all such instances to the Governor-General in Council." For larger sums the Governor-General's sanction had to be obtained. The interest to be taken was one per cent. per mensem. Collectors were forbidden to advance *takavy* without the express sanction of the Board. Sections 40 of Regulation XIV of 1793, and 6 of Regulation III. of 1794, made arrears of such advances recoverable as if they were arrears of revenue. Regulation V of 1795 extended this and other revenue rules to the province of Benares. Regulation XXVII of 1803, regarding the collection of the revenue in the Ceded Provinces, allowed the tahsildars (section II, clause 5) $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their gross collections, and bound them to defray all charges, cover all risks, "to make good all balances of revenue which may accrue in their respective jurisdictions, as well as such advances as Government may authorize them to make to ryots and others, for the purpose of assisting them in the cultivation of their lands." Clause 9 of the same section says:—"*Tehseeldars shall make the usual advances of tuckavy at the proper periods, for the purchase of seed, cattle and implements of husbandry; taking bonds for the same, bearing interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum. The tuckavy bonds shall be attested by the Chaudries, Canongoes and Mukuddums (head Ryots); and the number of bigahs for the cultivation of which the advance is made, shall be specified in the bond.*" These Regulations, with the exception of II of 1793, were not expressly repealed till 1873. But the provisions about advances seem to have fallen into disuse during the first quarter of the present century. A striking instance of this, and of the unfortunate results, occurred in Cawnpore. The Settlement Officer (Mr. E. C. Buck) writes:—"*The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one. Yearly advances of large amounts were made to the zemindars of this and other districts by the Nawab of Oudh's Government, and the practice was continued for some years after the cession of the provinces, by the British Government. Mr. Welland, who was the first officer in charge of this district, writes in 1802, that the "subsistence, food, raiment, and dwellings of the agricultural classes were mostly regulated and paid for from the funds furnished by Government."* Mr. Montgomery attributes much of the embarrassment which occurred during the first thirty years of the century in this district, to the withdrawal of indigo advances and the stoppage of the Company's

cotton factories ; and, in hunting up old correspondence in the Commissioner's office, I found letters which showed that annual advances were made to the zemindars of Cawnpore of Rs. 1,00,000 for the sugarcane crop alone up to 1808. In that year the Collector deprecated a reduction in the ordinary allowance which he had received orders to make. He was peremptorily told that he must confine his advance for the year to Rs. 90,000 on account of the wish of the Governor-General that the system of making advances should be gradually discontinued The large scale on which advances were made shows clearly, that *Government was in the habit of redistributing to the zemindars, and through them to the cultivators, a large portion of the revenue which was paid into the treasury. The Government was to the community what the heart is to the body. The sudden stoppage of what must have been to the agricultural body corporate its life-blood, while the system of periodical bleeding was continued, had the same effect which similar treatment would have upon the human frame. The members of the community, whether of the first or second degree, have been driven to procure sustenance from another and external source, and the money-lender has taken the place of Government.* The cultivation of crops which require any outlay of cash is carried on by his aid ; he supplies the only agency by which coin can be restored to circulation. But when a bad season, or the occasion of a marriage, has thrown a zemindar or cultivator into his power, he has made use of the opportunity to deprive the farmer of his land, and the latter of his liberty *The recourse of zemindars and cultivators to money-lenders has the effect of diverting much of the rental fund from proprietors to usurers, and Government has thereby lost a serious amount of revenue.* Money-lenders, too, have instituted the practice of making a separate income out of the interest on short loans to cultivators, instead of enhancing their rent-rolls. As the rate they charge is 25 to 30 per cent., their unassessed income from this source must be enormous." (Cawnpore Settlement Report, p. 111).

In 1815 the Collectors of the Ceded and Conquered provinces had to report on the prevailing rent systems. Only one of the replies mentions the existence of Government advances—a plain indication that they were no longer extensively given. The Collector of Bareilly wrote:—"advances, denominated *Tuc-cavy*, are made by Government for the assistance of the landholders at the two annual periods of cultivation, for the repayment of which in the ensuing harvest a bond bearing interest is taken; *this, again, is on the same terms distributed by hem to their tenants.* When the proprietor or farmer is anxious

for the improvement of his lands, he frequently makes advances to his tenants considerably beyond what he himself has received from Government. On the contrary, it sometimes occurs that the proprietor, equally regardless of his own and tenants' interests, appropriates to his private use the advances made by Government for the cultivation of his estate." (Selections from Revenue Records, North-West Provinces, 1818—1820, p. 261.)

I have been unable to find any satisfactory record of the reasons which led to the discontinuance of the *Takavi* system. Probably the chief causes were the growth of the Company's indebtedness, and the increasing difficulty of providing the annual remittance to England; the disorganization produced by the exactions of the early revenue assessments; the want of effective supervision; the competition of the parallel system of advances,—to silk weavers, for instance,—for the Company's investment; and, after the Charter of 1813 had relaxed the Company's commercial monopoly, the competition of advances by private capitalists. A ponderous Circular of the Allahabad Board of Revenue, dated 4th May 1841, says (para 241): "Before submitting to the Board applications for Tuckavy, you should satisfy yourself that the money is really wanted to be applied to purposes connected with cultivation, and not to the liquidation of balances or other unauthorized uses; and when Tuccavee has been authorized, the Collectors are to guard carefully against its improper application. (242) *The only purpose for which disbursements are now ever sanctioned is, the construction or repair of works of permanent utility.* (244). The condition prescribed" (in bonds for repaying advances for improvements) "should be strictly enforced, to prevent the abuses which have rendered the common Tuccavee advance a source of evil instead of benefit to the country."

Similarly, the Direction to Revenue Officers (1846) remark, (para 45):—"Such advances are common with native Governments, and used frequently to be made under our own system. A vicious practice arose of making only nominal advances of Tuccavee, which were immediately carried to the Government account in liquidation of existing balances, and thus enabled the Collector to exhibit a clear balance sheet. This was quite inadmissible, and has thrown discredit on such advances." It is deplorable to trace, in these extracts, the suppression of a valuable indigenous institution, because abuses in its working were allowed to grow up *Delirant reges; plectuntur Achivi*. The ryot pays for the fatuity of his rulers.

But though, during the early years of the century, State advances came to be discontinued for the assistance of cultivators in ordinary seasons, they have never ceased to form part of the Revenue administration in times of scarcity.

In the Famine of 1803, ten lakhs of advances were disbursed in the North-West Provinces; in 1860-61, Rs. 6,31,000 were disbursed in the North-West Provinces and Panjaub; in 1868-69, Rs 20,76,700 in the North-West Provinces, Panjaub, and Central Provinces; in 1873-74, Rs 15,54,200 in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh (Report of Famine Commission, I. p. 24); in 1877-78, Rs. 5,76,270 in the North-West Provinces and Oudh; in 1880-81, Rs. 2,08,613 in Oudh, (of which more than half was disbursed in the Rae Bareilly district), and Rs. 1,12,316 in the North-West Provinces.

The Famine Commission have expressed their approval of this system. They say—"The experience of the Bengal Famine of 1874, and other less conspicuous instances, have shown how faithful the landed classes are, as a rule, in repaying such advances, and how inappreciable is the risk attending them when they are judiciously made. The grant of such loans should be regarded as of primary importance among the measures adopted for meeting distress, and should receive early and sedulous attention on the part of the local Government." (Report I. p. 56). "We have already proposed that the making of loans to the landed classes should be a part of the regular system of famine relief, and this measure should be liberally extended and prolonged till the effects of famine have passed away. There may also be other cases of exceptional calamity in which relief may properly be given to deserving tenants or landlords, by advances of this kind; and it is desirable that the district officers should, under suitable rules, have the power of giving such assistance when the circumstances are personally known. But care should be taken to avoid falling into excess in doing this. There could be no greater encouragement to unthrift and recklessness among the agriculturists, than the knowledge that they have no need to accumulate capital to meet any misfortune that may befall them, but that they can always rely on obtaining from the Government the money they require on comparatively easy terms." (*ib.* II., p. 144). The Northern India Takavi Act (X. of 1879) has been based on these recommendations. It empowers the local Governments of the North-West Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Assam, and Ajmir "to prescribe rules as to advances to be made to owners and occupiers of arable land, for the relief of distress, the

purchase of seed or cattle, or any other purpose not specified in the Land Improvement Act, 1871, but connected with agricultural objects." By the North-West Provinces rules under this Act, interest is, as a rule, to be charged at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent; the advances are only to be given when "distress" exists, and to small land-owners and occupancy-tenants, but not to tenants-at-will.

The system, then, of Government advances to the Indian ryot to facilitate production, is of considerable antiquity, is familiar both to the people and to the State, and is reverted to, to this day, whenever exceptional calamity attacks the agricultural classes. I urge that the chronic depression of these classes imperatively demands that this help should be given, not as the exception but as the rule; and that until it can be shown that the giving of this help is beyond the associated strength of the Government, the zemindars, and the leading ryots, the work should not be handed over to private enterprise.

I do not mean by this that private enterprise should be discouraged, but that the Government should not give up a plain duty, belonging naturally and historically to itself, in the hope that this duty will be discharged by private enterprise. In the temporarily settled districts the Government has already at hand, in the persons of its revenue payers, the natural agency for distributing and recovering the advances. Sir William Wedderburn ("A Permanent Settlement for the Dekkhan," p. 17) proposes, for the Dekkhan, to create the zemindar, in order that he may perform the functions of a local capitalist, and "so to bind him to the raiyat by ties of common advantage, that he will advance the necessary funds not only without stint, but also on such favourable terms as regards interest, that the raiyat may not be deprived of his due share of profit." I propose to create nothing, but only to revive a disused usage, and to utilize the capital and the men already at hand. In the ryotwari districts, the head ryot or mokaddam, or an elected representative of the cultivators of the village, would be the natural agent.

A good deal of light may be thrown on the question of the mode in which the advances would be distributed and recovered by the joint agency of the Government, the zemindars, and the leading ryots, by taking, as a "selected area," some average district and noting the conditions presented by it. I choose for this purpose the district of Rae Bareilly, in Oudh, as I have special facilities for getting at the necessary data about it.

A return issued by the Director of Agriculture and Commerce puts the rental paid by cultivators at Rs. 27,80,171. Two-fifths of this, or Rs. 11,12,068, is the rental paid by those cultivators who,

on the assumption made at the beginning of the chapter, would alone have to be assisted with advances, if the reforms proposed in chapters I and II, were effected. One-and-a-half times this sum, or Rs. 16,68,102, is the assumed maximum of the required annual advances. By the recent census, the total number of male cultivators of all ages in Rae Bareilly, not being land-owners on the one hand, or agricultural labourers on the other, is 177,685. A considerable proportion of these will evidently be partners in the same holding, either as children dependent on their father, or as brothers or cousins jointly farming. The actual number of the holdings of these cultivators is given, in the Revenue Administration Report for 1880-81, as 1,27,894. Of this number 1,14,222 are *tenants-at-will*; 10,676 hold rent-free grants; 2,486 enjoy heritable and transferable under-proprietary rights; *only* 462 are *occupancy tenants*; 29 hold permanent, and 19 temporary leases of villages.

The average rent of each holding is Rs. 20-12-0, and the average area 5 acres, 1 rood, 96 poles. Two-fifths of this number is 51,157. Between these 1,27,894 cultivators and the Government, are 4,034 land-owners, 52 of whom are talukdars; 66 are petty grantees; 204 are zemindars other than village communities; 3,562 are members of village communities; 149 hold revenue free tenures; one owns a waste-land grant.

The work, then, that in this district would have to be arranged for, would be, with the help of these 4,034 land-owners, to distribute to 51,157 of their tenants Rs. 16,68,102 a year, or, on an average, about Rs. 32 to each of the borrowing tenants. If property in land were evenly distributed, the average amount to be disbursed through each land-owner would be Rs. 413 to twelve or thirteen tenants. As, however, the inequality of distribution is extreme, a fair idea of the amount of work that would fall on each class of land-owners can only be got, by striking separate averages for (1) the talukdars and grantees; (2) the zemindars, and (3) the village communities, and others. The revenue paid by each of these classes shows that 67 per cent. of the work would fall on class (1); 11 per cent. on class (2), and 22 per cent. on class (3). That is, the 118 talukdars and grantees would have to distribute Rs. 11,17,627 to 34,270 tenants, an average for each of Rs. 9,471 to 290 tenants. The 204 zemindars would have to distribute Rs. 1,83,491 to 5,636 tenants, an average for each of Rs. 899 to 27 tenants; and the 3,712 members of village communities, and others, would have to distribute Rs. 3,66,982 to 11,261 tenants, an average for each of Rs. 98 to three tenants.

Now, will any one who knows the land-owners of Rae Bareilly,

or of any other district of which it may be a fair type, venture to assert that they would not be easily able to distribute and recover these advances, if ordered, and willing, to do so, and ~~if~~ they were reasonably assisted by Government and reimbursed for expenditure incurred? A very small expansion of the establishments already kept up by them for rent collection and village management, would suffice. In many cases the land-owner already does this business himself, instead of the bannia. The right of the Government to call on its revenue payers to help in this work, will not, I presume, be disputed. One of the special conditions on which the Oudh talukdars hold is that they will try to the best in their power to promote the agricultural resources of their estates. The duties of the Lambardars, or chief revenue payers, are from time to time defined by rules issued by the local Governments. A rule can at any time be enacted, adding to the list of such duties the further duty of co-operating with the Government in the distribution and recovery of advances. I question whether there is a revenue payer in the country who would, in his heart, dispute the full right of the Government to do so.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that the primary agency to be employed in working the advances should be that of the land-owners, and that the aim should be to develop among them an honorable rivalry in discharging this revived duty to the satisfaction of their tenants and of the Government. In the temporarily settled provinces there will, I believe, be found in every district, some land-owners at once so honest, so active in the management of their estates, and so benevolent, as to be fit at this moment to exercise the proposed function well and truly, without the necessity of any close supervision by Government officers. The number of these good men and true may not be great, but I believe that there are quite enough of them to begin to work with, and to furnish sound counsel and reliable information as to the scale on which expenses should be allowed, and a variety of other details. In consultation with these men a district officer might, with confidence, settle the extent to which it would be desirable to supplement the agency of the owners by direct dealing with the leading ryots on the one hand, where the owners are indolent, incompetent, or untrustworthy, and, on the other, by strengthening the revenue establishments, by here and there appointing an additional Tahsildar or Naib Tahsildar (Peskhari), or by borrowing the services of some of the best officers of the Opium Department.

Very few people have any idea of the amount of work, of the very kind under consideration, that is done by the Opium officers, or at how low a cost it is done, and done well. Take

the district (Rae Bareilly), which I have already chosen as a typical one. It is one of the largest opium producing districts in Upper India. During the last season (spring of 1882) its outturn was 5,161 maunds of opium. This excellent result was obtained by the distribution, in August, September, February, and March, of advances amounting in all to Rs. 1,83,330 to 42,635 cultivators, headed by 1,557 representatives ("lambardars") and residing in 1,405 different villages. The agency by which these advances were distributed, and all the heavy work accomplished of persuading landlords and tenants to extend their opium cultivation, of measuring the areas sown, of repressing illicit cultivation, of weighing, testing, classifying, packing and despatching the opium produced; of disbursing to the 42,635 cultivators its price, amounting to Rs. 8,45,085 in addition to the amount of the advances,—consisted of one European officer on Rs. 250 (the very efficient Assistant sub-deputy opium agent, Mr. J. E. Hand); two gomashas on Rs. 80 and Rs. 50; two mohurrirs on Rs. 16, three on Rs. 12, two on Rs. 10, five zillahdars on Rs. 7, seven on Rs. 6; 22 on Rs. 5, 8 Barkandazes and one Orderly on Rs. 5.

The salaries amounted to Rs. 8,280 in the year. Travelling allowances (Rs. 1,430), stationary for gomashas (Rs. 72), measurement charges (Rs. 399), and miscellaneous expenses (Rs. 659) came to Rs. 2,560 more; total Rs. 10,840. Other expenses, such as commission to "lambardars" (Rs. 5,142), and weighing and transit charges (Rs. 5,107) need not be considered as they are not expenses of management.

In the next chapter I shall again refer to this striking fact when proposing a system of advances for the cultivation of special products for remittance in kind to Europe, by an extension of the opium system *minus* the monopoly part of it. Here I bring it forward as a distinct proof of the *extraordinarily cheap rate at which Government can provide an efficient agency for supplementing the distribution of advances through landowners by direct dealings with the ryots where necessary*. I quote at this point, by permission, the following extract from an unpublished note by Mr. T. W. Holderness, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 4th March 1882. "The (Opium) Department deals with bodies of cultivators represented by a headman whom they select themselves. The magnitude of the transactions of the Opium Department is shown by the fact, that the sum advanced annually aggregates two hundred lakhs, or two million sterling: *In ordinary years advances for opium growing are recovered, with hardly any loss, and the system may be regarded as the most successful and effective one by which, in India, the State*

comes to the aid of the agriculturist. Its leading principles are the recognition of joint responsibility, and the unremitting supervision exercised by the opium officers and their native subordinates over the borrowers."

I do not think that there would be much use, at the present stage of affairs, in elaborating further details as to the precise mode in which the agents employed, whether landowners and their establishments, or Government officers, should work. The requirements of the different provinces and districts vary so widely as to make it impossible to devise machinery of general applicability. My object is rather to establish principles, and to indicate the means by which they may be carried into action, than to fill in minute details which only local experts can supply. There is a time for everything, and the time for elaborating details does not come till the fight over principles has been fought and won.

The questions remain—What interest is to be charged on the advances? How far will it go towards covering the working expenses and providing a margin for loss? Mr. Allan Hume says, and there is no higher authority :—"The agriculturist can well afford to pay nine per cent. for any money he wants. It is to him what money at three per cent. would be to a farmer at home. With no courts, no stamps, no bonds, nine per cent. will, if work is done on a considerable scale, pay all expenses of management, all losses, and return at least a clear six per cent." (Hints on Agricultural Reform in India, p. 47). Mr. Hume's proposals differ from mine in, among other points going much further than I suggest, and giving loans to clear off debts, and, in particular, in looking to private capitalists, rather than to the State itself, for the necessary capital. But I avail myself of his estimate of three per cent. to cover working expenses and losses. As he does not contemplate the association of the landowners in working the loans, three per cent. should go a good deal further under my system than under his. On the other hand, as the advances for cultivation would be for very much shorter periods than loans to pay off debts, the interest earned on an equal amount of advances would be very much less under my system than under his. Advances for cultivation would, probably, on an average, be repayable in about four months. If, therefore, the aggregate sum advanced from year to year is to yield the required three per cent. the rate of interest charged, being earned for only a third of a year, must not be less than nine per cent. In the Rae Bareilly example given above, a three per cent. realization on the Rs. 16,68,162 advanced, (if advanced for four months only at nine per cent.), would amount to Rs. 50,043, or Rs. 4,170 per month. If

half this sum were set apart as a margin against losses, the other half, Rs. 2,085 a month, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the advances made, would be a liberal percentage for agency expenses, whether allowed to the landowners for advances worked through them, or spent on establishments organised like those of the opium department for direct dealings with the cultivators.

As regards security against loss, three risks have to be considered:—loss by embezzlement by subordinates; by dishonesty of borrowers; and by failure of crops. The first can be provided against by the same rules and practice as to security bonds, custody of monies, and accounts as are found effective in other branches of Government and private banking business. The second risk is in itself small, and can be reduced to a minute minimum by the '*silsilabandi*' or 'joint responsibility' system already mentioned as a leading feature of the opium advances. Mr. Hume says:—"Dealt with in his own village, the Indian peasant is very honest, and he is still a great respecter of authority. In estates under the Court of Wards, not leased out, but managed direct by revenue officials, large sums are often given out as advances, and again recovered to the uttermost fraction. Or when some loss is sustained by men dying, or others, whose cattle have died or crops have failed, absconding, this under good management is small. . . . A gentleman, many years a planter in a district of which the writer had charge for a decade, remarked to him, speaking of cultivators:—"*Deal with them wisely and fairly, and there is no difficulty. I give out large advances every year. I have never had a suit in any Court with any ryot, and I have never lost any money worth speaking of.*" Misfortunes will happen and you may have to wait, and to do what sometimes looks like throwing good money after bad, but give them time and they will pay, if they feel you have always been on the square with them." (Hints, &c., p. 45).

The third risk, of loss by bad seasons, is the most serious. In weighing its gravity the following considerations should be remembered. The maximum annual advance to a tenant is assumed not to exceed the value of half of his ordinary crop. Roughly, half the advance will be for his spring, and half for his autumn crop. Therefore, the maximum amount to be recovered from him on any single harvest, will be somewhere about one-fourth of the aggregate value of both his harvests. The chance of a successive failure of both harvests is so remote as scarcely to need notice. If such failure should occur on any large scale, it would be a calamity so grievous as to call for every kind of State relief, and the remission of advances would have to form a part of such relief.

But ordinary droughts and ordinary famines are connected with failures of the autumn crop only. It is not too much to expect that, with circumstances improved by the rent reforms already urged (one of which is the equitable sharing of loss by exceptional calamity between tenant, landlord, and State, as regards remission of rents), the average tenant, if given plenty of time, will be able gradually to clear off the greater part of a debt representing, at most, the value of one-fourth of a year's aggregate crop. The experience of Mr. Hume's planter, quoted above, shows that this is the case even now. Moreover, the proposed reforms in land improvement will greatly reduce the extent of this risk of loss from drought. Where, notwithstanding all this, advances may be found to be irrecoverable by ordinary methods, beyond the extent to which they can be covered by the margin of interest set apart for losses, or written off as relief expenditure, two resources would still be available. The general rate of interest on advances might be raised from nine per cent. to such figure as would provide the requisite margin. (We have seen above that the average rate at present charged is more than 33 per cent., and that it is not charged, like the proposed advances, for only the actual period covered by the loan, but is calculated as if for a year, however short the actual period may be.) Or an extra rate of interest might be charged for a term of years on the unrecovered advances calculated at such rate as, after covering expenses of realization and account, and the rate at which the Government can itself replace, by loan, the amount for which it is kept waiting (about $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.), would leave a margin for the gradual extinction of the arrear. As nine per cent. on ordinary advances for periods averaging four months, representing three per cent. on the amount advanced, is considered sufficient for expenses and margin for ordinary loss, the retention of this rate on outstanding advances for considerable periods would cover the three per cent. ordinarily required for working, and the $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. additional, and would leave $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. towards a sinking fund. By raising the rate on overdue advances from nine to twelve per cent. this surplus would rise from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. And as, obviously, it would be unfair to charge against such advances as high a cost of working as that charged against ordinary advances, another one per cent. might probably be transferred to the sinking fund account, raising the annual instalment to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

I have little hope that these things will be done soon, but I think that they will have to be done at last.

ARTHUR HARRINGTON.

THE QUARTER.

THE Viceregal tour, rendered more important this year than usual by the political utterances of which it was the occasion, stands out conspicuous among the events of the past three months.

Lord Ripon left Simla on the 7th November and reached the Presidency on the 2nd instant, visiting in the *interim* Lahore, Jhelum, Pind Dádan Khán, Pesháwar, Attock, Rupar and Lucknow.

At Lahore His Excellency, in the course of his reply to an address of the Municipality, took the opportunity of entering into a fresh exposition of his policy in the matter of local self-Government. The chief points insisted on were that the Government, so far from wishing to impose a uniform system on different parts of the Empire, irrespective of local conditions, desired to leave to each local administration the fullest freedom to adopt its plans to the wants and political capacity of the different populations under its charge: that the primary object of the Government was the political education of the people rather than immediate administrative improvement, and that, consequently, the Government was content to put up at first with many administrative failures; that, on the other hand, the Government was determined that the experiment should not be defeated by persistent neglect or continued incompetence on the part of local bodies, and that it would, therefore, be necessary to maintain adequate powers of control over them, which His Excellency hoped the local Government would apply with patience and firmness. In other words, Lord Ripon's policy is to give the people the opportunity of self-government, but not that of abusing the powers entrusted to them for the purpose.

More stress might, we think, have been laid with advantage on the fact that the success or failure of local self-government, and consequently the continuance or withdrawal of the privilege, will depend largely on the character and qualifications of the men whom the people may choose to represent them. It should never be forgotten that, if good and disinterested men do not come forward for election, where the elective system is introduced, bad and interested men will. The new policy of the Government thus imposes a heavy responsibility on the leaders of native society, who have to reflect whether they will assert their proper position in carrying it out, or allow the interests of society to fall into the hands of self-seeking agitators, who will be only too ready to seek election for the purpose of

serving their own ends. Experience, hitherto, has shown that, owing to a false pride which shrinks from the possibility of failure, combined with a disinclination to solicit votes, the better class of natives are slow to come forward as candidates for Municipal office, the result being that the large power for good or evil which the Commissioners wield falls into the hands of men who, for the most part, possess no claim to be considered true representatives of the native community. This is precisely the state of things which prevailed in France before the Revolution. The great mass of the people were indifferent about their political rights, and would not take the trouble to vote; men of standing and respectability rarely sought election, and the result was that a few hundred votes were sufficient to secure the success of any knave who had an object, personal or political, to serve by being elected. All local influence consequently passed into the hands of political agitators who rode roughshod over all rights, and finally upset the Central Government and plunged the country into anarchy.

We do not mean to say that there is any fear of such extreme consequences ensuing in this country. Nevertheless it would be a misfortune of tremendous magnitude if the philanthropic intentions of Lord Ripon should result in handing the affairs of the people over to cliques of petty tyrants and plunderers, instead of in giving them self-government in any true sense of the word. That, in most parts of India, men fully competent for the task of municipal administration are to be found in numbers amply sufficient for the purpose, no one doubts. The fear is, that it is not these men, but a totally different class, whom the new system will bring to the front.

While at Lahore, the Viceroy presided at the inaugural convocation of the newly established Panjab University, and delivered a thoroughly appreciative and encouraging address on the occasion. In the course of this address, he dwelt with special satisfaction on the two distinguishing features of the University, its adoption of a different system from that followed by the Calcutta University, and the fact that it was the outcome of spontaneous native effort. Speaking on the former subject, His Excellency said:—

"I, gentlemen, am one of those who believe that there is a great advantage in having educational institutions in a country founded upon different systems and presenting various methods of teaching. It is so in England; as many of you know in the two great and famous Universities of that country—Oxford and Cambridge—there is a marked difference in the basis of their studies, Oxford placing the classics in the front rank of those studies, and Cambridge, on the other hand, giving the

most prominent position to mathematics; and the same thing has occurred in the newest born of the English Universities, the recently established Victoria University of Manchester, with which I have the honor to be connected; for what classics are to Oxford, what mathematics are to Cambridge, science is to the Victoria University; and, therefore, when you make the foundation of your studies here, and their main, though by no means their exclusive object, the study of Oriental literature, you are only following the course which we in England have pursued for centuries, and from which we have derived the greatest advantage.

Now, gentlemen, it would be indeed out of place if I, who am unhappily ignorant of Oriental literature and Oriental learning, were, in the presence of so many distinguished and learned men, to say a word upon the subject of that literature, upon its scope, upon the many advantages which may flow from its study; but I have been very much struck within the last few weeks by reading a remarkable paper written by one who has a right to speak about Oriental literature; I allude to an article in a late number of the *Contemporary Review* by Professor Max Müller. If I were to speak of Indian literature, Indian philosophy, and Indian science in the language in which Professor Max Müller speaks of them in that essay, doubtless I should be accused of exaggeration and partiality; but no man can bring any such charges against that learned person, who knows better than most people what he is talking about on this matter, and I commend to all those who have any doubt about the solidity of Oriental learning and the lessons it has to teach, not to India and to Orientals alone, but to Europeans also, to study the short essay to which I have adverted (cheers). Gentlemen, I thought it worth while just to put down a few words which Professor Max Müller employed in that article in reference to the study of Sanskrit. What does he say? He says 'The study of Sanskrit will open before you' (he was specially addressing young students about to come out to India in the Civil Service) 'larger layers of literature as yet almost unknown and unexplored, and allow you an insight into strata of thought deeper than any you have known before, and rich in lessons that appeal to the deepest sympathies of the human heart.' Gentlemen, I need no other proof of the soundness of the policy pursued in the foundation of this University than is contained in these words of the great Oxford Professor, and if Professor Max Müller is right, and if India has so much to teach us Europeans, as he tells us that she has, then the foundation of this University, which makes Oriental studies its chief and foremost aim, is likely to conduce not only to the benefit of the natives of India—aye,

and as we have seen in the case of some of the men who have just come before us, to the natives of other parts of India also—but at the same time to the advantage of Europeans in this country and in the West.

The fact, then, gentlemen, that this University presents a marked variety in the form and scope of its instruction from those which distinguish the other universities of India, leads me without for one moment wishing to disparage those older institutions, to regard it as a fortunate circumstance that this younger sister has sprung up in the Punjab.

We have always regarded the educational tyranny exercised by the Calcutta University over the vast territories comprised within the Bengal Presidency as a monstrous anomaly, and the exclusive privileges enjoyed by its degree-holders as a grievous wrong, and we welcome the foundation of the Panjab University as a step towards a healthier and more natural state of things.

At Ruar the Viceroy formally opened the new Sirhind Canal, which will convey the waters of the Sutlej through more than 2,500 miles of main and distributory channels, thus affording the means of irrigation to nearly eight hundred thousand acres of land. The total cost of this great work is estimated at 407 lakhs of rupees, of which 129 lakhs is to be met by contributions from various native States benefited by it.

At Peshawar the Viceroy formally opened the gateway erected to the memory of Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes, and afterwards inspected and opened the new Egerton Hospital, established for the benefit of the inhabitants of Peshawar and the surrounding districts. In his reply to the address presented to him on the occasion by the Municipality of Peshawar, he referred to the boon the hospital was likely to confer on the populations beyond the British borders and to the policy of the Government in relation to them, in the following terms:—

“Gentlemen, I cordially share the sentiment which you express in your address, when you say, ‘not only do we hope that the people of Peshawar will derive great benefits from this hospital, but we trust these benefits will be received by those people who live in the more distant regions of Central Asia.’ It will be a great satisfaction to me if this hospital is found to be of use not only to the subject of the Queen-Empress, but to those travellers who may visit this country from distant portions of Central Asia and from the districts immediately bordering upon the frontiers of India, whether they come here as traders for commercial purposes, or whether, as so many of them do, they pass through India in the character of pilgrims. It is my desire to live upon the best and most friendly terms

with the various nations and tribes which surround the frontiers of Hindustan. The Government of India has not the slightest desire to interfere in any manner with the independence and the just rights of those neighbouring tribes, whether they be a small and wild collection of people dwelling in narrow valleys on our borders, or whether they be the subjects of the greater kingdom of our ally, the Amir of Afghanistan. It is my earnest desire, so long as I fill the office I now hold, to use my best efforts to promote the most friendly relations with those who dwell upon the confines of the dominions of the Queen-Empress, and it is my firm intention to respect their rights and to regard their just claims to independence, at the same time that I am determined with equal firmness to protect the rights of Her Majesty's subjects in India and not to permit them to suffer in life, in limb, or in property from the inroads of those who ought to live in friendship with us, and with whom I, for my own part, desire to be on the most friendly terms.

I trust, gentlemen, that, as you say in your address, those who come from other countries, whether Afghans or the inhabitants of Central Asia, or from whatever part of the Asiatic continent they may come to visit this city of Peshawar—and who, if they should be struck down with sickness, are comforted and cured and provided for in this hospital—I trust that when they return to their native lands, they will go forth from India as messengers of peace and friendship, and that they will report to those among whom they reside, the manner in which they were treated here and the good reception that they received at the hands of the inhabitants of Peshawar."

At Lucknow His Excellency visited the Canning College and received an address read on behalf of himself and his fellow students, by Raja Amir Husein Khan, one of the leading Taluqdars.

Subsequently His Excellency presided at the distribution of prizes to the students of the Martiniere College. The Principal, in an introduction to the Report of the College read by him on the occasion, dwelt on the disadvantage under which its *alumni* were placed by the new rules, regarding the admission of students to the Engineering College at Rurki, and expressed a hope that the examinations might again be thrown open to Europeans and Eurasians.

In his reply, as reported by the daily papers, the Viceroy does not appear to have referred to this appeal.

In the meeting of the Legislative Council, held at Simla, on the 2nd November, Major Baring, in speaking to the motion of Mr. Crossthwaite, introducing the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to loans of money for agricultural improvements,

stated the views of Government on the important subject of the establishment of Agricultural Banks in India.

Dealing first with the question of the amount and kind of encouragement which Government might legitimately give to such Banks, he expressed the opinion that the advances made by them might be recovered through its agency ; that the whole or a portion of the stamp duty might be remitted on bonds taken by the banks, and that the whole or a portion of the court fees on suits brought by them for the recovery of advances, might also be remitted.

He then entered into a discussion of the conditions, compliance with which Government might demand from the banks in return for these privileges. They included the approval by Government of the articles of association ; the keeping of the bank books in a prescribed form ; inspection of the books by Government officers ; registration of loans, and limitation of the rate of interest.

It would, further, he remarked, have to be decided how long loans should be allowed to run ; what proportion of the money paid by debtors should be credited to principal, and what to interest ; whether the banks should be allowed to advance on moveable property, and the like.

On the question whether any limitation should be imposed on the objects for which the banks should be allowed to make advances, he expressed himself in favour of the Continental system of making very rigid rules as to the security to be taken, but no enquiry into the objects for which the money was required. He added, that the banks, except in certain cases, should only occupy the position of first mortgagees, and that advances should be allowed only up to a certain fixed proportion of the value of the property pledged.

For the present, it is proposed to try an experiment, on some such lines as the above, in one Taluqa of the Bombay Presidency.

The case is certainly one in which the Government will do well to act with the utmost caution. The main obstacle to the immediate success of the scheme on a scale at all commensurate with the needs of the country, is the almost universal prevalence of an amount of indebtedness which will render it impossible for the cultivators to furnish tangible security for fresh loans. There is no reason, however, why banks, such as are proposed, would not start with a moderate business, or why that business should not steadily increase. It would be premature to criticise the proposal that Government should undertake the recovery of the banks' advances in the absence of some clearer definition of the conditions under which its agency would be employed for the purpose. It can hardly be supposed that Government contemplates undertaking so burdensome and odious an office as that of a debt collector to the banks

under ordinary circumstances. There may be sound reason for exempting bonds for *bond fide* agricultural loans from stamp duty, which would have to be paid by the borrowers, but it is doubtful whether the exemption should be extended to loans for other than agricultural purposes, while, as long as court fees are an institution of the country, we are disposed to question the propriety of exempting the banks from them.

While the Viceroy has been making his tour of the North-Western Provinces, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been visiting the principal stations of Behar. At one of these—Bhagalpur—he performed the ceremony of turning the first sod of the waterworks for that town, the funds for which have been raised by public subscription. In his address the Lieutenant-Governor dwelt on a variety of subjects of importance, among them the preferential appointment of natives of Behar to public offices in their own province; the education of Muhammadans, and the recognition of Kaithi as the Court character of the province. Of the waterworks themselves, he spoke, as a forcible illustration of the principle of self-Government and a refutation of the assertion that the people of this country are indifferent to the cause of progress and improvement.

Public discussion regarding the proposed changes in the law of landlord and tenant in the Lower Provinces, has been revived by the publication of a minute by the Chief Justice of Bengal protesting against the Bill on the subject lately submitted by the Government of India to the Secretary of State, as uncalled for and unjust. It is understood that the Bill itself has been returned to this country with the approval of the Secretary of State, and that it will be shortly introduced in the Supreme Council. In the meantime nothing definite is known as to the extent to which the Bill differs from that of Mr. Reynolds, or of the Commission, though it is rumoured that on the points in dispute it takes a middle course between the views of the extreme partisans of either side.

The close of the month of October witnessed the return to this country of the troops who formed the Indian Contingent of the Egyptian expedition, and who were publicly entertained in Bombay on the occasion.

The tenders for the new loan of two-and-a-half crores of rupees were opened on the 1st October, when tenders at Rs. 98-9 received about one-third, and above that, in full, the average rate being Rs. 98-14-7.

December 15th, 1882.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE debate of the 22nd instant on the Dekkan Ryots' Relief Bill and the outcry that has been raised against the growing filthiness of Calcutta under the present form of Municipal government, are the only events of moment that have occurred since the above retrospect was closed.

The debate in Council was marked by two noteworthy features, the defeat of the Government by a majority including some of the most distinguished members of the Civil Service, on an amendment which, while ostensibly one of detail, would, if carried, have interfered materially with the voluntary character of the system of arbitration provided for by the Bill, and a scathing exposure, by the Honorable Mr. Hunter, of the oppressive character of the Bombay Revenue system, and the failure of the Bill to touch the real source of the evils for which it professes to furnish a remedy. The rejected amendment would have given the "Conciliators" power to compel the appearance of parties, and, besides the objection to which we have just referred, of being inconsistent with the original spirit of the Act, it was open to a no less formidable one, on the ground of the unfitness of the class of men from whom the Conciliators would generally be chosen, to be trusted with the formidable powers, it was proposed to confer on them.

Mr. Hunter's speech showed, by an overwhelming array of evidence of the most unquestionable weight, that the chief source of the Dekkan ryots' poverty and indebtedness, is the excessive weight of the Government assessments, and that the real effect of the Bill is to enable them to get rid of debts which were contracted for the purpose of paying the Government revenue.

A separate article would be needed for the adequate discussion of the terrible neglect of conservancy that has called forth the present storm of indignation against the Calcutta Municipality. Not only does the condition of the sewers and drains amply justify

the worst that has been said about them, but the roads and foot-paths have fallen into a state of filth and dilapidation which would alone justify the local Government in calling the Municipal Commissioners to account.

A special general meeting of the Commissioners has just been summoned to consider the complaints that have been made; but the outlay that would be necessary to put things in merely decent order, is so large, that adequate measures can hardly be expected from a body the majority of whom would rather breathe the most pestilential atmosphere than put their hands in their pockets.

It is questionable, indeed, whether the town can really afford to do what is required without assistance, and the magnitude of the interests at stake might fairly be considered to justify Imperial Government in coming to its aid.

December 30th, 1882.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Protestant Missions to the Heathen. A general Survey of their recent Progress and present State throughout the World. By Dr. Th. Christlieb, Professor of Theology at Bonn. *Translated from the German, with Additions and Appendices:* by W. Hastie, B. D., Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882.

MR. Hastie's translation of Dr. Christlieb's sketch of the progress, condition and prospects of Protestant Missions throughout the world, is one well calculated to give a fresh stimulus to Missionary enterprise. It furnishes a conclusive answer to those who plead the insignificance of the results attained, as a reason for withholding assistance from the cause, and is full of encouragement for those already engaged in promoting it, whether by their purses, or by their own active labours.

The contrast drawn by the author between the area covered by the Missionary work of the present and past centuries, respectively, shows an amount of progress that may fairly be considered wonderful. Up to the end of the 18th century the result of Protestant Missionary effort might be summed up in "certain Dutch Missions to Ceylon and the Moluccas, shaded by a commercial colouring, and taking no deep root: the attempts of certain Americans; and of the Moravian Brethren among the Indians of North America, dragging out a toilsome existence among the ceaseless conflicts of the tribes: the Halle and Danish Mission in a few districts of India, gradually failing of its great promises under the influence of the cold spirit of the last age: the Norwegian and Swedish efforts among the heathen Lapps of the Scandinavian North, carried on with irregular zeal: the Missions of the Moravians and Wesleyans in the West Indies and Surinam, flourishing happily with more constant life: a few scattered glimmerings of the Gospel among the "icy mountains" of Greenland and Labrador, kindled chiefly by Moravian Norwegians and Danes."

Now, "everywhere the progress and extension are enormous. With the turn of the century the islands of the Pacific opened to the Gospel, and the work, begun from England and America

and then taken up also by native Agencies, has been so prosecuted, that whole groups of islands, including almost all Polynesia, are now Christianized, and the remaining islands are being won more and more every year. India, having gradually thrown open its gates in the course of the century, first to English, and then to other Missionaries, the Great Empire from the Indus to beyond the mouths of the Ganges, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas—where the Gospel is knocking at the gates of Thibet—is now occupied by hundreds of stations closer than the points in the Missionary net which, towards the end of the First Century, embraced the Roman Empire. The largest islands of the Indian Archipelago—Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and now also New Guinea, and many of the smaller islands—are now possessed by Protestant Missions, some of them stretching far into the interior. Burmah and partly also Siam have been thrown wide open to the Gospel. China, the most powerful and populous of all heathen lands, has been compelled to open its gates always wider till it has been traversed by pioneers of the Gospel up to Thibet and Burmah, and till the half of its provinces from Hongkong and Canton, up to Peking and beyond the Great Wall, are now occupied by the first links of a chain of Mission stations, while the emigrants of its teeming population in Australia and America are being influenced in their alien homes by Protestant Missionaries. Japan, in its hunger after reform and progress, allowing an entrance even to the Gospel, has been rapidly occupied by American and English Societies, and shews already a considerable number of organized Christian communities. Even the aborigines of Australia have been influenced at several points by the Gospel.—In the lands of the Mohammedan again, from the Balkans to Bagdad, and from Egypt to Persia, the most important points have become new centres of evangelization, especially through the American Medical Missions. Palestine, too, the Cradle-land of the Gospel, has been again embraced in a net of Missionary Agencies, with Schools from Bethlehem to Tripoli and the northern slopes of Lebanon.—Africa is being always more vigorously attacked from the West, South and East,—the West from Senegal to the Gaboon, and even now to the Congo, having its coast dotted with Missions from England, Basel, Bremen and America. South Africa has been evangelized at the Cape by a series of English, Scotch, Dutch, German and French Societies, and on both flanks, as well as in the centre, the Protestant Missions, temporarily checked by the recent wars, are pressing further to the North—on the left beyond Walfish Bay into Herero and Ovambo land, on the right into Zululand up to Delagoa Bay, and in the middle up to the Bechuanas and Basutos. In Eastern Africa the Sun of the Gospel rising so bright, after so dark a time,

over Madagascar, can never set upon it again. Outposts stretch along the East Coast from Zanzibar and the Nile even up to Abyssinia; and above all, the advanced guards of the Scotch, English and now of the American Missions, following the paths broken by the great Scotch traveller, have penetrated even to the heart of the black Continent and settled by the vast lake sources of the African rivers.—In America, the great plain of the Hudson's Bay Territory, stretching from Canada over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, has been zealously worked by Anglicans and Wesleyans side by side with jealous Romanists, and the result has been a flourishing Indian Mission. In the United States, hundreds of thousands of emancipated Negroes have been gathered into evangelical Churches, and the evangelizing influence exerted upon the few survivors of the many tribes of Red Indians, has awakened a new hope of their future. In Central America and the West Indies in so far as under Protestant Governments, the net of the evangelical Missions has been thrown from island to island, even to the mainland of Honduras, the Mosquito Coast, and still more over British and Dutch Guiana. Finally, even the Southern extremity of the American Continent, including Falkland, Tierra Del Fuego and Patagonia, has been enlightened by the first beams of the Gospel through the South American Missionary Society of London, and its Agents have lately pressed forward to the Indians of Brazil around the Amazon, in the very heart of the Southern Continent."

The number of converts has, at the same time, been increased from 50,000 to more than a million and a half, and the annual sum expended in the work from less than £50,000, to at least a million and a quarter sterling, or about five times as much as is contributed by the Roman Catholic Church for a similar purpose.

The author's sketch of the present operations of Protestant Missions in uncivilised and civilised countries is an unvarnished statement of facts, which tell their own story, and the collection of which does immense credit to his industry.

The present translation is a third edition, in a cheap form, the first having been sent to Scotland, and the second, of a thousand copies, having been printed for the Church Missionary Society. In it the original has been re-arranged, abridged and amplified.

The Philosophy of the Upanishads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics, as exhibited in a Series of Articles contributed to the "Calcutta Review." By Archibald Edward Gough, M. A. Lincoln College, Oxford. Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate-Hill. 1882.

M. R. Gough's work is based on materials published, from time to time, between October 1876 and April 1880, in the

pages of this *Review*. These have now been re-written and rearranged, and, with new matter that has been added, form a very complete presentation of the philosophy of the Upanishads, as contained in its most important texts, of translations of which they, for the most part, consist.

"Wherever the work is expository," says the author in his Preface, "I have studiously avoided interpolation, the purpose being to present primitive Indian philosophy precisely as it is, in the terms of the philosophers themselves, and to leave the reader to form his own judgment about it In every expository paragraph, . . . every statement, every figure and every simile is extracted from a Sanskrit authority." The conclusions which the writer has arrived at in regard to early Indian philosophy, are thus stated:—

First, That the earliest succession of cosmological conceptions in India was this—

- (1.) Brahmanvāda and Māyāvāda, the theory of the Self and the self-feigning world-fiction, afterwards developed into the Vedāntic system :
- (2.) Sūnyavāda and Vijnānavāda, the theory of the aboriginal vacuum or blank, and of the sensational and fluxional nature of the world, presented in Buddhism :
- (3.) Purushabāhutavāda and Pradhānavāda, the theory of a plurality of Selves, and of the reality and independent existence of the world, presented in the doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas or "enumerative" philosophers.

Secondly, That Māyā is part and parcel of the primitive Indian cosmological conception, as exhibited in the Upanishads themselves, and not, as Colebrooke imagined, and has led his successors to imagine, a later graft upon the old Vedāntic philosophy.

Thirdly, That as regards the alleged affinity between the Indian and the Neo-platonic philosophy, it is possible that a phrase or two, a simile here and there, of the Indian sophists, may have found their way into the Alexandrian schools, and influenced the work of Ammonius, Plotinus, and their successors ; but that the Neo-platonic philosophy, as a whole, has its virtual pre-existence in the earlier constructions of Hellenic thought, and naturally develops itself out of them.

Mr. Gough's estimate of the philosophy of the Upanishads and of Indian metaphysic generally is not a very appreciative one. He says :—

There is little that is spiritual in all this. The primitive Indian philosophers teach that the individual self is to be annulled by being merged in the highest Self. Their teaching in this regard has been so often mistaken

and misstated, that it is important to insist upon the difference between the ancient Indian mystic and the modern idealist. The difference must have made itself plain enough to the reader of these pages. He will have seen for himself how the Indian sages, as the Upanishads picture them, seek for participation in the divine life, not by pure feeling, high thought, and strenuous endeavour,—not by an unceasing effort to learn the true and do the right,—but by the crushing out of every feeling and every thought, by vacuity, apathy, inertia, and ecstasy. They do not for a moment mean that the purely individual feelings and volitions are to be suppressed in order that the philosopher may live in free obedience to the monitions of a higher common nature. Their highest Self is little more than an empty name, a *caput mortuum* of the abstract understanding. Their pursuit is not a pursuit of perfect character, but of perfect characterlessness. They place perfection in the pure indetermination of thought, the final residue of prolonged abstraction; not in the higher and higher types of life and thought successively intimated in the idealising tendencies of the mind, as among the progressive portions of the human race. The epithets of the sole reality, the highest Self, are negative, or, if positive, they are unintelligible. It is a uniformity of indifferent being, thought, and bliss. It is a mass of thought and bliss, as fire is a mass of heat and light. It is thought always the same and ever objectless, thought without a thinker or things to think of. It is a bliss in which there is no soul to be glad, and no sense of gladness. It is a light which lightens itself, for there is nothing else for it to lighten. This is the gain above all gains, a bliss above all other bliss, a knowledge above all other knowledge. It is no part of the spirit of the Indian sages to seek to see things as they are, and to help to fashion them as they ought to be, to let the power at work in the world work freely through them; to become “docile echoes of the eternal voice, and pliant organs of the infinite will.” This neither was nor could be the spirit of men of their race, their age, and their environment. The time, and the men for these things had not yet appeared. This is the spirit in which many a man now works, to whom philosophy is a name, and who would smile to hear himself called an idealist. It is not the spirit of the ancient Indian sage, Brahmanical or Buddhist. For these there is no quest of verity and of an active law of righteousness, but only a yearning after resolution into the fatal unity of undifferentiated being; or, in the case of the Buddhist, a yearning after a lapse into the void, a return to the primeval nothingness of things. The effort is to shake off every mode of personal existence, and to be out of the world for ever, in the unbroken repose of absorption or annihilation.

Such, as they are, and have been shown to be, the Upanishads are the loftiest utterances of Indian intelligence. They are the work of a rude age, a deteriorated race, and a barbarous and unprogressive community. Whatever value the reader may assign to the ideas they present, they are the highest produce of the ancient Indian mind, and almost the only elements of interest in Indian literature, which is at every stage replete with them to saturation.

In explanation of the conditions out of which this state of things arose, he says:—

A writer on the history of Indian philosophy has to deal with the mental produce of an unprogressive portion of mankind. Negroid aborigines, Tatar hordes, and successive Aryan swarms have severally contributed their blood to mould the Brahman theosophist. Like every other thinker, he is limited by the type of nervous mechanism he has inherited, by the ancestral conditions of his life, and by the material and spiritual present

which environs him. It is under these limitations that he is to make himself what he is. As regards the limitations of race and hereditary nature, the greatest confusion has been introduced into the popular study of Indian matters by the term Aryan. This word has been fertile in every variety of fallacy, theoretical and practical. Before the work of thought begins in India the invading Aryan tribes have become Indo-Arians or Hindus. They have been assimilated to, and absorbed into, the earlier and ruder populations of modified Negrito and Tatar type, whom they at first fought against as the dark-skinned Dasyus, and made to till the soil and drudge for them as Sūdras.

As Professor Huxley says, "The old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the north-west at least three thousand years ago. In the Veda these people pourtray themselves in characters that might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people; most like the Australian aborigines, and speaking a group of languages called Dravidian." These races were Negroid indigenes recruited with Tatar blood. "They were fenced in," he proceeds, "on the north by the barrier of the Himālayas; but the Aryans poured in from the plains of Central Asia over the Himālayas into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been in the main absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature."

Following Dr. Latham and Mr. Norris, Dr. Carpenter points out that it is only by an error that the ordinary Hindu population are supposed to be the descendants of this invading branch of the Aryan stock. "The influence," he says, "of the Aryan invasion upon the language and population of Northern India was very much akin to that of the Norman invasion upon those of England." This analogy, it must be remarked, is superficial, and fails in a most important point. The Norman invaders were not of a higher stock than the English, the Saxons, and the Anglo-Danes; the Aryan immigrants into India underwent a progressive deterioration through climatic influences and intermixture with low and melanous races akin to the Bhils, the Kols, and Sonthals of the present day. "The number of individuals of the invading race was so small in proportion to that of the indigenous population as to be speedily merged in it, not, however, without contributing to an elevation of its physical characters; a large number of new words having been in like manner introduced, without any essential change in the type of the original languages," the various dialects of Northern India. "And thus the only distinct traces of the Aryan stock are to be found in the Brahmanical caste, which preserves, though with great corruption, the original Brahmanical religion and keeps up the Sanskrit as its classical language. It is certain, however, that this race is far from being of pure descent, having intermingled to a considerable extent with the ordinary Hindu population."

In treating of Indian philosophy, a writer has to deal with thoughts of a lower order than the thoughts of the every day life of Europe. Looking at the language he inherits and the general medium of intelligence in which he lives, the thoughts of the European are rich with the substance of Hebrew, Greek, and Christian culture. It is to be noted also that such rudiments of philosophic thought as are to be found in the Indian cosmologies are embedded in masses of religious imagery of a rude and inartistic kind. We are treading the rock-cut temples of Ellora, not the Parthenon. The great difficulty lies in this, that a low order of ideas has to be expressed in a high order of terms, and that the English words suggest a wealth of

analysis and association altogether foreign to the thoughts that are to be reproduced. Translation from a lower to a higher language is a process of elevation. However vigilant he may be, a writer on Indian philosophy will find it hard to say neither too much nor too little,—to present the facts as he finds them without prejudice and without predilection. It is all but impossible to place one-self in the position of the ancient Indian sages,—to see things as they saw them, and to name them in the names they gave them. The effort is nothing less than an endeavour to revert to a ruder type of mental structure, to put aside our hereditary culture, and to become for the time barbarians.

This is probably an extreme view, though less remote from the truth than the opposite belief—that the germ of all philosophy is to be found in the products of Indian thought.

Echoes from Old Calcutta, being chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis, and Impey. By H. E. Busteed. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. London: W. Thacker & Co. 1882.

IN presenting the public with these valuable papers, Dr. Busteed modestly disclaims offering them anything more than “old wine in new bottles, not with the object of improving it by the transfer, but so that, when brought from its cellar and decanted, it may be more ready for the table.” The metaphor scarcely does justice to either the industry or the skill of the author. For though, as he goes on to tell us, his sources of information are “mostly old and mouldy,” the information itself is frequently both new and important, and the style in which it is set forth is that of an accomplished writer.

The papers deal with some of the most interesting episodes in the political and social history of Calcutta, and while some fresh light is thrown on all of them, more than one of them are placed in an entirely new aspect.

Each of Dr. Busteed's essays has evidently been a labour of love to him, and he leaves no stone unturned which promises to contribute anything to their completeness or accuracy. To untiring diligence in the search after facts, he adds absolute impartiality and a conspicuous degree of critical acumen; and the result is a work which, unpretentious as it is in its scope, no future historian can afford to ignore, and which, though it scatters to the wind more than one piquant anecdote, or time-honoured story, no honest reader can lay down without a distinct sense of gain.

The papers on “The Black Hole,” “Nuncomar,” and “Philip Francis and his Times” originally appeared in the *Englishman* newspaper. The account of the famous Madame Grand, and the

"Letters from Warren Hastings to his Wife" are now published for the first time.

The former may be fairly considered to exhaust existing materials, and includes copious extracts from the record of the famous *crim. con.* suit of Grand *versus* Francis, which no previous writer appears to have examined.

The result, if it throws no doubt on the justice of the Court's decision, deprives the well-known anecdote about Justice Hyde's bearing on the occasion of all title to credence. The story, which seems to have been first set afloat in a book of Personal Recollections, by John Nicholls, M. P., published in 1822, made Hyde interrupt the Chief Justice, while delivering his judgment with the eager suggestion:—"Siccas, siccas, Brother Impey." A reference to the plaint, however, shows that the damages were laid in sicca rupees, and the practice of the Court makes it certain that such being the case, they would have been awarded in the same coin.

It is well known that there was a difference of opinion among the Judges as to what the judgment should be, Mr. Justice Chambers considering that "it was not proved the defendant had committed adultery." The judgment of the majority is not forthcoming; but Sir Robert Chambers' dissent was published in *Hicky's Gazette* at the time. It runs—

"I am fully of opinion that the charge in the plaint is not proved:

1st.—Because it appears to me that there is no proof, either positive or circumstantial, that Mrs. Grand knew of, or previously consented to, his (Mr. Francis's) coming for any purpose, much less for the purpose of adultery.

2nd.—Because there is no proof, either direct or founded on violent presumption, that they were actually together, much less was there any proof that they committed any crime together.

3rd.—Because the evidence appears to me to fall short of what is ordinarily considered as proof of any fact, and especially of any crime.

4th.—Because it falls exceedingly short of what our Common Law considers as proof of adultery.

And lastly, because I have never read or heard of any action for *crim. con.*, in which a verdict has been given for the plaintiff on such presumptions of guilt."

This would have been tantamount, to a verdict of "not proven," which would certainly not have been inconsistent with the evidence, regarded from the point of view of a jury in a criminal case.

We proceed to extract that of the principal witnesses:

Meerun Kitmutgar (or table servant) examined.—The day of the disturbance was on the day when plaintiff went to sup with Mr. Gallan;* it was between ten and eleven o'clock at night. I was in my own house in the compound, sitting, when the iya (*sic*) came down and told me that her mistress wanted a candle, and that, on her returning, she had found the door locked. I went out of my own house and saw a bamboo ladder; it was against the outside wall, on the inner side of it. I thought it a strange thing, and went to acquaint the jemadar of it.

Counsel.—Describe the ladder.

Witness.—It is made of a whole bamboo split in two, and when it is closed it is like one bamboo; it has moveable steps to it inside, and has iron points to it. The jemadar was also surprised to see the ladder. While we were talking, a gentleman came out of the house, whom I recognized as Mr. Francis, the Counsellor, who lived behind the play-house. He is tall. I knew him, because Mr. Grand was often at meals at Mr. Francis's, and I attended him there. When Mr. Francis came out, he said, "Give me that thing" (the ladder). "I will give you money. I'll make you great men." He spoke to the jemadar and all the servants. He also said, "Don't you know that I am Mr. Francis?"

C.—What language did Mr. Francis speak?

W.—The same as I do, in broken Moors. Not so well as you (to the interpreter). The jemadar took hold of Mr. Francis's hand and said, "My master is not here, what do you do here?" While the jemadar was carrying Mr. Francis into the house Mrs. Grand said something to him, which I did not understand. After Mr. Francis was taken into the lower part of the house I went to acquaint Mr. Grand.

C.—Between the time of the ayah's coming down to tell you of her having been up with a candle and had found the door locked, to the time of your seeing the gentleman coming out of the house, what time elapsed?

W.—One or two Hindustani ghurries† it might be.

C.—When did you see defendant come out?

W.—Between ten and eleven o'clock.

IMPER, C. J.—Did defendant go quietly with the jemadar, or make resistance?

Witness.—He made no resistance.

Rambux Jemadar examined.

Counsel (for the plaintiff).—About what time of night was it when you first received the information from Meerun.

Witness.—About ten o'clock or eleven; it will be past eleven o'clock.

C.—Do you remember the day of the week?

W.—A Tuesday.

C.—What did you do on the discovery of the ladder?

W.—I took it away.

* Mr. Grand's memory was evidently at fault here. Other witnesses say it was at Mr. LeGallais's house that Grand was supping. Very probably LeGallais was the name meant: There was a well-known confectioner and tavern-keeper of the latter name then in Calcutta. He retired from business and left India in December 1780, apparently in prosperous circumstances, as the following advertisement of the period shows:—"H. LeGallais, Esq., formerly master of the tavern and hotel in Calcutta, but since a considerable wine merchant, has taken the whole of the great cabin of the other Danish Indiaman, Captain Krøger."

† A ghurrie is a period of time equivalent to about 20 minutes.

C.—Why did you take it away?

W.—I did not know whose ladder it was, therefore I took it away.

C.—Have you seen the ladder here to-day?

W.—I have, that is the same ladder.

C.—Was anything done by you after removing the ladder?

W.—I was standing at the same place near the necessary house, waiting to see whether the person who brought the ladder would come there or not.

C.—Did you see any person come?

W.—Yes, I saw a gentleman.

C.—Who was that gentleman?

W.—It was Mr. Francis.

C.—What Mr. Francis?

W.—Mr. Francis the Counsellor (*sic*).

C.—That was about eleven o'clock at night, how could you distinguish that it was Mr. Francis?

W.—I knew him by his face and shape.

C.—Was it sufficiently light to distinguish his face?

W.—I went near his face and looked. When he was at a little distance I did not know; when I was near I knew him.

C.—Did you know, before any conversation passed between you and him?

W.—Yes, but before the conversation I did not know him very well.

C.—What led you particularly to know him after the conversation you had with him?

W.—By his figure, his face, and his color.

C.—By anything else?

W.—That gentleman was in black.

C.—You say defendant came to the place where the ladder was; from whence did he come?

W.—He came downstairs, and then stood at the place where the abdar's chest was.

C.—How do you know that he did so?

W.—There was a great alarm at the house.

(Here followed several questions about the topography of the house.)

C.—When the defendant came downstairs, what passed between you and him?

W.—I went up to that gentleman and said to him, "What business have you here?" He said, "give me my thing." He asked for the ladder, he had no other thing of his at the house but the ladder; therefore, he must mean that: he came out and was looking, and as he had not found the ladder there, he could not go. Then he said, "Give me my thing."

C.—Give us an account of what passed between you when he looked about and asked for his thing?

W.—The first words he said to me when I went up to him were, "Give me my thing?" I then answered, "I have not that thing with me; I then took hold of his hand: then he took out gold mohurs and offered to give them me: I refused them; he said, "Take that (offering both his hands to me), I will make you great men, and I will give you a hundred gold mohurs more."

C.—Had you done anything previous to the offer being made, to prevent his going away.

W.—I stood on the side where the ladder was; he wanted to go that way, and I prevented him.

C.—Why did you lay hold of defendant's hand?

W.—Because I found that gentleman in the house. Certainly, if I had let him go, my master would take my life away. After the offer of the money,

he further said, "Do you not know me"? I answered, "Yes, I do; you are Mr. Francis." He said, "I am the Burra Sahib; I am Mr. Francis." When I first took hold of his hand, he twisted it a little. I then said, "Is there nobody here? seize him." Meerun and Bowanny (hurkaru)* seized him and brought him down from the steps which lead from the abdar's † chest in the compound. I then sent Meerun to acquaint Mr. Grand. When I was going to take the gentleman to the lower part of the house, he whistled four or five times: as I led him from the east side to the western, he whistled five to seven times. When I carried him opposite to the door, some conversation passed with my mistress.

C.—Where was your mistress?

W.—She came and desired me to let him go: she came near me and told me so. I had then hold of Mr. Francis. I said I have sent people to acquaint my master: I will not attend to you.

C.—What did you then do with the defendant?

W.—I desired my mistress to go upstairs, and said to her, I will not obey you. I then led the gentleman towards the northern door. I gave him a chair to sit down.

C.—After the defendant was seated in the chair, what was done?

W.—I made him sit down in chair, and then I put my hands on the arms of the chair to keep him there.

Witness next describes the arrival of Messrs. Shee and Ducarell on the scene, who scaled the wall and came in, "using force" and "making a noise." They broke open the door of the house where my master used to write; this was in the lower part of the hall where Mr. Francis was. As soon as Mr. Francis heard this noise, he got up from his seat. I then endeavoured to keep him in his seat; he was going to that part where the gentlemen came; in that room it was dark. Those gentlemen shoved me and pushed me; I am not certain whether Mr. Francis fell, but I am certain I fell on the chair. When I kept both my hands on the chair nobody was with me, the servants were at the door. When I fell on the chair I called to those servants who were at the door. When I fell, Mr. Francis escaped out of my hands, and then I called to the servants. When I recovered myself I got up, it was dark; I seized a gentleman, a Mr. Shee; I did not then know whether it was Mr. Francis or not at first; afterwards I found Mr. Francis had escaped. The bearer and the scise (*Sic*), when they returned, came to the place where I was, and laid hold of Mr. Ducarell. I took hold of Mr. Shee and carried him up. The bearer and scise took Mr. Ducarell out. Mr. Keeble was standing on his own house looking, and asked, "What is the matter?" The bearer and scise said to Mr. Keeble, "These gentlemen came into the house when my mster was out."

C.—Did Mr. Francis say anything of what would happen in case Mr. Grand came home while he was there?

W.—When he wanted to go I refused to let him go; I said, "My master will hang me if I let you go." Mr. Francis said, "Sooner than he shall kill you, I shall die."

Witness (*continues*).—Mr. Keeble then came near the wall. Whether there was a heap of dirt or a chair on the wall I don't know; Mr. Keeble was standing on the outside talking to Mr. Ducarell. Mr. Keeble said, "Give me that gentleman" (meaning Mr. Ducarell). The bearer and scise refused to comply with Mr. Keeble's demands. I was at a little distance from Mr. Ducarell with Mr. Shee; Mr. Ducarell was in the hands of the bearer and scise. I

* *Hurkaru* is the Hindustani for messenger.

† The *abdar* is the servant in charge of wine, liquor, &c., whose chief function it is to keep them cool for drinking.

said to Mr. Keeble, "If you desire it, take Mr. Ducarell away." I did not know at first whether it was Mr. Ducarell or not; afterwards I found it was him. Mr. Ducarell had already given his hand to Mr. Keeble; the bearers prevented him. When I saw it was Mr. Ducarell, I put my hand and helped him up; afterwards Mr. Keeble again desired me to give up Mr. Shee. I said, "First be answerable for him." I refused, I said "I would not." Four or five times Mr. Keeble desired me to deliver Mr. Shee, and that he would be answerable. I refused.

After this Mr. Grand and Mr. Palmer came in. I desired the bearers to open the door. Mr. Grand came and told me to let Mr. Shee go. I did so.

C.—Did you get any money?

W.—Yes, three gold mohurs from Mr. Shee. He gave them that I might let him go, and he promised to give me more.

C.—What hat is that you have got in your hand?

W.—I found it in the house. I don't know to whom it belonged.

C.—(On cross-examination).—You say Madame Grand desired you to let Mr. Francis go. What language did she speak?

W.—She spoke Hindustani. She said, "Jemadar, choredo, choredo."

C.—This was a dark night, was it not?

W.—The moon was coming out; it was not quite up.

C.—How can you tell what money the gentleman offered you?

W.—By the jingling I knew them to be gold mohurs.

C.—Tell me the difference between the jingling of gold Mohurs and rupees?

W.—Undoubtedly there is a difference.

C.—What difference?

W.—Gold mohurs have a light sound, rupees a dull sound.

By CHIEF JUSTICE IMPEY.—Was the whistling before or after Meerun went to call his master?

W.—After Meerun was gone.

C. J.—Was there any conversation between Mr. Shee and Mr. Francis while you had hold of Mr. Francis?

W.—No.

C. J.—Was there between Mr. Ducarell and Mr. Francis?

W.—No; there was only running about. I did not hear any conversation while I was there, and when I got up, Mr. Francis was gone away. I heard no conversation.

By MR. JUSTICE HYDE.—Where was the hat found?

W.—In the hall below, where I had the fall.

Anna Lagoorda examined.—About half an hour past nine o'clock Mr. Grand left Mrs. Grand at home, and went abroad. I desired my mistress to undress, to which she replied, "Mr. Grand will return home about eleven o'clock; until that time I will sit up." She then desired me to sit by her. I then asked leave to go and fetch some betel-nut. As I was going to fetch it, Mrs. Grand ran after me saying,—"Nonajee, fetch a whole candle." I was then upstairs going to another room. I accordingly went down to bring a candle. When I returned with it, I found the door of the room from whence I went out locked. I attempted to open it, but could not. I imagined Mrs. Grand was angry with me. I was a quarter of an hour getting the candle.

Counsel.—When you found you could not open the door, did you make noise?

Witness.—I did call "Madam, Madam," two or three times. I imagined she was angry, and in her dressingroom (which opened off bedroom), and therefore could not hear me. I then came down, and saw the kitmutgar, whom I told. When I saw the gentleman seized by the servants, I ran up

and told my mistress. The door was then open upstairs. Mrs. Grand went into the verandah and looked downwards. Mr. Grand went out to supper every Tuesday night. Mrs. Grand on such occasions sometimes read, and sometimes played with me, and went to bed at eleven o'clock.

C.—The night preceding these troubles had your mistress been out?

W.—Yes, she went to a ball.

C.—Do you know at what time Mrs. Grand came home from the ball?

W.—About four in the morning on the Tuesday. (After some questions as to the furniture in the bedroom, *i. e.*, whether there were only beds, and so on, the witness is asked by the CHIEF JUSTICE). After you found the door locked and went down again, where did you stay when you heard the gentleman seized in the compound?

W.—There is a horse stable, where three or four women lived; I was with them.

Mr. Gerard Gustavus Ducarell* examined.—Was at Mr. Grand's house on the 8th December.

C.—On what occasion did you go there?

W.—I was called by Mr. Shee: I was asleep in my bed; Mr. Shee came to my bedside, awaked me, and desired me to get up immediately, as Mr. Francis was likely to be murdered; that there was no time to lose; upon which I got out of bed immediately, and without putting on any clothes more than I lay in, went out into my own hall, where he asked me if there was anybody else in the house—if there was, to call him. I answered, Mr. Shore was, and knocked at his door and desired him to get up. Mr. Shee asked me if I could get at any sword or weapon; I don't recollect making him any answer. Mr. Shee told me that Mr. Francis was seized in Mr. Grand's house: we both pushed at the gate to endeavour to get in, but found we could not open. Mr. Shee then went a little way from the gate to a long ditch without the wall, crossed the ditch, got up on the wall, and called to me to follow him, which I did, and got upon the wall likewise: after which we jumped down into the compound and went in at a door leading into the lower hall. As soon as I got into the lower hall, I saw a person sitting in a chair either at the further end of the hall or in the little passage that leads out of it on the opposite side; some other person was standing near him. Almost at the same instant that I entered the hall, he started up from his chair and

* Ducarell apparently was not the style of auxiliary (physically speaking) whom a judicious man would select to stand by him in an expected 'encounter' against superior numbers. According to Francis he cannot have been far removed from a dwarf. He accompanied Francis on a visit to Paris in 1784, and is thus alluded to in a letter to Mrs. Francis: "Ducarell has found his uncle and aunt, or rather they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to put his arm round his uncle's neck; and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his feet from dangling in the chaise. And so 'Ma chère moitié' je vous embrasse." His name occurs several times in Francis's letters from England to India. In one to Shee, he says, "Ducarell lives a hundred miles off in perfect obscurity."

Blackwood for 1868 is responsible for this anecdote about him. Francis received a letter from him from Bath, expressing doubts as to the soundness of the views that both had held as to the immortality or otherwise of the soul of man, and desiring to know whether Francis still retained his former opinions.

The following is said to be Francis's unceremonious answer: "You d—d old fool. Have not you and I exhausted every argument that could be used, over and over again in India, on the subject referred to in your letter? and were we not invariably and logically led to the same conclusion? Now, however, I do entertain some doubts in regard to the soundness of our conclusion, and I will tell you why."

"I went yesterday to see Mother Bainbridge hanged. She died without a struggle. I said to myself as I beheld her swing. You monster, there must be something more than this in store for you. Possibly, therefore, we may be wrong after all; the soul may be immortal."

ran towards the door that I had come in at; in his way he struck against something with a good deal of violence; after that I saw no more of him, for almost immediately some of the servants came up and seized me, telling me I had caused the person to run away, and that they were determined to seize me. I struggled with them a little, but found it to no purpose, except that of getting from the hall to the outer door, where I saw that Mr. Shee was likewise seized. I expostulated with the people to let me go, but to no manner of purpose, until Mr. Keeble called out from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the reason of the disturbance.

C.—You say when you came in at the door leading to the house, you saw a person sitting in a chair, and some other people; could you distinguish who it was?

W.—I could not.

George Shee examined.—In answer to questions states, that fearing evil consequences and failing to dissuade Mr. Francis (who told him of his intention) from going to Mr. Grand's house, he determined to prevent any evil that might ensue; that he followed Francis towards plaintiff's house and walked about in the street and sometimes to a distance, going to and fro: saw a man come out and heard whistling: saw Mrs. Grand in the verandah above stairs, and discovered from her that there was a disturbance in the hall; she mentioned no name. Tried to get in by himself, first by persuading the jemadar to open the compound gate; then endeavoured by himself to force the gate, but failed; then it occurred to him to go over to Mr. Ducarell's house. Having ultimately got in, he (Mr. Shee) rushed upon the jemadar and "threw him on the ground;" after being exhausted by his tussle with the jemadar, he was himself in turn seized and thrown down by a peon.

"I think it necessary here," he adds, "to declare in contradiction to what has been said, that neither the plaintiff nor Captain Palmer ever used abusive language to me personally." There were several gentlemen present all the time, plaintiff was there—Mr. Shore, Mr. Ducarell, Captain Palmer, and Mr. Keeble. Nothing material passed in the house afterwards that he can recollect. He first heard of Francis's intention to go to Mr. Grand's house that night at six o'clock from conversation with Francis.

Counsel.—For what purpose did defendant mention he was going?

Witness.—To see Mrs. Grand.

C.—Was any name mentioned; was Mrs. Grand's name mentioned?

W.—It was.

C.—If you can challenge your memory, will you acquaint the Court what was mentioned, what more than Mrs. Grand's name?

W.—I believe it was that he (defendant) would go and see Mrs. Grand on Tuesday.

C.—Did you understand from defendant that Mrs. Grand had any knowledge of his intention?

W.—No, I did not.

C.—Do you know why Tuesday night was fixed on?

W.—I believe it was because plaintiff was going to the Club.

C.—At what time did defendant come to your house?

W.—About ten o'clock.

C.—Who was with defendant when he came?

W.—Nobody.

C.—How did he come?

W.—He walked.

C.—Was his usual sowary* with him?

W.—No.

* From this question one may infer that a Member of Council in those days went out attended by a mounted orderly.

C.—For what purpose did defendant come to your house?

W.—To change his dress.

C.—In what dress did he come?

W.—His usual dress.

C.—What did he put on?

W.—Black clothes.

C.—Do you mean a complete suit of black clothes?

W.—I cannot exactly tell; he put a black coat on.

C.—Do you know whose clothes they were?

W.—Defendant's.

C.—How came they to be in your house?

W.—He sent them there.

C.—About what time?

W.—I do not recollect.

C.—Was it usual for him to keep any suits of clothes at your house?

W.—No, sir.

C.—Can you say how many days these clothes were at your house before this?

W.—Several days before.

C.—Did defendant tell you why he did so?

W.—The purpose of sending the clothes was, I understand, for defendant to wear them when he went to see Mrs. Grand.

C.—Do you know why defendant put on black clothes that night?

W.—I believe it was because a man in black clothes is less exposed to view at night, less liable to be seen.

As regards the ladder used on the night in question this witness testifies that it was made at Francis's particular request in Shree's own yard, several days before, "by a black carpenter;" and was taken away from witness's house on the night by defendant himself to Grand's house. In answer to further queries, it is elicited that Francis must have been an hour inside altogether; that he (witness) gave three gold mohurs to the jemadar, and that Francis had no gold with him that witness saw, and only about 15 or 20 rupees in silver.

Counsel.—Is it very usual for gentlemen in general to carry money about them in this country?

Witness.—I don't know that it is, sir?

C.—Do you yourself, sir?

W.—Very often.

C.—Have you any now, sir, about you?

W.—I have not, sir.

C.—Do you know Mrs. Grand?

W.—Very well, sir.

C.—Do you know about the time she came to the settlement, after her marriage?

W.—About a year or two ago.

C.—Do you know where she now is?

W.—I was told she is at Chanderanagore.

C.—Did you see her on your way down?

W.—I did not.

C.—Does Madame Grand speak English?

W.—No.

Witness visited at her house and saw her often at balls, &c.: knew that for ten or twelve months back, defendant took particular notice of her; has known him hand her to table even when ladies were present whose husbands were of higher rank.

C.—In the month of November last, defendant gave a ball at which plaintiff and Mrs. Grand were present.

W.—Yes, sir.

C.—You, of course, were present; were there any ladies of higher rank than Mrs. Grand there?

W.—There were many.

C.—Do you recollect any particular marks marks of attention paid by defendant to Mrs. Grand?

W.—He danced a country dance with her.

C.—Did he dance with any other ladies?

W.—I don't recollect.

C.—Do you recollect whether they sat at the same table together at supper?

W.—I do not.

Examined by CHIEF JUSTICE IMPEY.—I hear you were a good deal about defendant. Did you, sir, from your living with Mr. Francis, observe any particular attention paid by defendant to Mrs. Grand?

W.—A very great partiality.

C. J.—Who gave directions to make the ladder?

W.—I gave directions.

C. J.—You were apprehensive from defendant's going to Mrs. Grand's house; do you not think that it would have been better avoided by not letting him shift at your house?

W.—I could not prevent him.

C. J.—Why did you give the assistance for the ladder?

W.—Mr. Francis requested me, and I could not refuse him any request I did not think dishonorable.

C. J.—When a person is going to the house of a man's wife in his absence, to see his wife at that hour of the night, and you apprehend that if he (the husband) comes home, dangerous consequences would happen, do you think it honorable to give that person assistance?

W.—I did not think it lending assistance; it has been propagated at Calcutta that I have sent messages from defendant to Mrs. Grand. I now take this opportunity of declaring upon my oath that I never, directly or indirectly, carried any message, verbal or written, from defendant to Mrs. Grand or Mrs. Grand to defendant.

C. J.—I shall ask no more questions, as I see we shall not agree upon the point of honour, for I confined honour to morality.

It will be generally admitted, we think, after a careful perusal of the above depositions, that the question of Sir Philip Francis' guilt is one of conflicting improbabilities. Sir Philip Francis, it may be remembered, long after his liaison had been a matter of notoriety, and when, consequently, his chief motive for concealing the truth must have lost most of its force, persistently maintained that, on the night in question, though he had intruded into the lady's bed room, his solicitations had been unattended with success.

This denial is, of course, not conclusive. It is no doubt, extremely improbable that a man of the defendant's position should have ventured to enter a lady's bed-room by a ladder in the dead of the night, in the absence of any previous understanding with her on the subject.

On the other hand, it is also extremely improbable, that two persons in the respective positions of Sir Philip Francis and Madame Grand, having determined to commit the offence imputed to them, should either have been unable to find some safer and better opportunity for carrying their purpose into effect, or, having such an opportunity at command, should have deliberately chosen a plan so fraught with danger as that actually resorted to.

The force of the former of these improbabilities any one is competent to estimate. That of the latter would depend upon a multitude of circumstances which are, and must remain, unknown.

It is quite possible for instance, that Mr. Grand, seeing cause for apprehension in the extreme youth and beauty of his wife, or for other reasons, had hedged her in with obstacles which rendered some such extraordinary device as a midnight visit by a bamboo ladder indispensable for the accomplishment of her and her lover's object; and the attitude of the servants on the fatal night might be considered to lend some support to this view. If such were the case, the second of the two improbabilities disappears.

The fact of Madame Grand's door having been locked during the absence of her Ayah, is not inconsistent with her innocence; for this precaution may have been the act of the intruder himself. On the other hand the circumstance of her having sent her Ayah away so shortly before Francis' visit was, to say the least, a most unfortunate coincidence.

In connexion with this question, it is not unworthy of note that three months apparently elapsed after the trial before Madame Grand accepted the protection of Francis. It may, however, be said, that the delay was less inconsistent with guilt, than the ultimate result with innocence.

It has hitherto been commonly supposed, that Mr. Grand was a merchant at Chandernagore. Mr. Francis speaks of him as "a dirty old sordid Frenchman." He was not a merchant at the time, but a Writer in the service of the East India Company; and he could hardly have been old, as it was only twelve years before, in 1766, that he got his nomination to a cadetship.

Dr. Busteed has collected a mass of interesting information regarding the subsequent career of Madame Grand, one of the results of which is to cast grave doubts on the current stories of her extreme *naïveté* and general ignorance. Among these, the Robinson Crusoe anecdote must probably be relegated to the limbo of exploded myths.

"There are very few" says the author of the Echoes, "who have not heard or read the funny mistake about Robinson Crusoe attributed to Madame Talleyrand; the anecdote has been the round of every newspaper in Europe and America, and will perhaps ever

be quoted when her name is mentioned. It is more than likely that this anecdote is mainly responsible for the popular impression about her want of sense. If this piece of 'evidence' be broken down, there is really little else to support the allegation of stupidity. Though the story has been worn threadbare, we must give it here again, to show one of the high authorities who have vouched for its truth, and to let the reader see how the narration is tinged with a spite which weakens it as evidence. Napoleon thus told it to O'Meara at St. Helena in 1817:—

'I sometimes asked Denon (whose work I suppose you have read) to breakfast with me, as I took a pleasure in his conversation, and spoke very freely with him. Now all the intriguers and speculators paid their court to Denon with a view of inducing him or mention their projects to themselves in the course of his conversation with me, thinking that being mentioned by such a man as Denon, for whom I had a great esteem, might materially serve them. Talleyrand, who was a great speculator, invited Denon to dinner. When he went home to his wife, he said—My dear, I have invited Denon to dine; he is a great traveller, and you must say something handsome to him about his travels as he may be useful to us with the Emperor.

'His wife, being extremely ignorant and probably never having read any other book of travels than that of Robinson Crusoe, concluded that Denon could be nobody else. Wishing to be very civil to him, she, before a large company, asked him divers questions about his man Friday. Denon, astonished, did not know what to think at first, but at length discovered by her questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. His astonishment and that of the company cannot be described, nor the peals of laughter which it excited in Paris, as the story flew like wild-fire through the City, and even Talleyrand himself was ashamed of it.*

* The Emperor was evidently but an indifferent '*raconteur*,' or his story loses by translation from the Italian in which he conversed with O'Meara. We owe an apology to the reader for reproducing so poor a version of this well-known anecdote; as an *amende* we give here the original and best one for the benefit of those who may not have seen it. It appeared in "*L'Album Perdu*," and is attributed to M. Henri Delatouche:

Peu de temps après le retour de l'armée d'Égypte et des savants qui avaient été témoins de cette glorieuse expédition, M. de Talleyrand invita à dîner M. Denon. "C'est, dit M. de Talleyrand à sa femme, un homme très-aimable, un auteur, et les auteurs aiment beaucoup qu'on leur parle de leurs ouvrages; je vous enverrai la relation de son voyage, et vous la lirez afin de pouvoir lui en parler." En effet M. de Talleyrand fit porter dans la chambre de Mme de Talleyrand le volume promis, et celle-ci l'ayant lu se trouva en mesure de féliciter l'auteur placé à table à côté d'elle. "Ah! monsieur, lui dit-elle, je

The tenacity with which the public cling to a time-honoured story, and the reluctance with which they see any attempt at the deposition of an old favorite, was curiously illustrated about fourteen years ago, when the *Times* opened its columns to a spirited correspondence as to the authenticity of this anecdote. The occasion was a Review in the *Times* of Sir H. Bulwer's 'Historical Characters,' where the author introduces this anecdote, naming not Denon, but a Sir George Robinson, as the hero of it (others assign this position to Humboldt.) M. Pichot, a staunch sceptic as to the conclusiveness of the evidence which attributes stupidity to Madame de Talleyrand, led the way in an admirable letter, humorous and logical, showing that the old story has not even the merit of originality. He was immediately attacked by one who challenged his dates and authority and threw out doubts as to the year when a translation of Robinson Crusoe appeared in France: and who also quoted Moore's version as he had given it in his Paris diary of 1821, as though he seemed to imply that this should be regarded as evidence. Mr. Dominic Colnaghi (the eminent engraver, &c., &c., of Pall Mall, who died in 1879) also took part in the correspondence. His argument as to the anecdote's being authentic amounted to this, that his father had heard it in Paris in 1806 from a Miss Dickinson, then said to be the *demoiselle de compagnie* of Madame de Talleyrand. A story, too good to be doubted, is often repeated at the time and place of its origin, till it comes to be believed in, even by contemporaries, but this does not prove that it may not be *ben trovato* nevertheless. The source which M. Pichot suggests for the anecdote in the following passage in his letter leaves little doubt in our mind that he was right, in suspecting that Madame de Talleyrand's mistake was the 'invention of some English wit, or a French *bel esprit*.'

'Extraordinary again, is it not, that hitherto English readers have overlooked this passage of a letter of Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, dated October 22, 1741:—'the whole town is to be to-morrow night at Sir Thos. Robinson's ball, which he gives to a little girl of the Duke of Richmond, &c.'

ne saurais vous exprimer tout le plaisir que j'ai éprouvé à la lecture de vos aventures.—Madame, vous êtes beaucoup trop indulgente.—Non, je vous assure mon Dieu, que vous avez dû vous ennuyer, tout seul, dans une île déserte; Cela m'a bien intéressée.—Mais il me semble, madame, que...—Vous deviez avoir une drôle de figure avec votre grand bonnet pointu?—En vérité, madame, je ne comprends pas...—Ah! moi je comprends bien toutes vos tribulations. Avez-vous assez souffert après votre naufrage! Mais, madame, je ne sais...—Vous avez dû être bien content le jour où vous avez trouvé Vendredi! M^r de Talleyrand avait donné à lire à sa femme peu liseuse comme disait la maréchale Lefébvre, les *Aventures de Robinsen Crusoe*."

"In a note (Pichot refers to the American Edition of 1812 Lord Dover being the Commentator) to this letter we are told that Sir Thos. Robinson of Rokeby Park, commonly called long Sir Thomas, is elsewhere styled the new Robinson Crusoe by Walpole, who says, when speaking of him, 'He was a tall uncouth man, and his stature was often rendered still more remarkable by his hunting-dress, a postilion's cap, a tight green jacket, and buck-skin breeches. He was liable to sudden whims, and once set off in his hunting suit to visit his sister, who was married and settled at Paris. He arrived while there was a large company at dinner, the servant announced Mr. Robinson, and he came in to the great amazement of the guests. Among others, a French Abbé thrice lifted his fork to his mouth and thrice laid it down with an eager stare of surprise. Unable to restrain his curiosity any longer, he burst out with, 'Excuse me, Sir, are you the famous Robinson Crusoe so remarkable in history?'"

At all events a mistake made by a French Abbé may fairly be excused in a lady. M. Colmache says that many of the blunders laid to the charge of Talleyrand's wife bear the unmistakable stamp of the firm of Montrond & Co., and as we have referred to this gentleman as an authority on the subject, we may mention that his questioning Talleyrand as to the truth of the popular anecdote led to his being told one much more likely and nearly as amusing. The Robinson Crusoe incident did not actually happen, said Talleyrand, 'but it was guessed at, and that was enough; the blunder was ascribed to her without compunction, and then he added:

'I certainly remember a *naïveté* which she once uttered in the midst of a circle of savans and literati at Neuilly, which would be considered quite as good, and become just as popular were it as generally known. Lemer cier had volunteered after dinner to read us one of his unplayed and unplayable pieces. The company had gathered round him in a circle; his *cahier* lay already unfolded on his knees, and, clearing his voice, he began in a high, shrill tone, which made us all start from our incipient slumber, '*La Scène est à Lyon.*' 'There now, M. de Talleyrand,' exclaimed the princess, jumping from her chair, and advancing towards me with a gesture of triumph, 'now I knew that you were wrong; you would have it that it was the *Saône*! To describe the embarrassment and consternation of the company would be impossible. I myself was perplexed for an instant, but soon remembered the difference of opinion to which she had alluded. As our carriage was crossing the bridge at Lyons, a little time before, she had asked me the name of the river which flowed beneath. I had told her it was '*Saône*;' to which she had replied, with a truly

philosophical reflection—' Ah, how strange this difference of pronunciation ; we call it the *Seine* in Paris !' I had been much amused at the time, but had not thought it worth while to correct the self-confident error, and thus had arisen this extraordinary confusion in the troubled brain of the poor princess. Of course we all laughed heartily at her unexpected sally ; but we were grateful nevertheless, for it saved us the reading of the dreaded drama, as no one that evening could be expected to *retrouver son sérieux* sufficiently to listen with becoming attention to all the terrible events which Lemer cier had to unfold.'

The following account of her personal appearance, as portrayed in the painting by Gerard, at Versailles, and of her nameless and forgotten tomb, may appropriately close this notice.

"I had an opportunity of visiting Versailles and inspecting the picture of Mme. de Talleyrand, and with some difficulty succeeded in finding the poor forgotten Beauty, for, whatever her mental and moral endowments may have been, that she was a woman singularly attractive in outward form, Gerard's 'counterfeit presentment' of her leaves no room to doubt. The portrait is that of a lovely highbred-looking young woman ; tall and graceful, with exquisitely fair complexion, delicate coloring, wavy hair of the rare shade called *blonde cendrée*, dressed rather high on the head and curling over the temples ; large blue eyes, small Greek nose, and little mouth with full red lips. She is attired in a low-necked and short-waisted dress, which appears to be of some soft filmy white material probably Indian muslin, displaying a finely-moulded bust and arms, and tiny feet in white satin slippers.

"On neck, arms, and in her ears are pearl ornaments, and one hand, the right, holds an open letter, while the other hangs by her side. She is leaning against an open projecting French stove, on which are two brown Etruscan vases. Behind her are a drapery of green silk and large cushioned sofa covered with the same material.

No indication whatever of Eurasian origin is visible in the portrait. The picture is to be found in the small ante-room of the second etage, the walls of which are covered with paintings of a smaller size. It is numbered 4867, and hangs between the portraits of Mme. Récamier and prince Talleyrand."

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Sandhyá Sangit. By Rabindra Nath Tagore. Printed and published at the Adi Brahma Samaj Press, Calcutta, 1289, B. S.

WE lately reviewed two Bengali books entitled *Rudrachanda* and *Yurop-játrir Patra*. Both of them were written by

Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore, and of both, we are glad to say, we have been able to speak in terms of praise. The work now before us is also written by Babu Rabindra Nath, and seems to be very much better than his two last productions. *Sāndhyā Sangit* is a collection of love poems, giving expression to certain deep but exceedingly tender sentiments of a lover, or of a loving mind. A tone of sorrow, melancholy, or disappointment, arising from unfulfilled hope, unanswered self-dedication, or unsatisfied desire, pervades most of the pieces. In the opening piece the author describes the strain in which he proposes to sing in a passage which is so characteristic of him, and contains such true and exquisite poetry, that we cannot resist the temptation to reproduce a portion of it in this place. Addressing his muse, he says :—

এসো তুমি উষার মতন
এসো তুমি সৌভের প্রায়,
প্রেম উঠে যেমন করিয়া
নির্ব্বার যেমন উথলায় !

* * * *
শিশির যেমন করে বারে,
পশ্চিমের আঁধার সাগরে
তারিটি যেমন করে যায় ;

অতি ধীরে মৃদু হেসে, সীঁদুর সীমন্ত দেশে
দিবা সে যেমন করে আসে
মন্দিবারে স্বামীর চিতায়,
পশ্চিমের জ্বলন্ত শিখায় ।

পরবাসী ক্ষীণ-আয়ু, একটি মুমূর্ষু বায়ু
স্বদেশ কানন পানে ধায়
শ্রান্ত পদ উঠিতে না চায় ;

যেমনি কাননে পশে, ফুল-বধূটির পাশে,
শেষ কথা বলিতে বলিতে
তখনি অমনি মরে যায় ।
তেমনি, তেমনি করে এস,
কবিতা রে বধুটি আমার ।

It is impossible to praise too highly the wealth of imagery the fine play of fancy, the sweet and tender sympathy with external nature, the warmly spiritualistic conception of the world of matter, displayed by the author in these lines. And these qualities, we repeat, are characteristic of all the poems contained in this work. In all these poems, the poet appears to us truly and warmly inspired, lost in the waves of the feelings which he has raised up in his mind, completely absorbed in the world which he has created for himself, speaking the language of the heart, sometimes with inexpressible softness, sometimes with appalling severity, always with the eloquence, earnestness and impassioned vehemence of a soul which has been stirred to its depths. In the fulness of his heart, the author forgets conventionalism, and expresses himself in a spirit which cares little for artificial barriers, and in words which either breathe the very soul of tenderness, or appear savagely naked on account of their intense and glowing fierceness. Of the former, take the following as a specimen :—

ককণার উপাসক আছি,
জগতে কি আছে তার চেয়ে ।
আহা কি কোমল মুখ খানি ।
আহা কি ককণ কচি মেয়ে ।
উষার প্রথম হাসি-রেখা
অধরেতে মাখান তাহার,
কোমল বিমল শিশিরেতে
আঁখি দুটি ভাসে অনিবার ।

* * *
জগতের বাতাস ককণা
ককণা সে রবি শশি-তারার,
জগতের শিশির ককণা,
জগতের বৃষ্টি বারিধারা

* * *
কাননের ছায়া সে ককণা,
ককণা সে জননীর আঁখি,
ককণা সে প্রেমিকের মন ।

And of the latter, the following :—

প্রাণের ঘেয়ায়

অলক্ষ্যেতে শোণিতের ফল্লু ব'হে যায়,

যাস্ত্রে সেথায় ।

খুঁড়িস্ বালুকা-রাশি অস্থিখণ্ড দিয়া

শোণিত উঠিবে উথলিয়া ।

লয়ে সে শোণিত ধরা মিশায়ে ভস্মের স্তূপে

গড়িস্ ভস্মের ঘর,

গড়িস্ ভস্মের নর,

গড়িস্ খেলানা নানোরূপে !

All these are the characteristics of a true poet, whose office, in the department of lyric song, is to open the fountain springs of the human heart, and let them play according to their own true nature. Babu Rabindra Nath is a true lyric poet—one of the best living lyric poets of Bengal.

Of the moral aspect of Babu Rabindra Nath's poetry, we have neither time nor space to speak on this occasion.

Lalita Saudāmini. By the Author of *Swarnalatā*. Published by Bhudhara Chandra Gangopādhyāya, Bhowanipore, Calcutta. 1288, B. S.

IN our recent review of Babu Tárak Náth Gánguli's novel of *Swarnalatā*, we expressed the hope that he would soon place a new work in our hands. We are glad to find that our hope is fulfilled. *Lalita Saudāmini*, though not a work of the stamp of *Swarnalatā*, is one which only the author of *Swarnalatā* could have produced. In his second work, as much as in his first, we find Babu Tárak Náth's own peculiar skill in the delineation of ordinary life, capacity to make dramatic combinations of ordinary events, and power to present real life in a romantic form. *Lalita Saudāmini* is a small tale of a Kulin marriage, told within the brief compass of 44 duodecimo pages. Its plot consists only of a simple plan to thwart the marriage of a young *Kulin* girl with an old man of fifty or sixty by marrying her to a young man of education and character. The measures which are taken to develop this plan are in reality very few and simple. But though few and simple, it is not these

measures which Babu Tárak Náth describes, and which any other writer of this tale would have probably considered it necessary to describe, thereby making the narrative exceedingly feeble and insipid. What Babu Tárak Náth does is this: He keeps these measures concealed from us, because the persons who have recourse to them are forced to conceal them from certain other persons who are interested in the question of marriage, and because by so doing he gets an opportunity of relating, in an intensely tragic form, something that takes place openly and does not therefore require to be kept in the background. This is a piece of literary strategy which would not probably have occurred to most other Bengali writers of fiction. And it is because Babu Tárak Náth seems capable of such tactics, that we consider him to be the only Bengali novelist who can make dramatic combinations of the events of ordinary Bengali life.

The plan adopted by Saudámini's mother to prevent her marriage with the old Kulin Brahman succeeds, and the fair girl becomes the wife of the young and accomplished Lalita. The scene which is created at the marriage of the young couple by the old Kulin bridegroom and the girl's father, who has selected him, excites much hearty and proper laughter, and forms a grateful sequel to the scene of tragic severity previously described. The picture of the Kulin Brahman given in this book is drawn with great power and skill. Sábitri, the mother of Saudámini, is a great woman—a heroine; proving that bad social institutions are not altogether without their use, inasmuch as they call forth types of character among Bengali women which would not otherwise be met with among them. Keshab is an exceedingly good character, and his wife Giribálá is a model of love, benevolence, and womanly self-sacrifice. The moral of the story is that, in the present circumstances of Hindu society, a social institution which appears to be unnatural and immoral by reason of its heartlessness, ought to be ridiculed out of existence.

Babu Tárak Náth writes in a clear and unaffected style. His manner is homely like his theme. In a humble style, and with humble instruments, he works great ends and produces great effect. But when we read him, we never find him making an effort. He seems to be a true artist who knows no art.

 *Prabandha*. Printed by Káshi Náth Bhattácharjya at the Budhodaya Press, Hughli. 1288, B. S.

THIS is a really remarkable work, written by a remarkable Hindu of Bengal. It is one of the best books yet written

in this country, and if it had been written in any other country, not excepting France, or Germany, or England, it would have been regarded as the production of a master. The book has many aspects, some of which we shall separately describe.

Páribárik Prabandha, as its name implies, is a collection of essays. As essays, the papers contained in this volume are simply excellent. They treat of matters of the very first importance. Hindu domestic life is the subject of these papers,—an important subject certainly. But the importance is vastly increased by the fact that the author describes Hindu domestic life in its *constitutional* aspect. He describes who should form the members of a Hindu family; what their respective functions should be; with whom, among those who are outside of the family, close intercourse should be kept up; how the different members of a Hindu family should be educated in order that they may be best able to fulfil their respective functions; upon what moral, religious, economic and sanitary principles the life of a Hindu family should be based, in order that it may secure health and permanence, and go on progressing in virtue and usefulness, &c. These are not, of course, the heads under which the subject is considered by the author. But it seems to us that these points are foremost in the author's mind. He begins with the question of marriage, which, he thinks, ought to take place early in life. He next explains the nature of the sentiment of love, and how the growth of that sentiment among newly married couples may be regulated. Having done this, he explains the purpose of the institution of marriage, which he describes as being the reconciliation of the conflicting principles, selfishness and self-sacrifice. In the paper on the education of the wife, the author describes the method in which the husband and the wife, as the primary units of the family-system, should train themselves to accomplish the purpose of the institution of marriage. When the fundamental work has been done, the author describes the process by which the husband and the wife should endeavour to secure their continuance by economic management, and then embellish the fabric they have already prepared, by the application of æsthetic principles. Having described how the husband and the wife should equip themselves for the journey of life, the author explains how they should perform their respective functions without encroaching upon each other's rights, and with advantage to themselves, their family, and those with whom they come into contact. The mutual influence of a rightly prepared couple and their influence on the whole family, including servants, domestic animals, and casual visitors, are next described.

Going beyond the family circle, the author explains how the friends of the family, male and female, and agnatic and cognatic relations should be dealt with, and how they influence the social and moral education of a family. The moral position and functions of those who have been born before and after the central couple—grandfather, son, daughter and daughter-in-law—are next described. The author then describes the moral and intellectual uses of children, explains how a Bengali should educate his sons, and indicates the manner in which the attitude of a Bengali family towards changes in opinion in the great world around us should be regulated. These, and a few other subjects, such as polygamy, the marriage of a widower, and perpetual celibacy, are treated of in the style and spirit of a master and a Hindu possessing high national instincts. All the papers are short, because they are all written in a remarkably clear and pregnant style. There is not perhaps one unnecessary word in the whole book, and the beautifully laconic or sententious forms in which the author's views are expressed, indicate deep thought, mature experience, and vast and varied reading. The style of the papers is moreover the style of a man whose heart is as deep as his intellect is clear. Deep feeling and deep thought enter equally into these compositions of Babu Bhudeb Mukharji, for he is, and no less a man than he could be, the author of *Pāribārīk Prabandha*. His papers are model essays in the Bengali language, and will, we fear, remain such for many a long day to come.

The work may be next considered as a work on Hindu domestic philosophy. The fundamental principles of that philosophy seem to be these: Every family in this country should have for its centre a healthy, loving and educated couple, education, in the case of the wife, not meaning book-learning. The central couple should exclude from their family circle all those with whom property considerations may give rise to ill-feeling; or, which is the same thing, they alone should be members of a family between whom the tie of love and affection is stronger than the tie of property. The two central persons in the family group should make self-sacrifice the chief regulating principle of their lives as between themselves, and regulate their internal and external relations, that is to say, their relations to those who are within, and those who are without, the family circle, in such a way as will promote love, virtue, and individual culture. Numerous methods are pointed out for giving effect to these principles, and it must be confessed that almost all of them appear to be eminently practical. Their application, however, will demand high mental culture, and it may be therefore doubted whether the area of that application

can be very wide. But nothing but good can result from endeavouring to follow the methods; and as education spreads and example multiplies, the excellent work may become easier and easier. In fact, Bengal can do nothing better at this revolutionary juncture than accept this book as an authoritative code of domestic life. There is only one important point on which we venture to express a doubt. He says that practical housewifery is the best school of culture for woman. If so, and if the son is not to be separated from the father, we cannot understand how the son's wife shall acquire *her* culture during the life-time of her mother-in-law. It seems Babu Bhudeb Mukharji has unwittingly sacrificed logic for the sake of domestic love and beauty, of which, as a thorough Hindu, his heart seems full to overflowing.

Páribárik Prabandha is a poem. The view of wifehood taken in the author's dedication which, by the way, seems to be the best and most remarkable ode to woman yet written in Asia or in Europe, is in the highest degree poetical; and it is this view, this strange combination of the real and the ideal, or this strange conversion of the ideal into the real, which the author desires to see realised in every Hindu home. This view seems to underlie all the essays. The author's own family is a poem, and he tells us, and we can add our own feeble testimony, that there are many Hindu families in Bengal that are real poems. There is a poetical charm in many Hindu homes of which none who have not lived in them have any knowledge whatever.

Páribárik Prabandha is a remarkable autobiography. It is only a collection of essays; but it is nevertheless the most remarkable autobiography we have ever read. We have, in these papers, no account of birth or pedigree or school education or authorship or anything of that kind. But we have in them an earnest statement of how an eminent Bengali has formed himself and others, lived and made others to live, loved and taught others to love.

Would not such a book be regarded as a treasure in *any* literature?

The Meghaduta translated into Bengali Verse. By Rájkrishna Mukharji, M.A. and B.L. Printed by Bihárilál Banerji, at Messrs J. G. Chatterji & Co.'s Press, 44, Amherst Street, and published by the Sanskrit Press Depository, 148, Bára-nasi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta, 1882.

THE *Meghaduta* is one of Kálidás' master-pieces. The descriptive power displayed in it is of the highest kind

and the wealth of poetry found in it is almost immeasurable. It possesses an intense human interest in consequence of its containing a deep and highly poetical expression of the feelings of a separated lover; and a profound moral interest on account of the sympathy displayed from its beginning to its end with external and even inanimate nature. Indeed, by making a cloud a messenger of love, the poet invests inanimate nature with a moral dignity and a moral capacity, which the European mind, except when of the most fervidly religious type, seldom attributes to it. This distinguishing characteristic is more splendidly developed in Kálidás than in any other Sanskrit poet, and assumes a more energetic form in *Meghaduta* than in any other work of Kálidás. In *Meghaduta* is also explained, what may be called, the *science* of a lover's sorrow, the body and mind of a separated lover being described with the power, knowledge, and courage of an inspired master. The geographical interest of the poem is also generally acknowledged. That the growing literature of Bengal should possess a Bengali version of such a poem, must be the desire of every lover of that literature. Some years ago Babu Pránnáth Saraswati published a very good Bengali metrical version of *Meghaduta*. But it was unfortunately not so faithful a version as could have been desired. Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore next commenced publishing an exceedingly clever version of the poem, but dropped it at a very early stage. Babu Rajkrishna Mukharji has given us not only a version of the entire poem, but one which seems to possess the rare merit of being strictly faithful to the original. The metre and language he has employed possess, as far as is possible in Bengali, the solemnity of Kálidás's metre and language, and his collocation of words follows, wherever practicable, the poet's own collocation. He must have laboured hard to produce this remarkably faithful version of Kálidás's exquisite poem. And for his efficient performance of his self-imposed task he is entitled to the thanks of all lovers of Bengali literature and of the great Sanskrit poet. For Englishmen, who know Bengali, we must write one word of warning. They should not judge Babu Ráj Krishna's translation by comparing it with Professor Wilson's English *Meghaduta*, which is, in fact, a very different work from Kálidás's *Meghaduta*.

Babu Ráj Krishna's work is enriched with useful foot-notes, and an introduction in which the question of Kálidás's age is briefly but clearly discussed, and with the knowledge, ability and method which distinguish all his antiquarian writings. The translation is accompanied by the original.

Human Physiology: to which is appended a Chapter on Preservation of Health. By Ashutosh Mitra. Publisher:—Rádhá Gobinda Kar. Calcutta, 1882.

THIS is an exceedingly useful and interesting work. That every human being ought to know the mechanism of his own body, is a truism. Unfortunately very few know it, and very many, therefore, suffer in body, and consequently in mind. We are glad that a popular and practical treatise on human physiology has been at last written in Bengali, thereby creating facilities for imparting physiological knowledge to Bengali boys. The work before us seems eminently fitted to be used in our schools. It is of a very elementary kind, is written in a sufficiently easy and popular style, and is illustrated with diagrams. The production of such a work speaks well for the future of the Bengali language and literature; and when we notice that it is but the first of a projected series of 'vernacular science primers,' we cannot sufficiently admire the patriotism and enterprise of the author and the publisher. We sincerely trust that the Department of Education will encourage this beautiful undertaking, and increase the amount of its present resources for doing that most difficult work, the imparting of scientific knowledge to children in an easy, impressive and entertaining form. We are beginning to get good books. Let those who are entrusted with the education of the country ensure their supply, by providing good and exact teachers, of whom there is now, we are afraid, a lamentable paucity all over India.

Ayurbijñán. By Guru Gobinda Sen, L.M.S. Printed and published by Dawarká Náth Bidyáratna at the New Bengali Press, 15, Gopi Krishna Pál's Lane. Calcutta, 1882.

THIS is another very useful and interesting work. It is described as being a "treatise on hygiene, collected and translated from the original texts of Dhanwantari, a great sage, and the first and most renowned physician and surgeon of India." It is, in fact, a work on Hindu hygiene, and therefore possesses great practical and historical interest. Apart from its intrinsic value, this work will disabuse the minds of many Englishmen and anglicised Babus, who think that the hygienic notions of the Hindus have always been of the clumsiest kind. The following short extract from the chapter on house-making will show that Hindu hygiene attained great perfection in ancient India:—

"The bedroom ought to be built upon spacious, dry and elevated ground. Near it, there ought not to remain cremation ground,

water, jungle, houses for beasts, or large trees. That room ought to be dry, and should have many windows for the admission of light and air. The body remains in a healthy state if the air in the room is exhilarating and free from smell. If the air that is breathed is not purified every moment, the body becomes dry and discoloured, and even death may eventually occur. If the bedroom is not provided with numerous windows, it cannot remain dry, and light cannot find admission into it. There are no better means of keeping the air of a bedroom pure and dry than by admitting light and air. The air of the bedroom ought to be kept dry, but it is never good to lie in a current of air, &c."

Many will indeed be surprised to find from a perusal of this book, that sanitary science in ancient India attained an excellence in no degree inferior to that which belongs to it in modern Europe. This discovery will certainly enhance respect for the ancient Hindu mind, and promote the study of ancient Hindu science in a loving and reverential spirit.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXVI.

1883.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET,

BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.

LONDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

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PART I.—THE BRITISH NORTH BORNEO COMPANY.

IN 1877 a vessel steamed out of the Mersey under charter for the East, bound upon a very different errand from that of the run of steamers which take the same track. There was a certain mystery about her, which even those who had been engaged fitting her up, could not quite solve. She was evidently intended neither for cargo nor for passengers, nor yet was she a pleasure yacht. Her arrangements, her stores, her crew, were all peculiar, and the conclusion of the few who were interested in her was that either the owner could keep his own counsel wonderfully well, or else that he did not know what he was about. She steamed away, however, and was forgotten, and now it has inspired that she was a pioneer of British commerce and civilization, and if we cannot quite put her side by side with the craft that took the Pilgrim Fathers safely across the Atlantic, we may at least concede that her voyage was one of no mean historical interest. She was chartered by Baron de Overbeck and Mr. Alfred Dent, both of the princely firm of Dent & Co., and their object was to open the way for the foundation of a British Settlement on the north-east of Borneo, the richest island of the eastern seas. This object they have now accomplished with entire and unexpected success. Territory has been acquired almost as extensive as the Island of Ceylon; a chartered Company has been launched for purposes of trade and government, and an opening has been made for British colonists and capital more full of promise than any which this century has yet seen.

British relations with Borneo go back as far as 1761. There was, indeed, a mercantile settlement in the south of the island almost a hundred years before, and a flourishing trade was carried

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on from Banjermassin. But the rising power of the Dutch forced the English to withdraw in the early part of the 18th century, and no attempt was made to re-establish the trade for more than 50 years. By this time the Dutch had so completely established their sway in the south, that any attempt to set up again the old depôt at Banjermassin would have been futile. Our attention was, therefore, turned to the territories of the Sultan of Sulu, who ruled over the Sulu Archipelago and the north-east part of Borneo. With this prince the East India Company commenced negotiations, and in 1761 "Articles of Friendship and Commerce" were signed, which were confirmed in 1763 by a treaty of "alliance offensive and defensive." By this treaty the Sultan agreed to cede to the Company "such part or parts of the Island of Sulu, or the territories thereon dependent, as they may choose, to erect forts or factories upon;" an "exclusive trade" was given to the Company in all the Sulu dominions, and their imports and exports were relieved of all customs duties. In 1767 a supplementary treaty was concluded by which slight modifications were made in certain of the stipulations, and the grant of land considerably increased. Five years later a deed was drawn up and executed by the Sultan which still further extended the grants of land and specified the conditions upon which they were made.

"I, Sultan Mahomet Allemodin, son of Sultan Mahomet Badaradin, King of the Island of Sulu, and all its dominions, do acknowledge, and hereby confirm, to have sold to the East India Company all my right and title to the north part of Borneo from Kimauis, on the west side, in a direct line to Towson Abay on the east side thereof, with all the land, places and people, ^{and} within those limits, and also all the islands to the northward of the said island of Borneo, as Balambagan, Palawan, Banguay, Balabac, Monnach, and all the other islands adjoining, as well as on the north, east and west sides of these parts of my dominions. All this I do and confirm in consideration of the benefit which I have received from the said Company."

After the conclusion of these treaties a factory and military station was established at Balambagan, which soon had a prosperous trade: gold, iron, lead, tin and pearls being the chief exports. This property was not, however, very long lived. Spain was even then straining after the sovereignty of Sulu, and, by intrigues similar to those which have given us so much trouble of late, soon succeeded in alienating the affections of many of the Datus, or petty chiefs—and perhaps also of the Sultan himself—from their English allies. "At that period," says a Spanish History of Manilla, quoted by Belcher, "there were two factions among

the chiefs of Sulu; one party for the Spaniards, the other for the English. The latter were bought by their presents, the other were composed of those who possessed more independence and *amor patriæ*; they knew that the vicinity of the English would in the end prove their inevitable ruin; and, on the other hand, that they had nothing to fear from the Spaniards. In this party were Israel (the young Sultan) and his father Allemodin." In 1775 the discontented Datus conceived and carried out with considerable skill an attack upon the English settlement.

They knew that their only chance of success was by a surprise on the land side; as Balambagan was defended towards the sea by 45 well mounted guns. Tenteng and Daçula, the leaders of the attacking party, transported their followers, about 400 in number, across the narrow channel separating Balambagan from Banguey under cover of darkness, and at dawn on the following day, when the garrison, numbering about 100 Europeans and sepoys, were "resting in security after a fête in honour of the Governor's birthday," they attacked simultaneously the Governor's house, the fort and the barracks. The surprise was completely successful. The Government House and barracks were soon in flames, and the majority of the garrison were butchered in cold blood. The Governor, with half a dozen of his personal servants, succeeded in escaping in a small boat and reached a brig at anchor in the roads. After vain attempts to save any of the garrison who might have escaped the poisoned creases of the enemy, being himself now under the fire of his own guns, which Daçula had seized and was using with energy, if not with skill, he set sail and made the best of his way to Calcutta. Little notice seems to have been taken of this unprovoked attack. A man of war was despatched to enquire into it, and to survey the ruins of the fort, but no attempt was ever made to punish the perfidious Datus, or to re-establish the settlement. The Sultan protested his own innocence and banished Tenteng from the country. But the Datus had their way. The treaties by which their territories had been ceded, became a dead letter, and what might have developed into a large and flourishing trade centre was yielded up again to anarchy and barbarism.

Similar misfortunes soon overtook the Dutch, who had been paramount in the southern part of Borneo for more than a century. Owing chiefly to their own maladministration, but partly also to the pernicious influence of the Chinese settlers, they lost their hold upon the native princes. As enemies were rising up against them on every side, and their available forces were utterly insufficient to hold the country, Marshal Daendels, in 1809, ordered the withdrawal of all Dutch subjects and the abandonment of

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their settlements. This again opened a way for the English. An embassy having been sent by the Sultan of Banjarmassin to the British Government at Java to seek assistance in reducing his country to order, Alexander Hare was despatched to see what could be done. He obtained from the Sultan a considerable grant of land and concluded a treaty most favourable in every way to British interests. Again trade developed, though neither so rapidly, nor to such an extent, as it had done forty years before in the north, but still with sufficient promise for the future. On the re-appearance of the Dutch, however, in 1818, we voluntarily surrendered all that we had gained, and in 1824 entered into a treaty with them by which we agreed, that no British establishment should be made "on the Carimon Islands, or on the Islands of Battam, Bintung, Lingin, or on any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore; nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands." By this happy-go-easy-policy—a policy which would have satisfied the most ultra anti-annexionist of modern times—we utterly forfeited all our influence in the eastern seas, and practically left our vast commercial interests in that quarter of the globe at the mercy of the Spaniards and the Dutch, to say nothing of piratical fleets which haunted every creek and bay. There were not wanting men of experience and foresight, who lamented this state of things. Ignorance and apathy, however, prevailed, and until the enterprise of Mr. (afterwards Sir James, but better known as Rajah) Brooke drew public attention in this direction, Borneo and the adjacent islands remained a *terra incognita* to the English people. In 1838, before starting on his great expedition, Mr. Brooke penned a minute which exhibits in a true light the condition of the Archipelago at that time, and explains the objects which he had in view in his own personal exertions. "The policy of the British in the Indian Archipelago," he says, "has been marked by vacillation and weakness. The East India Company, with a strong desire to rival the Dutch, aimed at doing so by indirect and underhand means, and shrunk from the liberality of view, and bold line of conduct which was perhaps inconsistent with their position and tenure of authority. It was in vain that Sir Stamford Raffles urged on them a line of conduct which, had it been pursued, must eventually have ensured the ascendancy of the British over the space from Borneo to New Holland. * *

The timidity of the Company and the ignorance or indifference of the then existing governments, not only neglected to carry this bold project into execution, but sacrificed the advantage

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already acquired, and without stipulation or reserve yielded the improving Javanese to the tender mercies of their former masters. The consequences are well known; all the evils of Dutch rule have been re-established and the British watchfully excluded, directly or indirectly, from the commerce of the island. * * *

"Java, exhausted and rebellious, submits, but remembers the period of British possession. The wild Battas of Sumatra successfully repel the efforts of the Dutch to reduce them. The Chinese of the southern part of Borneo are eager to cast off the yoke of masters who debar them every advantage, and would fain, were it in their power, to exact a heavy tribute. * * *

The field is again open, therefore, to any nation desirous of rivalling Holland, and little doubt can be entertained of the success of such an effort, if carried on by a course of policy and conduct the reverse in every respect of that pursued by the present monopolist. * * *

Whatever difference of opinion may exist, or whatever degree of credit may be due to the views here recommended, there can be no doubt of our future ascendancy in the Archipelago, whether attempted at the present time, or delayed till the fortunes of war offer a fitting occasion. * * *

It has unfortunately been the fate of our Indian possessions to have laboured under the prejudice and contempt of a large portion of the well-bred community, for whilst the folly of fashion requires an acquaintance with the deserts of Africa, and a most ardent thirst for a knowledge of the usages of Timbuctoo, it at the same time justifies the profoundest ignorance of all matters connected with the government and geography of our vast possessions in Hindustan. The Indian Archipelago has fully shared this neglect, for even the tender philanthropy of the present day, which originates such multifarious schemes for the amelioration of doubtful evils, is blind to the existence of slavery, in its worst and most exaggerated form, in the east. Not a single prospectus is spread abroad, not a single voice is upraised in Exeter Hall to relieve the darkness of paganism and the horrors of the slave-trade. Whilst the trumpet tongue of many an orator excites thousands to the rational and charitable object of converting the Jews, and reclaiming the Gipsies: whilst the admirable exertions of missionary enterprise in the Ausonian climes of the south sea have invested them with worldly power as well as religious influence, we cannot help deploring that the zeal and attention of the leaders of these charitable crusades have never been directed to the countries under consideration. These unhappy countries have failed to

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rouse attention or excite commiseration, and, as they sink lower and lower, they afford a striking proof how civilization may be crushed, and how the fairest and richest lands under the sun may become degraded by a continuous course of oppression and misrule.

It is under these circumstances I have considered that individual exertions may be usefully applied to rouse the zeal of slumbering philanthropy, and lead the way to an increased knowledge of the Indian Archipelago". (*Private letters of Sir James Brooke.*—Ed. by Templar.)

Towards the close of the year in which this Minute was written, Mr. Brooke bought and equipped the *Royalist*, a schooner of 140 tons, and on October 27th, 1838, sailed from London. On reaching Borneo, he found the Sultan had been for four years engaged in war with some of the Dyak tribes, who had risen against his authority. After some delay, caused by his conviction that the rebels had a just cause and were in arms only against the oppression and cruelty of the minister, Mr. Brooke consented to assist in restoring order, and became practically head of the Sultan's army, with a few of his own crew, and a handful of Chinese to help him. A short campaign reduced the Dyaks to submission, and then Brooke set himself to curb that ferocity of revenge to which the Sultan would have yielded, and to restore peace on a sound and just basis. This was the best beginning he could possibly have made. His cool courage, and martial prowess commanded the respect of his savage foes, while his prompt assistance, on the one hand, and his mild victory, on the other, gained for him the sworn friendship both of the Sultan and the Dyaks. In return for his assistance the Sultan made him Rajah of Sarawak with absolute rule over a territory almost as large as England. The newly conquered Dyaks received him as their lord with all the enthusiasm of their wild nature, and thus, within three years of his first mooted project to the British public, he found himself with more power for good in those oppressed and neglected lands, to which he had given both his heart and his purse, than ever in his most visionary moments he had dared to hope for. Then commenced that great work of reform and regeneration, which has made his name a household word amongst the Bornean tribes from one end of the island to the other, and which, in the opinion of all right-thinking men, has gained him a place amongst the greatest benefactors of his race. "The progress made by Mr. Brooke," wrote Captain Sir E. Belcher, in 1843, "during his short sojourn amongst these people, not only in acquiring a moral command over the affections of the Malay race (hostile often

to the Christian in feeling as well as religion,) but also in allaying the fears and exciting the affections of the Dyaks or natives of the interior, is truly wonderful. This great philanthropist has in a comparatively short period entirely overcome the antipathy felt by the Malay to the residence of a European, and a Christian amongst them; by representing the sovereign ruler and proprietor of the Sarâwak district he has, moreover, advanced to an elevation unparalleled in the history of any remote aboriginal tribe. The Malay has yielded up his tyrannical sway over the Dyaks; and his systematic pursuit of piracy, the terror of their tribes, has been successfully arrested. With the example and influence of Mr. Brooke the Malay, Dyak and English have combined their forces, and, under the command of one of our spirited Captains have entered the strongholds of their lawless neighbours and dealt a blow from which piracy will never recover." The "spirited Captain" was Keppel of the *Dido*; who has given us a most interesting account of this great achievement. So numerous and fierce were these enemies of all peaceful trade, and so sanguinary the conflicts by which they were finally destroyed, that the British Government paid to the Navy, as "head money," no less a sum than £20,700.

Rajah Brooke's great work in Sarâwak has not, however, been followed up by the British Government as he hoped it would be. Although on his return to England, in 1847, he was made a K. C. B. and an honorary D. C. L. of Oxford, and later on had the freedom of the City of London bestowed on him, he never succeeded in rousing that practical sympathy and co-operation which he knew to be essential to the complete success of his work. Scarcely had he received his new and well-earned honours when he was attacked in Parliament, and by means of pamphlets privately printed and circulated by Mr. Joseph Hume. He was charged with a string of crimes which he himself thus sums up in a letter to Sir Henry Drummond. "The first grave charge which Mr. Hume advanced was to the effect that *I had massacred innocent people, falsely asserting them to be privates*. This charge having for a time been dismissed, he endeavoured to prove that I was a merchant while engaged in the public service. He next asserted that an unnecessary loss of life had been inflicted in the action of July 1849; he afterwards cavilled at the title by which I hold Sarâwak; he has accused me of cold-blooded murders; he has denounced me for neglect of public duty; for abuse of official power; for impeding the progress of commercial enterprise, and for establishing a trading monopoly; and, added to this frightful category of crime and of misdemeanour, he seeks to convict me "out of my own mouth" of bad motives, ambitious designs, violence, tyranny, falsehood, injustice, and petty larceny." (*Private letters*, Vol. III, p. 144)

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Although these charges were thoroughly sifted, twice by Parliament and once by a Royal Commission sitting at Singapore, and were declared "not proven," they nevertheless did much to damage his reputation and to impede his work. "I have gained nothing," he pathetically complained, "but the love of a rude and noble people and the abuse and suspicion of my own countrymen." English capitalists refused to throw themselves into the development of the resources opened to them, and the English Government, beyond making him Consul-General for Borneo and Governor of Labuan, the cession of which to the British Crown he had himself obtained, made no public recognition of his work; and when, after his retirement from the active administration of his Raj, in 1861, he offered to make it over to the Crown, the offer was declined. But history will yet do him justice, and its pages will contain the record of few instances of philanthropy more beneficent and far-reaching than his.

We have dwelt thus long on the work of this nobleman, because it was his example and success that gave rise to the enterprise with which we are now more immediately concerned, and yet more, because it must still be his example in the administration of Sarawak that must guide the new Company in their treatment of the natives, if their work is to be permanent and true. Let us turn, then, to the steamer, which we left on its way to the East.

On its arrival at Singapore, the expedition was joined by Baron de Overbeck and Mr. Dent, and, having taken in stores and other requisites, they proceeded at once to Borneo. A preliminary step towards the acquisition of territory had already been taken by the purchase of all the rights of an American Trading Company established in 1865. This Company had obtained the cession of a considerable amount of land, but had failed to work it, through lack of capital. The first thing to be done, then; upon their arrival was to secure the assignment of all the rights of the American Company and their recognition as its legal successors. This was accomplished without much difficulty. They then addressed themselves to the larger and more difficult task of acquiring "all the rights and powers of the Sultans of Borneo and Sulu" on the mainland of Borneo, which entailed "much tedious, though, most friendly, negotiation." By five distinct agreements, three with the Sultan of Brunei, one with his "Pangeran Tumongong," or Prime Minister, and one with the Sultan of Sulu, they obtained "all the northern spur of the island, comprising an area of about 18,000 square miles, with a continuous coast line of upwards of 500 miles. In return they agreed to pay *in perpetuo* to the Sultan of Brunei \$12,000 a year, to his Minister \$3,000 and to the Sultan of Sulu \$5,000; in all \$20,000, or something over £4,200. The documents

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embodying these grants were drawn up in the name of Baron de Overbeck, the then chief representative of the Company, and were signed in the presence of H. M.'s representative in Borneo and Governor of Labuan. In addition to the right of property over the soil, they gave to him, "his heirs, successors or assigns," certain titles of a local character, right to levy customs and other dues and taxes, and supreme rule over all the ceded territory. "In order to convey to the natives information of the grants, each of the two Sultans deputed a high officer to accompany the representative of the Association in a voyage round the coast. At each of the places touched at, those officers assembled the chiefs and people, and read to them a solemn proclamation of their Sultan, announcing the grants, and exhorting and commanding them to obey the new authorities. This was done at six different places, and everywhere the news was received in a friendly spirit" (Spain No. 1., 1882, p. 139). To demonstrate the occupation of the land, small establishments were at once set up at three places along the coast, Sandakan, Tampassak and Pappar. Each of these consisted of a European gentleman styled a "Resident," and possessing magisterial powers, with a few Malay police and Chinese boatmen. The founders then left for Europe to complete the organization of the Company and to obtain, if possible, its incorporation by Royal Charter.

So far all had gone well. But now difficulties arose. Both Holland and Spain protested against the cession of any part of Borneo to the Company, the former upon the basis of the treaty of 1824, already quoted, and the latter upon what they chose to call the "universally acknowledged sovereignty of Spain over all the territories of the Sultan of Sulu." The Dutch treaty, as we have seen, precluded the English from the formation of settlements in any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore. Now it happens that the greater part of Borneo is south of these Straits, and hence the Dutch contend that the whole island comes under the treaty. England has, however, never accepted this interpretation, and in 1845 it was emphatically repudiated by the Earl of Aberdeen. If the terms of the treaty be so applied as to prohibit our settling on any part of the island south of the Straits of Singapore—which is the utmost we can concede—it would then have no application to the present cession, which is as far north of these straits as Scotland is of the Straits of Dover. The Dutch, therefore, contented themselves with a few vigorous protests, which were probably intended rather to bring before the world their own right to the south of the island than to influence our action in the north. The objections of Spain, though with still less foundation, were much more pertinaciously

and unreasonably pressed. She claimed the supreme sovereignty of such parts of Borneo as belonged to the Sultan of Sulu, though the only shadow of a title possessed was a treaty extorted from the Sultan subsequent to his agreement with Messrs. Overbeck and Dent! This strange proceeding arose, however, out of previous complications, and was doubtless an attempt to vindicate the Spanish protectorate of the Sulu Archipelago, which England and Germany had a year previously refused to acknowledge.

The recognizable claims of Spain to the Sulu Archipelago date back only to 1836, though her pretensions go back much further, and mention is frequently made of a treaty between Spain and the Sultan in 1737. Unfortunately, however, neither the Manilla Government, nor the Home authorities, can produce this treaty, and hence it must be reckoned non-existent. In 1836 "capitulations of peace, protection and commerce" were signed between the Captain-General of the Philippine islands and the Sultan and Datus of Sulu, in which *inter alia* the Captain-General promised the Sultan the assistance of Spanish forces "to subject the towns which may revolt in any of the islands situated within the limits of the Spanish jurisdiction, and which extend from the western point of Mindanao to Borneo and the Paragua, *with the exception of Sandukan and the other countries tributary to the Sultan on the Continent of Borneo.*" (*Ibid*, Appendix No. 2.) Thus the earliest treaty of which we have any knowledge explicitly excludes the possessions of the Sultan in Borneo from the territories claimed by Spain. In 1847 Sir James Brooke, not being aware of this treaty between Spain and Sulu, concluded a treaty on behalf of Britain, in which the Sultan confirmed the cession of the island of Labuan, and agreed "not to make any similar cession either of an island, or of any settlement on the mainland, or in any part of his dominions, to any other nation, or to the subjects or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Britannic Majesty." By a further "convention of commerce," dated 1849, he also agreed "not to acknowledge the *suzeraineté* of any other State" without the consent of Britain. When the news of these treaties reached Europe, the Spanish Government very naturally protested against them, and at the same time directed the Captain-General of the Philippines to fit out an expedition to punish the Sultan for his faithlessness. After a somewhat cruel and relentless campaign, the Spanish Admiral forced the Sultan to execute an "Act of Re-submission" to Spain, the 3rd article of which runs thus:—

"The island of Sulu and all its dependencies being incorporated with the crown of Spain, and their inhabitants forming a part

of the great Spanish family which peoples the vast Philippine Archipelago, the Sultan and Datus cannot enter into nor sign treaties, commercial conventions, nor alliance of any kind with European powers, companies or persons, Malay corporations, Sultans and chiefs, on pain of nullity; they declare null and of no effect all treaties concluded with other powers, * * and they ratify, renew, and leave in all their force and validity the documents previously drawn up which contain any clause favorable to the Spanish Government from the most remote times" (*Ibid*, App. 6.) Meanwhile the British Government had abstained from ratifying Sir J. Brooke's treaty, on the ground that Spain had certain rights in the Archipelago, on the basis of the treaty of 1836; against which England had not at the time protested. At the same time it was distinctly stated that England could not recognize the validity of any claim which Spain might make to any part of the Sultan's dominions in Borneo, or to the island of Balambangan, which had, by successive treaties, been ceded to England and had occasionally been occupied by British forces. To this limitation Spain agreed.

From this time, for more than twenty years, the Sulu difficulty was at rest; but Spain made no attempt to demonstrate her possession of the Archipelago. By the Act of Re-submission she had agreed to pay to the Sultan an annuity of \$ 1,500 in consideration of damage done to his capital and palace during the war, but this was left unpaid, and no effort was made actively to occupy the islands. Occasional shots were no doubt fired by Spanish gun-boats into the heart of towns along the coast, or at helpless and innocent fishing boats, but these circumstances can hardly be put forward as proofs of possession; or, at any rate, they will not be accepted as such by civilized nations. Beyond this there was nothing to show that Spain had any closer connexion with the Sulu Archipelago than any of the other Western Powers. In 1872, however, an era of greater activity began. English and German trade with Sulu roused the suspicion of the Manilla Government, and, under the pretence of suppressing piracy, the Captain-General of the Philippines put an interdict upon foreign trade of every kind throughout the Sulu dominions. All Suluan boats found at sea were captured and burnt, the number thus destroyed (according to Spanish returns) being upwards of 2,000 in two years. The crews of such boats—and passengers, too, if there were any—were transported to some of the Northern islands of the Philippine group, where they were condemned to labour for life upon the public works. If arms—no matter of what kind, or in how small number—were found upon any boat thus captured, its crew were summarily convicted of piracy and executed. Towns along

the sea coast were shelled. In various islands small parties were landed from the gun boats for no other purpose than rapine and murder; and on indisputable evidence, the representatives of His Most Christian Majesty perpetrated atrocities which for wanton cruelty surpassed those of Bulgaria. But in an evil moment Spanish cruisers seized a couple of German ships, and subsequently detained a British one, on the ground that they were attempting to run the blockade which had been established around Sulu. The result of this was, that after a good deal of negotiation, the details of which can be read, by those who have a taste for such literature, in the Blue Book already quoted, the British and German ambassadors at the Spanish Court were instructed to inform the ministers, in very plain terms, that all trade restrictions in the Sulu Archipelago, and all pretensions to the sovereignty of these islands on the part of Spain, must cease. "The conclusion to which Her Majesty's Government have come," wrote the Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell, "is that, whatever Treaty rights Spain may have had to the sovereignty of Sulu and its dependencies, those rights must be considered as having lapsed owing to the complete failure of Spain to obtain a *de facto* control over the territory claimed; and Her Majesty's Government consider that, in these circumstances, the interruption of foreign trade, caused by the Spanish proceedings in the Sulu Archipelago should no longer be tolerated" (*Ibid.*, p. 72). Pressed thus by the two most powerful Governments in Europe, Spain wisely yielded, and the dispute was brought to an end in March 1877 by the signing of the Protocol of Madrid. The most significant clause in this document, affecting Spanish rights in Sulu, is para 3, which runs thus:—

Dans les points occupés par l'Espagne dans l'Archipel de Sulu, le Gouvernement Espagnol pourra introduire des impôts et des règlements sanitaires et autres pendant l'occupation effective des points indiqués. Mais de son côté l'Espagne s'engage à y entretenir les établissements et les employés nécessaires pour les besoins du commerce et pour l'application des dits règlements.

* * * *

Dans le cas où l'Espagne occuperait effectivement d'autres points dans l'Archipel de Sulu, en y entretenant les établissements et les employés nécessaires aux besoins du commerce, les Gouvernements de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Allemagne ne feraient pas d'objection à l'application des mêmes règles stipulées pour les points actuellement occupés." (*Ibid.*, p. 222.)

It is thus clear that, so far from Spain having "universally acknowledged rights" in Borneo, she had no rights at all; and

even over the Sulu Archipelago, the Protocol, revised and executed by her own minister of Foreign Affairs, restricted her sovereignty to those islands in which she had a *de facto* Government, and in which she encouraged and fostered trade. The ink of the Protocol was, however, hardly dry before the old claims were preferred once more.

While the negotiations were going on at Madrid, Baron de Overbeck and Mr. Dent were at work in Borneo, and on January 4th, 1878, the articles were signed by which they gained their territorial rights. On July 24th of the same year, Baron de Overbeck, who was on board the *S. S. Wasiki*, anchored off Meimbong, received the following letter from the Sultan of Sulu:—

“We wish to inform our friend M. de Overbeck that the Spanish has dispatched H. E. I. Senior Govenodor, Captain General of the Philippines, to cancel the treaty made by us with the consent of our Datus in Sulu, which has reference to the concession of Sandakan on the month of Moharam. The Spanish now has full sway on all the territories belonging to the Sultan. We have explained this in our former letter to our friend, written in the month of Rabelahhir, that the treaty made by us was not quite settled, and now from this day we notify our friend that the above matters should be decided by H. E. Senior Govinodor Captain-General of the Philippines and Governor of Banmoa.”

This was accompanied by a letter from Carlos Martinez, “Colonel Governor of Sulu,” dated July 22nd, informing Baron Overbeck that, on that day, an “Act of Pacification and Capitulation” had been adjusted with Sulu, by which Spain was in possession of all the territories of the Sultanate, including those in Borneo proper. We need not enter into this last phase of Spanish obstruction, obtained, as there is abundant evidence to show their new treaty was, by threats and falsehood, and after an ineffectual attempt to induce the Sultan to antedate it—so as to make its execution apparently prior to the agreement with Baron Overbeck;—it was received with the contempt which it justly merited. The whole thing was of a piece with three-fourths of the Spanish diplomacy of the present day. Baron Overbeck replied that he failed to see how the treaty executed in July could annul the convention which he had concluded in January, and that he had no intention of withdrawing from his agreement. Upon this the Spanish authorities endeavoured to force the Suluan Datus to hoist the Spanish flag over their towns, but this, in a united protest, the Datus refused to do, on the ground that no pretence had ever before been made by Spanish authorities to exercise control over them, and that, as they had not been consulted with reference to the new treaty, they knew

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nothing of it, and held themselves bound by their agreement with the English Company. On this Spain threatened coercive measures, but the English Government was equally determined. The acting Governor of Labuan was instructed to accompany one of H. M.'s ships in a cruise round the coast, to inform the Datus that England did not acknowledge the validity of the claims put forward by Spain, and would support them in their refusal to hoist the Spanish flag. This put an end to Spanish pretensions, with the single exception of a ludicrously solemn protest which was lodged with the English Government when the charter of the new Company was made public, a protest which is as plain and absolute a contradiction of all history as all their other documents in this dispute have been.

These disputed claims having been settled, the British Government had no hesitation in granting a Royal Charter to the new Company. Previous to application all the rights held in the name of Baron de Overbeck, who is an Austrian by birth and nationality, were made over to Mr. A. Dent, that the Company might be purely English in domicile; a provisional association was formed in London, consisting of Sir R. Alcock, Sir R. G. McDonnell, Admiral Keppel, and other well known men, for the purpose of approaching the Government. Here little difficulty was experienced, and on November 1st, 1881, the charter of incorporation received the Royal Seal. By this charter the Company has obtained a definite and legal standing, the British Government has recognized the validity of the titles on which it holds its possessions and rights, and, while reserving to the State such powers of interference and control as are necessary to ensure good government, has left to the Board of Directors a freedom of action which gives room for every healthy development. "The Crown," says Earl Granville, "assumes no dominion or sovereignty over the territories occupied by the Company, nor does it purport to grant to the Company any powers of Government thereover; it merely confers upon the persons associated, the status and incidents of a body corporate, and recognizes the grants of territory and the powers of Government made and delegated by the sultans in whom the sovereignty remains vested." The Charter granted "differs, therefore, essentially from the previous charters granted by the Crown to the East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, the New Zealand Company, and other associations of that character" (Earl Granville to Mr. Morier. *Ibid.*, p. 204.) Within twelve months of the date of the Charter, the "Deed of Settlement" was to be drawn up and the North Borneo Provincial Association to give place to the British North Borneo Company. This Company has now

been formed and has commenced its work, inviting English capital and enterprise.

Viewed politically, the geographical position of Borneo renders this new acquisition of territory of the utmost importance to England. It lies almost on the highway of commerce between China and Japan on the one hand, and Australia, India and the West on the other. Between Singapore and Hong Kong, a distance of over 1,700 miles, we have hitherto had no station, with the single exception of the island of Labuan, which is merely a coaling depôt, and which would have been utterly useless even for this, if the territory acquired by the Company had fallen into hostile hands. On the west of Borneo we have now Gaya Bay, one of the finest natural harbours in the world; perfectly protected from all storms, easy of defence, and capable of accommodating the whole British fleet. It would be difficult to imagine a harbour more advantageously situated, either as a refuge, or as a base of naval operations. Any nation holding it has command of the trade route in the China sea, and whenever the necessity arises, we shall now be able to defend our vast interests in that quarter of the globe with an enormous economy of naval power. To Germany, or Russia, the acquisition would have been of less value, but to England its value can hardly be overestimated. Out of every ten European ships passing through the Straits of Malacca, eight are British. These we must be prepared to protect whenever we are involved in a European war, and for this purpose the possession of Gaya Bay will always be essential. "Certain it is," said Sir R. Alcock speaking of this harbour at the inaugural meeting of the Association,—“certain it is that, if we were at war to-morrow and an enemy had possession of the country and port now under consideration, the first thing we should have to do would be to drive them out of it. It is wiser in my opinion to take it when it is offered, and, extending the protection of our flag over it, to occupy the ground, than to let others take it and fortify it.”

On the East coast there is the still larger harbour of Sandakan, at the entrance of which the new town has been founded—Elopurat by name—which constitutes at present the head-quarters of the Company. This, though not so important strategically as Gaya Bay, will, for purposes of trade, be of even greater value. It has a perfectly protected anchorage for any number of vessels, and, situated, as it is, at the mouth of a river navigable for 150 miles by vessels drawing 11 feet of water, it will doubtless become the great outlet for the whole southern portion of the Company's territory.

Commercially there is little doubt that the Company will

succeed, if managed with ordinary prudence. The country is remarkably rich, both in vegetable and mineral products. Amongst the latter we have tin, copper, mercury, coal, antimony, gold and diamonds. The three last have been worked with great profit in Sarâwak, Sambas and Pontianak, and there are indications that they exist as abundantly in the north of the island as in the south. The specimens of coal that have been found are pronounced hardly inferior to Newcastle. Iron has been worked to some extent by the natives and is said to be of remarkable purity. According to the unanimous testimony of travellers, the climate is remarkably cool for the latitude. Rain falls almost every day, while there is hardly ever a day without sunshine, so that droughts and inundations are equally unknown. For a few miles around the coasts the land is generally flat and but very little above the level of the sea; the coasts themselves being for the most part skirted by mangrove swamps. Inland there is a preponderance of gently undulating country, varying in height from 500 to 2,000 feet, while 50 miles from the western coast runs a chain of mountains averaging about 4,800 feet, the highest point of which, Kini Balu, is said to be 13,800 feet. Small rivers abound on both sides of this mountain chain, and offer an easy means of transport, many of them being navigable by small craft for 30 or 40 miles. The bulk of the land is at present covered with virgin forest in which ironwood (*Diospyros*), guttapercha (*Isonandra*), teak, mangoe, ebony, camphor wood and rattans are found in great abundance, while, in such clearings as there are, the natives cultivate sugarcane, tobacco, sago, rice, yams and betel. Cinamon, nutmegs, and other spices have also been found, and on the mountain sides, coffee and cocoa grow wild. Of the fertility and richness of the land there can thus be no doubt. For coffee and cinchona there seems to be an exceedingly good opening, of which planters, tired of Ceylon and the Wynaad, will probably not be slow in availing themselves. During the last twenty years the price of coffee in Europe has gone down from £120 to £70 a ton, while land in the better known coffee-fields has risen to an almost prohibitive price. In Ceylon, especially, is this the case. So much has the value of the land increased—largely, it must be confessed through exaggerated statements of the planters themselves, which a few years ago produced a positively ruinous competition—that now only a succession of good seasons will give a new beginner anything like a fair return upon his capital. How seldom a succession of good seasons is their lot, and how frequently a promising estate is almost destroyed by the coffee fly, let the planters themselves bear witness. The attack of

this last pest some five or six years ago was so serious, that many planters left Ceylon almost ruined men. The opening of a new field in Borneo, while it gives to such, another chance, will in many respects also benefit those who remain on their old estates.

The labour question in the new settlement will probably present little difficulty. It is well known that in Ceylon almost all the coolies employed on the estates are imported from South India, the Singhalese and Tamil population of the island being unwilling to undertake such work. Borneo labours under the same disadvantage, though why it should be so is not very clear. The Malays, it is true, have never made good labourers. With all their enterprise and dash, there is a restless fickleness about them, which contrasts unfavourably with the patient plodding of the Indian coolies. But the Dyaks, Boolloodopies, &c., who inhabit the interior, are a sturdy and industrious race, and, in the absence of experience of the contrary, it would have been natural to suppose that labour would have been available to any amount from them. Thanks to Rajah Brooke's work, they have shown themselves everywhere friendly to the English settlers, and are industriously endeavouring to adapt themselves to the requirements and methods of civilization. In one place, hearing of the court of justice which had been established on the coast, they waited upon the Resident and offered to build court-houses in the interior if he would promise to attend; and, when one of their chiefs died, they brought his will to the Court at Tampassak to be proved. It would doubtless be better in many ways if this friendly and progressive spirit could be so encouraged as to lead them to co-operate heartily with the settlers in their endeavours to open up the trade of the country. But past experience seems to show, that for the present, at least, this is impossible. They are a proud and conservative race, and, while quite willing to live at peace with the Englishman and to assist him in all friendly ways, they hold aloof from anything like servitude, and jealously guard their personal independence. Neither in Sarawak, nor in the Dutch settlements in the south, have they taken an active part in mining or agricultural operations. While this spirit of independence is in many respects a good trait in their character, its effects, when carried to excess, are undoubtedly evil. It is always in the long run a curse to a country to have a distinct race of labourers, and, especially if they do not settle in the land. It introduces a condition of things inimical to the truest progress, and the race that most stands aloof from manual toil, is the first to reap the evil. Here, as wherever such a state of things exists, it

is one of the results of slavery, and it may be that a generation of sound government, ensuring freedom and independence to all, will remove this antipathy to paid labour from the minds of the natives of Borneo. Meanwhile the Chinese will supply their place; and, take him all round, the Chinese coolie is the most patient and peaceable labourer that Asia produces. There is this advantage, too, that he is not to be sought. No system of indenture is required for Chinese coolies. With the slightest encouragement they will come across in shoals, for Borneo is one of their favourite resorts. Wherever there is a whisper of gold and diamonds, John Chinaman is there. He is, however, as conservative as ubiquitous, though his conservatism shows itself in a very different way from that of the Dyaks. He will have nothing to do with Western customs. His own civilization, hoary with 4,000 years of busy life, is not to be lightly laid aside for the ephemeral growths of Europe. He must be allowed to maintain his Chinese ways, be managed by a "headman" of his own nationality, and have as much general liberty as is consistent with the public good. Give him these things, and he is a friend whose fidelity may be relied upon: deny them to him, and he is a foe whose unscrupulous cunning will pause at nothing.

There are special dangers, however, attending a large influx of Chinese immigrants, against which the agents of the Company will need to be on their guard. The laws of China do not permit the emigration of females. Hence one of two things happens to the male emigrant; either he marries into and casts in his lot with the people of the country in which he finds employment, or he remains obstinately aloof from them. If he takes the former course, which unfortunately he but seldom does, his better instincts have free play, and he becomes generally a peaceful and loyal subject. If, however, barbarian charms do not entrap his celestial heart, he isolates himself more and more from the world around him, sets himself by fair means or foul (chiefly, alas the latter) to make money, and, having made it, he sets sail for his native land. This is disastrous in two ways. First, it is a great drain upon the resources of a young settlement, and moreover tends to rob it of those who know it best, and whose experience, turned into proper channels, would be of most benefit to it; and secondly, it checks the growth of that semi-patriotic feeling which may exist even towards an adopted land. Such subjects are never a source of strength to any State, and they are especially hurtful to a young colony which needs all the vigour and heart of its people to advance and consolidate its interests. But this is not

all; wherever considerable numbers of Chinese have lived in this isolated condition, they have formed themselves into secret societies, bound together by the most solemn oaths, under whose auspices murder and revolt have many a time been planned and executed. In no country where such secret societies flourish, is either property or life secure, while so effectual is the protecting arm which they throw around every member, that justice is baffled and crime flourishes. No country in which the Chinese have settled in large numbers has altogether escaped this plague. Borneo has already suffered from it. Even Sarawak has not been exempt. For when the Rajah's vigorous hand had crushed every attempt to form such a society in his dominions, his Chinese subjects joined the Tien-Ti-Hue of Singapore, and the result was an insurrection in 1857, which almost cost him his kingdom. Feminine charms alone can overcome this evil. But, as the Dyak girls of the north are, if we may believe such enthusiastic travellers as Spencer St. John, of surpassing loveliness, British North Borneo, we may hope, will fare better than Sarawak.

We shall bring this article to a close by a quotation from a Report of Mr. Pryar, Resident at Sandakan, dated June 5th, 1880, which to those in any measure acquainted with the past history of the North-East of Borneo, will be a sufficient proof of both the moral and material progress already effected by the Company.

"Elopura, placed on a commanding and carefully selected site, at the very entrance of the harbour, monthly gains in population and importance. Over a dozen Chinese traders do an increasing trade with all the rivers of the coast; the Kina Batangan opened by me to traffic in 1878, sends away 10,000 bundles of rattans a month besides other produce. I have communicated with the chiefs of the interior, who are anxious to receive the new government, to send their goods down for sale in an open free market. The Indians of the foreshore, freed from their Sulu oppressors, and consolidated as far as their habits allow them, into a powerful body, offer to place 100 creeses at my disposal for any emergency. The Boolcodoopies, able to cultivate their crops in peace, have wide, and every season increasing, paddy fields. Slave boats are a thing of the past; two steamers call regularly monthly. The price of rice is reduced to less than half what it was. Crime is simply unknown; the Chinese do not even require to fence their kitchen gardens. The now hardworking Sulus are beginning to clear away the forest for farms, with the knowledge that they can sit down in their houses without fear of being kidnapped in the middle of the night and sold as slaves. As to the pirates, the people of these parts, disgusted with the state of anarchy, and finding a strong helping hand behind them, put such pressure

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upon them, that they have moved off, bag and baggage, to Palawan. The "Kestrel's" visit is much to be praised, and this Sulu Datu, formerly a synonym for rapacity and injustice, under proper guidance, is developing into a very efficient Police Magistrate." All this being a report of an interested officer, must perhaps be taken *cum grano*; but, even so, there is still abundant ground for hope, and, with Lord Granville, we may say, "there is every reason to believe that a sound and liberal system of administration will be established by the Company, which will spread the benefit of civilization among the native population, and open up new and important fields to British trade and enterprise, and to the commerce of all nations."

GEO. RATTERSON.

ART. II.—THE CITY OF PATNA.

PATNA is the capital of Behar, and the second city in Lower Bengal. It is very old, and perhaps we may say of it, that it has had the fate of Tithonus and has lived too long, for, if Hindu legends are to be trusted, Patna has for many centuries been only the husk of what it once was. The ancient greatness of Patna, or of Pataliputra as it used to be called, is a favourite theme with Hindus, and is said to be the subject of a Hindi manuscript which I have not had an opportunity of seeing. I suspect, however, that a good deal of the greatness of Patna is fanciful. At all events it is almost entirely pre-historic. The admirers of Pataliputra, may, of course, say that the city came into existence so early that it arrived at its prime before the days of history, and that it is thus only known to posterity by records of its old age and decrepitude. But it is not likely that the art of building cities had made much progress before the days of books. To me it seems very doubtful whether Patna was ever much more than it is now—an immensely long and very narrow village, stretching along the banks of the Ganges, and hardly more entitled to be called a town than is the series of villages from Serampore to Howrah. A Calcutta graduate aptly described Patna to me as an embodiment of Euclid's definition of a line, length without breadth; and the description given by Megasthenes of Palibothra shows, that it was much the same style of city, for he tells us that, it was eighty stadia (10 miles) long, and only fifteen (under 2 miles) broad.

The description of its surrounding wall, which was of wood, and pierced with loopholes, and which abutted on a common sewer, does not sound very magnificent. There must have been plenty of jungle about to provide for such a palisade, and it is not likely that if the inhabitants could not put a stone or brick wall round their city, there were many stately buildings in it. Hindus, and indeed Orientals in general, are more than *laudatores temporis acti*. They are *laudatores temporis ficti*, and are always romancing about cities in the Sundarbans, and such like castles in Spain. I really do not see why we should attach more importance to these stories than to Moore's poetry about the cities under Lough Neagh. The tendency to magnify the past at the expense of the present, is hardly more respectable than the meanness of which we are all occasionally guilty, of praising dead men at the expense of those whom we have with us. It is a tendency which is most conspicuous among Orientals, and

probably this is because they have not undergone the influence of Christianity. For, as Comte has well remarked, the idea of progress was brought into the world by Christianity, as a fundamental tenet of it was that the new law was better than the old. This, perhaps, was one of the greatest benefits conferred by Christianity on the world, and it is one which was inherited by its offshoot,—Mahomedanism.

If, in the above remarks, I have been unjust to the memory of Pataliputra, I can only say that the fault is in a great measure due to the Hindus themselves. If they did not take the trouble to preserve the records of their greatness, their descendants can hardly expect the world to believe that it ever existed. We know next to nothing of Pataliputra from Hindu sources. It is to Greeks and Chinese that we are indebted for nearly all we know about it. I am aware that Hindus will say that they had historical works, but that they were destroyed by the Mahomedans when they conquered Behar and Bengal. But surely, if such works had existed, and if Brahmins had really been lovers of literature, some one would have been found among them heroic enough to preserve the manuscripts. They seem to have saved their Vedas and their romances, and one would be loath to believe that they took less care of their histories. It is too much the practice of Hindus, and especially of Bengali Babus, to make the Mahomedans serve the purpose of the black cat of the domestic servant. They are always throwing upon them the blame of any institution which looks barbarous, or of any deficiency in their literature which causes them to appear inferior to the nations of Europe. Who introduced the seclusion of women? The Mahomedans. Who prevented the development of a Hindi and Kaithi literature? The Mahomedans.

As if the seclusion of women was not a genuine product of the Oriental mind and the Oriental climate, and as if the Mahomedans could have prevented Hindi literature, if there had been in Hindus the force to make it viable. It is not that there are no Hindi books. There are plenty of them apparently, but none seem to be of much value. There is the poem of Tulsi Das, for example, which we are told is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old. No dispassionate reader of the translation can, I think, find much to admire in this wearisome *Imitation* of Rama, or do otherwise than marvel at Mr. Growse's suggestion that it should be made a text-book in vernacular schools.

If the Mahomedans had really repressed the growth of sound Hindi literature, we should expect to find that, when the pressure

was removed, historical books would be produced by Hindus. But this is not the case. Many Hindus were in high employment under the Mahomedans, but no Hindu, so far as I am aware, has written their biographies. It has been left to Mahomedans to tell the world of Man Singh and Todur Mull, Shitab Roy, Ram Narain, Nandkumar, and others. The Seir Matakherin and the history of Behar are the work of two Mahomedan residents of Patna, and give more information about the province than anything that Hindus have written.

To return, however, to Pataliputra, it appears that according to a Sanscrit work, Jarsindho and Wassakero, two ministers of Ajatasatru, the King of Magadha, built the city in the year of Buddha's death. Buddha passed through the place on his way to Wesali, and found that there was already a village there, and that the inhabitants had built a serai, or rest-house. The two ministers just mentioned were building a *Nagaran* (city ?); Buddha predicted that it would become a great city, but that it would be eventually destroyed by fire, water, and internal discord. Considering the position of the place, the materials of which houses in India are made, and the conditions of Indian society, this last prediction was a tolerably safe one to make.

Patna is considered by the learned to be identical with the Palibothra of the Greeks, where Chandragupta, the ancestor of Asoka reigned, and where he received the ambassador of Seleucus. The identification is no doubt essentially correct, for Palibothra is surely only a corruption of Pataliputra, which is the old name of Patna. I doubt, however, whether Palibothra was situated exactly where the city of Patna now is. Granting that the Erranoboas is the Són in spite of the rather awkward fact that Megasthenes and Arrian mention the Són as a distinct river, it does not appear that the Són ever flowed into the Ganges where Patna now is. It may have done so at Bankipore, five miles to the westward, but this would be a reason for identifying Bankipore, or Phulwari, rather than Patna, with Palibothra. I mention Phulwari, because it seems to be a very ancient place, and because its name resembles in meaning the designation Kusumpur, Padmavati, and Pushpapura, which are applied to Pataliputra in Sanscrit writings. I have been told, too, that the local tradition is that Pataliputra was near Phulwari, and that modern Patna is not Pataliputra. Whoever wishes to study the subject should read Mr. Beglar's report in the 1st volume of the Archæological Survey of India. His view is that the Erranoboas is the Gandak, and that Patna does not stand on the site of Pataliputra. He thinks that the old city occupied what is now the bed of the Ganges, and part of the *diara* or island between Patna and Hajipur.

In the beginning of the fifth century Pataliputra was visited by the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian. He calls it Pa-lian-fu, and describes it as containing kingly palaces. The carvings and sculptures which ornamented the windows were such as the present age was not capable of producing. Little more than two centuries afterwards, his countryman, Hiouen Tshang, found that the palaces had disappeared, and that the place was only a village containing two or three hundred houses.

When we think of these pious Chinese painfully toiling across India and incurring dangers greater, perhaps, than those undergone by Pinto in his march across Africa, in order that they might visit the places from which their country had derived so much spiritual benefit, we feel disposed to ask ourselves, what they would say now if they came to Patna and Gya. Would they look with pleasure on the white sheets of poppies covering the fields, and on the elaborate organization of the Patna opium factory? Or would they look upon the opium boxes as an uncanny method of spreading the doctrine of Nirvana among their countrymen?

It does not appear that Patna was of much importance in later Hindu times. The sovereigns of Magadha lived, I suppose, at Behar and Rajgriha, and neglected Patna. Probably they regarded it as too near the river, and thus too accessible to be a fitting capital. Partly they were timid and feared hostile incursions, and partly they were pharisaical and feared contamination. With all their reverence for their great rivers, Hindu monarchs seem generally to have dreaded living near them. A river was too free and uncontrollable a thing to be altogether agreeable to them. A river was a highway, and they felt the same dislike of living near it that a modern native gentleman feels towards living near a public road. Boatmen have always been a despised class among Hindus, and the useful trade of a ferryman is, I believe, regarded with contempt, for the notable reason that all sorts and conditions of men can use his boat. The Hindu Kings by no means approved of the modern doctrine of living openly. Their idea was to find some place on the top of a mountain, or surrounded by jungle. When these were not available, they surrounded themselves with a sort of Chinese wall, as they did, for instance, at Gosainmari in Kuch Behar, or in Bogra. Menu's advice to a king is based on such principles. He tells him to reside in a capital, having, by way of a fortress, a desert, or a fortress of earth, a fortress of water or of trees, a fortress of armed men, or a fortress of mountains. With all possible care, let him secure a fortress of mountains, for, among those just mentioned, a fortress of mountains has many transcendent properties.

Whatever may have been the ancient greatness of Patna, it is certain that no remains of it are now visible. Nothing can well be meaner, or less interesting, than the general appearance of the town. It is simply a collection of mud huts, separated by narrow and often very dirty lanes. There are hardly any public buildings of interest or importance, and such as there are, are hidden away in corners.

The insignificant appearance of Patna strikes all travellers. They come to the capital of Behar, expecting to find something worth seeing, and residents are obliged to refer them to Gya. Buchanan, as Mr. Allen remarks, was so disgusted with the dirt and disorder of Patna, that he was unable to see any good in it whatever.

He did not even describe the Golah, which is certainly the loftiest building within Municipal limits. He refers to it under the title of granary, but he gives no particulars about its construction, nor does he allude to its remarkable echo. Apparently the only thing which Buchanan could find to praise in Patna was the figures of the native women. He writes:—"The inside of the town is disagreeable and disgusting, and the view of it from a distance is mean. Indeed, at a little distance south from the walls, it is not discernible; there is no building that overtops the intervening trees, and no bustle to indicate the approach to a city. The view from the river is rather better, and is enlivened by a great number of fine formed women that frequent the banks to bring water. Elsewhere, he says, in speaking of the natives' love for residing in Patna, that it is hard to explain their predilection, for it would be difficult to imagine a more disgusting place. There is one street, tolerably wide, that runs from the eastern to the western gate, but it is by no means straight or regularly built. Every other passage is narrow, crooked and irregular. The great street, when it breaks into sloughs, is occasionally repaired with earth thrown in by the convicts, the others are left to Nature by the police, and the neighbours are too discordant to think of uniting to perform any work. Paving, cleaning, and lighting, considered so essential in every European town in such circumstances, are totally out of the question. In the heats of spring the dust is beyond credibility, and in the rains every place is covered with mud, through which, however, it is contrived to drag the little one horse chaises of the natives. In the rainy season there is in the town a considerable pond or lake which, as it dries up, becomes exceedingly dirty, and in spring is offensive."

This is a terrible indictment, and it would be most unjust to say, that it is still true in all respects. The streets are now

metalled, and something is done in the way of cleaning, lighting and watering. Still the town is dirty, and its condition is backward. The main street has no footpath, and is so narrow that, if the threatened tramway is introduced, one does not see where pedestrians will find room or safety. The narrow lanes, and the quarter beyond the eastern gate, are full of filth, and stink abominably. Possibly these things are less noticed than formerly, as now no Europeans live in the city. They all live to the westward, in Bankipore, and seldom enter the city, except on business. Formerly this was different. Dr. Fullerton, the friend of the author of *Seir al Matakherin*, lived at Bakhshi ghât, and even in Buchanan's time many Europeans seem to have lived in the city. The Civil Court used to sit in Gulzarbagh, near the city proper, and a large building there, with a noble staircase leading to the roof, is known now by the name of Purana Kachari, or the Old Court House. One great want of the city in Buchanan's time is as conspicuous as ever. The town, Buchanan tell us, is very indifferently supplied with water. Near the river the supply is abundant, but in the dry season the bringing it from thence is a severe task on the women (evidently the worthy doctor had a tender heart for the Patna women) and in the rainy season it is very dirty and bad. Near the river the wells are deep, and the water which they contain is generally saline. Further from the river many wells are good, and some of them not very deep, so that, on the whole, the people there are best supplied.

All this is still true, and while Dacca, Burdwan and even Bhagalpore have their water-works, the capital of Behar continues to stand parched and dusty by the river's brink. The Ganges is at her feet and offers her its treasures, but her arm seems palsied, for she does not stretch it down to receive them.

By far the prettiest view in the city is that of the Chauk. The mixture of green trees, white temples, and mosques and gaily furnished shops and booths produces a very pleasing effect, especially when viewed from the east end. There is here a handsome mosque which was erected by one Khajah Ambar.

It is supposed by some antiquarians that ancient Patna is buried below the modern city. This is supported by some excavations which were made in 1876 at Shaikh Matha ka Garhi in the city. Mr. McCrindle, in his *Ancient India*, gives the following account of them:—"The excavators, at a depth of some 12 or 15 feet below the swampy surface, discovered the remains of a long brick wall running from N.-W. to S.-E. Not far from the wall, and almost parallel to it, was found a line of palisades; the strong timber of which it was composed

inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to have been some sort of outlet, for two wooden pillars, rising to a height of some 8 or 9 feet above what had evidently been the ancient level of the place, and between which no trace of palisades could be discovered, had all the appearance of door or gate posts. A number of wells and sinks were also found, their mouths being, in each case, indicated by heaps of broken mud vessels."

Buchanan refers to the fact that when the river washes away the bank, many old wells are laid open, but observes truly enough, that everywhere on digging, very little else but broken pots is to be found, and nothing to indicate large or magnificent buildings.

Shaikh Matha's Garhi, *i. e.*, Shaikh Matha's hole, is, I suppose, the place referred to by Buchanan as being in the rainy season a considerable pond, and in the dry season exceedingly dirty and offensive. According to local tradition, there was a tank here in ancient times, and when the Mahomedans conquered Patna, many Hindus and their families drowned themselves in it. Consequently it was regarded as accursed, and was neglected and gradually became filled up. Many centuries afterwards Sheikh Matha, who was a sepoy in Sheikh Islam Mashudi's army, settled in the place, and made a livelihood by brick-making, &c. In 1875 the place was cleaned out under the orders of the Magistrate (Mr. Mangles,) and so it is often called Mangles' tank. There is now a pretty piece of water, surrounded by a garden, and the inhabitants use it as a place of recreation. I fear, however, that the improvement was effected and is maintained at a cost which the Municipal funds are ill able to bear.

There are no Hindu temples of any importance in Patna. The city has a tutelary goddess called Patan Debi, or Pataneshari, and there are two small temples in her honour. One is in Maharajgunj near Sadikpur, and the other is in the Har Mandir lane, and not far from the Chauk. The former is called the *Bara* or great Patan Debi, and so claims to be the original temple: the image in it is said to have risen out of the ground. The other temple is called *Chota* Patna Debi, but its priests claim that it is the real temple. In proof of this they say that they have in their possession the well into which the goddess's pat, or cloth, fell when her dead body was being carried about by Siva on his trident. The temple receives a small allowance from Government. The goddess is apparently a form of Bhagabati, or Kali. The above gives one reason of the origin of the name of Patna. With regard to this, I may observe, that the word is written by the

natives as Patna with a short *a*, and not Pâtna as pronounced by Europeans. The word is written Patnah ਪਤਨਾ. Buchanan supposes it to be merely Patan or city, Patna being the city *par excellence*. This etymology is probably correct. Patan is a frequent affix to the names of towns, *e.g.*, Siringapatam, and there is more than one town in India which bears the name of Patna. Buchanan appears to have visited the Bara Patan Debi temple. He refers to the tradition that the name Pataliputra means the son of Patali, who was the daughter of Rajah Sudarsan. She cherished the city as if it had been her son, and so it was called Pataliputra. Patali is also the name of a flowering tree (the *Bignonia suaveolens*,) but so far as I am aware, this tree does not grow in the neighbourhood of Patna.

Patna is famous as being the birthplace of Govind Singh, the great Sikh leader. He was born in 1660, in a house near the Chauk. Ranjit Singh built or renewed a temple over the spot, and the lane is now called Har Mandir gali. In the temple the Guru's cradle and shoes are preserved, and there is also a holy book or granth, which is called the Bara Saheb. It was presented to the temple, it is said, by the Guru himself, and it contains his name written on it by himself with an arrow. There was a law-suit about the book some years ago, and it was decided by the High Court that the Mohunt had no authority to remove the book (I. L. R., 7, Cal. 767).

The temple is greatly revered by the Sikhs, and many Panjab Rajahs come to visit it. It has an allowance of about Rs. 370 from Government, and formerly it used also to receive half a maund of opium yearly. In 1862, however, two persons claimed to be Mohunts and to be entitled to the donation of opium, and so, since then, no one has got it. Altogether the income of the temple is about Rs. 3,000, but it does not appear to be well managed. There is a Sangat, or subsidiary place of worship, attached to it. This is in Gaighât, and is said to mark the place where Tegh Bahadur, the father of Govind, used to sit. Near the Har Mandir there is another Sangat which, however, is in the hands of the Nanakshahi Sikhs and is not subject to the Har Mandir. It appears to be very well managed. In its garden there is a sacred Karaunda tree (*Carissa carandus*), which is said to be 200 years old. The tradition is, that it sprang out of Guru Govind's tooth-pick, which he stuck in the earth there. All Sikhs who visit Patna, come to see it, and the shrub is carefully tended.

Patna does not seem to have been a place of importance when

Bakhtiar Khilji* conquered Bengal, nor did the Mahomedans pay much attention to it till more than three centuries afterwards.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, it was Sher Shah who first discerned the advantages of its site. In an extract from this work which is published in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. 4., p. 477, we are told that in 948 Hegira, or 1541 A. D., Sher Shah came to Patna, on his return from Bengal. The place was then a small town dependent on Behar, which was the seat of the local Government. He was standing on the bank of the Ganges, and after much reflection said to those around him, that if a fort were built there, the waters of the Ganges would never flow far from it, and Patna would become one of the great towns of the country, as the place was situated on the west, on the banks of the Ganges which flowed from the north. He, therefore, at once called for an estimate of the cost of building a fort, and was furnished with one, which amounted to five lakhs. The fort was completed and was considered to be very strong. Behar from that time was deserted and fell to ruin, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province. The writer of this account lived in the time of Jehangir, and was, presumably, well informed. If his statement is correct, the inscription on the gate of the fort which is referred to by Buchanan, and which said that the fort was erected in 1042 Hegira (1633) by Feroz Jang Khan, must have been wrong, or have referred to the final completion of the work. It was natural that Sher Shah should interest himself in Patna, for, though he was an Afghan by origin, he was a native of the province. His real name was Farid Khan. An adventure with a tiger procured for him the name of Sher Khan, and this was changed to Sher Shah when he became Emperor. He was killed at the siege of Kalinjar in the North-West, by the explosion of a magazine, but his mutilated body was brought to Behar and buried in the splendid mausoleum at Sasseram. The date of his death was neatly expressed in the chronogram *atish mard* (he died from fire) which gives according to *abjad* 952 Hegira, or 1545.

Sher Shah showed his interest in Patna by building a large mosque in it. This mosque is in Mahalla Dholepur, and is in

* I suppose that Bakhtiarpur on the East Indian Railway, and the station for Behar, is named after this Chief. The early Mahomedans, or at least their leaders, were Turks,

and the popular language still retains a trace of the fact, for the Hindu villagers often call all Mahomedans by the name of Toork.

good preservation. It is of brick and plainly constructed, but is very solidly built. It is, I suppose, the largest mosque in Patna and is still in use. For a long time the entrance to this mosque was covered with rubbish, and thieves are said to have made their home in it. The people of the Mahalla, however, with a public spirit which I wish the residents of other quarters in Patna would imitate, cleared the place out and have since kept it in good order. There is a graveyard attached to it, and in it there is the tomb of Ashraf Ali Khan, who was the Koka, or foster brother, of the Emperor Mahomed Shah.

An old butcher used to live in the neighbourhood of this mosque, and was said to be 123 years old when he died. The ground for this rather mythical statement is, that he used to say he remembered the interment of Ashraf Ali Khan.

It does not appear that the Muhammedans erected any very large or magnificent buildings in Patna. Prince Azim-us-Shan, the grandson of Arangzeb and the father of the Emperor Feroksher, made it his residence and named it, after himself, Azimabad, by which name it is still known by Mahomedans. He wished to make it a second Delhi, but he had not the time or the means to do so. He lived in it till 1707, when he set out on his fatal expedition, which terminated in his being drowned in the Ravi.

He resided in the Chahal Satun, which probably took its name from a building of the same kind in Murshedabad. It has long since disappeared, and it may be doubted whether it was as fine a building as Khanji Ali's Sath Gumbaz in Baghalat, which was supported by sixty pillars.

The want of stone in the neighbourhood of Patna made the erection of durable buildings difficult. The impregnation, too, of the earth with saltpetre, seems to be a potent factor in the disintegration of buildings in the city.

I am inclined to doubt whether there ever was more than one stone building in all Patna. This exception is an insignificant looking mosque, situated on the bazar road and in the Sultanganj tháná. It bears an inscription in Persian to the effect that it was built by Prince Parviz (the son of Jahangir and elder brother of Shah Jahan) in 1036 A. H. that is, 1627, with materials obtained from the fort of Majhauñ and from an idol-temple. Majhauñ is perhaps the place of that name in Gorakhpur, but there are also Majhoulis in Tirhoot and Gya. The fact of this paltry building being dignified with the name of the Pathar ka Māsīd shows the scarcity of stone, or the pooriness of the other public buildings. Buchanan considered this mosque to be the handsomest one in Patna, and gives

a drawing of it. I think, however, that he cannot have seen the Madrasa, or College of Saif Khan. This is certainly the handsomest relic of Mahomedan times in the city, though it is inferior to the tomb of Maledum Dewan at Maner. The Madrasa stands very finely on the high bank of the Ganges, a little to the west of the Fort. Unfortunately it has to be approached from the land side by a dirty lane, and consequently, it is not often visited. The mosque is the only part of the institution which is now in preservation, though the remains of the apartments which used to be occupied by the Madaris and his pupils still exist. The old gateway is now blocked up, and we enter the courtyard through a side gateway, which is flanked by two stone pavilions. We emerge from the lane on a large grass-plot in front of which is a broad and deep reach of the Ganges. On the left hand is the mosque, with its five domes and remains of encaustic tiling, and with a wide terrace in front of it. In the grass-plot there is a circular basin, which used to be filled with water from the river and to have a fountain in the centre. The openness and elevation of the place and the handsome mosque have a fine effect, especially in the rains when the river is full. Mr. Beglar has given a full description of the Madrasa, under the title of the mosque at Chaman Ghât, at p. 29 of the 8th volume of the Archæological Survey.

The Madaris, or principal, of Saif Khan's Madrasa was a member of the embassy which was sent by Haibat Jang to the rebellious Mustapha Khan. The latter propounded a question in Mahomedan theology to him. Suppose, Moulvi, said he, that a true believer were to be confronted by a Kafar and a Rafzi (a Shia, or heretic), whom should he first attack. Moulvi Tez Ali replied that he should first attack the Kafar. This, however, did not please Mustapha, who observed that in his view a heretic was worse than a dog. Intolerance of this kind is not dead yet, as an incident which happened to myself shows. One day, lately, I asked a Sunni Mahomedan if there were many Shiah in his village. No, he replied, there are two things which our village does not produce—Sûar ovr Shia (swine and sectaries).

The Chahal Satun, or forty pillared residence of the viceroys, referred to above, stood just behind the mosque of the Madrasa. No trace of it now remains and the site is a noisome jungle. Even in Buchanan's time it had almost disappeared, though some fifty years before, it had been the residence of Prince Ali Ghous who was afterwards the Emperor Shah Allum.

This place and the fort were the two positions which the English under Carstairs could not carry, when they took possession of the city in June 1763.

It was in the Chahal Satun that Haibat Jung, or Zainuddin, the nephew of Aliverdi and father of Seraj-ad-Doula, was murdered by the Afghans in 1748. To the west of the palace there are the remains of some buildings which used to belong to Rajah Jhau Lall, from whom the Ward of Jhauganj takes its name. Rajah Jhau Lall was a minister of Asaph-ad-doula, the Nawab of Oudh, and was for some reason or other compelled by the British Government to leave Lucknow and reside at Patna. I find from a case in the first volume of McNaughten's Select Reports that when Rajah Jhau Lall was sued at Patna by some Lucknow bankers, he raised the defence that he could not be sued there, as he was residing in Patna under compulsion. The plea, however, was overruled by the Sadr Diwani in 1810. Though a Hindu by origin he seems to have turned Mahomedan at Lucknow, and his daughters were afterwards married to Mahomedan grandees in Lucknow. The houses which he used to occupy, are now in ruins. Major Rennel gave a drawing of the fortifications of Patna in his Bengal Atlas, and there were some remains of them in Buchanan's time, but they have now entirely disappeared. The sites of the east and west gates are marked by blocks of black stone handsomely carved. The finest carving, however, in Patna is on the doorway of a mosque adjoining Nawab Wilayat Ali's house and in Haji Tatar's mosque in the Chauk Kalan thaná. When Mustapha Khan was killed, his body was cut in two, and one-half was suspended at the east gate, and the other at the west gate. A similar fate befell Haibat Jang's remains, so that the Temple Bar trophies which Macaulay regarded as only worthy of Dahomey had their parallel in India.

A friend (Syed Mahomed Isfahani) took down the head of Haibat Jang from the eastern gate and buried it, together with the trunk, in some land which was the private property of the Nawab. The place is still shown, and is one of the most interesting spots in all Patna. It is situated south of the East Indian Railway, and about a quarter of a mile south-east from the Begunpore or Patna station. The tomb stands in the middle of a walled garden and is by far the handsomest tomb in Patna. It consists of an open shrine of black hornblende cut into lattice work, and enclosing a grave, which is partly made of black stone and partly of white marble. It is known by the name of the Nawab Shahid ka Maqbara, or the tomb of the martyr-Nawab, and is revered by the Shiahhs. There are an Imambara and a mosque within the same garden, and, during the Moharrum, processions with Taziahs come there. I do not know who built this tomb, but one would hope that the Nawab's son, Seraj-ad-Dowla was pious enough to erect it.

The care taken of this tomb, and its quiet and picturesque surroundings, make a great contrast with another Mahomedan tomb in Begumpore. I refer to the elaborate tomb of one Seadat Khan which lies some distance to the north-west of the Begumpore station. The latticed stone work of the tomb is well executed, but it is much broken, and I regret to say that the Municipality has built a latrine in the proximity of the tomb, and in full view of it, so that the place is, as it were, desecrated. Latrines are very useful and are nowhere more wanted than in Patna. I am aware, too, that it is very difficult to get sites for them, but at least a wall might have been built east of the latrine, so as to separate it from the burying ground.

There is a remarkable earthen mound in Begumpore which has excited a good deal of interest among antiquaries. Some have thought that it was one of the watch towers of Pataliputra. I doubt, however, whether it is older than the Mahomedan fortifications of the city. It is situated on the north side of the railway, and just outside the Patna station. Lately it has been shewing indications of falling to pieces, and it is not improbable that it will have to be removed in order to prevent its overwhelming the line of rail. There is the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, Pir Mansur, on the top, and this is reached by a flight of steps on the north side. The Faquir who is in charge, says that his family has been there for twelve or fourteen generations. The hill has been cut down on the north side, and was evidently a good deal higher and longer on this side than it now is. It is locally called Mathni, a word which may mean a churning stick, but which here, more probably, means a mound that has a math, or sacred place, on the top of it. There are said to have been four such mounds round Patna, and, no doubt, they were bastions of the Fort. One is still standing on the bank of the river, a little to the east of the Fort. It lies nearly due north of the Begumpore Mathni, and probably marks the north-east end of the fortifications. It, too, is surmounted by the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, Shah Maruf. Another mound is said to be still standing at the south-west of the city near Sadikpore. There was a fourth at the north-west corner, near the Opium Factory, but it was demolished during the mutiny as a precautionary measure.

The Mahomedan tradition is, that the city formerly belonged to Patan Deo, but that four brothers, each of whom was a Mahomedan saint, came and took possession of the mounds, and that then Patan Deo fled to Chinese Patan, that is, I presume, to the city of Patan in Nepal. We need not wonder that he did so, if Shah Maruf came in the fashion that the Faquir who now looks after the tomb describes, for he gravely says

that Shah Maruf was slain in battle somewhere in India while fighting for the faith, and that then the saint transported himself on horseback to Patna carrying his head in his bosom.

Inside the town and in the Bhikua Pahari ward, there is a considerable mound which is known by the name of the Bhiknapahar. Mr. Beglar calls it Bhikapahar, and imagines that it means the hill of the mendicants, and is connected with Buddhism. The word, however, is Bhikua, and such local tradition as there is, refers its erection to one Bhikua Kooar, who is said to be a deota, and to be still worshipped in the neighbourhood. The mound is not very high, but it is of considerable extent, and is crowned by a noble tamarind tree, perhaps the finest in Patna. There is an old native mansion on the top of the mound which is interesting, because it belonged to Maneer-ood-daula, and is now occupied by his descendants. Maneer-ood-daula was the minister of Shah Allum, and, according to Mr. Keene, he, under the modest title of steward of the household, was Shah Allum's most trusted counsellor. I have been told, also, that he was Subahdar of Allahabad.

After the battle of Buxar he assisted in the negotiations with the English which led to the grant of the Dewani in August 1765. He died at Benares in 1774, but is buried in Patna, in what is now the premises of Latif Ali Khan, C.I.E. His descendants are in great poverty, but they claim to be the Mahomedans of highest rank in Patna, and to be entitled to a seat in Darbar immediately after that of the descendants of Shitab Roy. They still possess Shah Allum's sanads granting their ancestors extensive Jaghires. When Maneer-ood-daula died, his son had an interview with Warren Hastings, and the latter drew up a minute referring to Maneer-ood-daula's long connection with the Company, and recommending that a provision should be made for the son. Some provision was made for him, but afterwards the grant was resumed, and now the family have only a Government pension which, by the process of sub-division, has dwindled down from Rs. 700 to Rs. 58 a month. This, too, will, I believe, end with the life of the widow of the last pensioner, who died about a couple of years ago.

To Englishmen the most interesting monument in Patna is the obelisk which marks the spot where the English were massacred by Sumroo under the orders of Mir Kassim. This monument stands in a corner of the Patna burial ground, and about half a mile west of the chauk. It is said to be built over the well into which the bodies were thrown at the time of the massacre: the place was a dwelling-house which had belonged to Haji Ahmed, the elder brother of Aliverdi Khan. According to

Stewart, Haji Ahmed had returned to Patna in disgust on account of his brother's not making him Faujdar of Hugli. He had amassed great wealth, and this, apparently, led to his destruction, for, in 1748 he was tortured and put to death by Shamsheer Khan the Afghan. When the English prisoners were brought in from Monghyr, some were confined in Haji Ahmed's house and some in the Chahal Satun, and it was in the former place that they were murdered.

Some interesting particulars of the massacre are given in Mr. Talbot's Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*. The journal, of which a part is there published, begins with the 23rd June 1763. This was the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, and there was a public dinner at the factory. On 25th June, at 2 A. M., the army moved from Bankipore to attack the city of Patna, it being estimated that it would arrive there before four. The city was captured, but the fort could not be taken, and soon afterwards the city was lost too, for the soldiers dispersed to plunder the bazaar, and so were easily driven out. The army returned to the factory at about 3 P. M. They found, however, that it was not safe to stay there, and so fled to Chapra, where they were attacked at Manjhi by the Faujdar of Sarun and compelled to surrender. This ill advised and ill prosecuted attack on Patna led to the murder of Messrs. Amyatt and Cooper, and to the massacre in Haji Ahmed's house. Apparently, Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, was the person principally to blame in the matter. Mr. Wheeler does not give the name of the journalist, nor does he give the whole narrative. I remember to have seen a copy of the journal in the Warren Hastings' correspondence in the British Museum, and my impression is that it gave an account of Captain Carstairs being wounded in the leg with a bullet, and of his dying during the flight to Chapra. If so, the inscription on the obelisk is wrong in naming him as one who was massacred at Patna.

It seems clear that the journalist was a doctor, for he speaks of his being employed in attending to the wounded, along with Drs. Fullerton and Anderson. It is possible, then, that he was the Dr. Campbell who is named in the inscription on the obelisk. The last entry in the journal is Thursday, the 6th October, and runs thus:—"Heard this morning that Mr. Ellis and forty-seven gentlemen were cut off last night, so that doubtless our fate must be sealed in twenty-hours, for which God prepare us all." From this entry it would seem that the journalist was one of those who were confined in the Chahal Satun. Mr. Wheeler also gives extracts from Dr. Fullerton's journal. He was the only person saved, and this was due to the medical

services which he had rendered to Mir Kassim. The Seir Matakherin gives an account of Dr. Fullerton's being brought before Mir Kassim in Hindustani dress on the day after the massacre, and of the Nawab's trying to induce him to mediate between him and the Calcutta Council. Fullerton, however, told him that the murder of Mr. Amyatt had made this impossible. Dr. Fullerton's own account of the interview, dated 7th October, is somewhat different, for he represents himself as telling the Nawab that an accommodation was possible. Perhaps, however, Dr. Fullerton had not then heard of the death of Amyatt. Probably it was only communicated to him during the interview. The following extracts give interesting details :

"September 13th—Mr. Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Monghyr; Messrs. Ellis and Gulston were in palankeens; Lushington, Smith, Lieutenant Bowen, Ensign McLeod and one other gentleman, whom I don't remember, were on horseback; the rest were in irons, some in doolys, and some in hackaries, and after their arrival at Patna, were confined in Haji Ahmed's house.

"September 19th—I was sent from Monghyr to Patna and confined alone in the Killa (fort.)

"October 5th—Mr. Ellis, with the rest of the gentlemen, were inhumanly butchered by Sumroo, who came that evening to the place with two companies of sepoy (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks from the gentlemen); he surrounded the house with his people, and went into a little outer square and sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hey and Lushington; and with them came six other gentlemen who were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces and their bodies thrown into a well in the square and it filled up; then the sepoy were sent out into the large square and fired on the gentlemen there, and, rushing upon them, cut them into pieces in the most inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another well, which was likewise filled up."*

The first translator of the Seir al Matakherin gives some additional information about the massacre in a note. He

* There are the remains of a well in the cemetery near the east wall. It is now nearly filled up, and the top is level with the surface of the ground, but the old chaukidar who has been in charge of this cemetery for about forty years, says that the well was formerly very large and deep, and had a high cha- butra, or terrace. Until recently there was an old monument near it; pipal roots had intertwined themselves with the bricks, and there was no inscription on the tomb, and so it was pulled down. It is not impossible that this was one of the two wells into which the bodies were thrown.

tells us that, though Lushington was severely wounded, he rushed on a sepoy, wrested his sword from him and cut him down, and that on the morning after the massacre, when the assassins came to bury the bodies, they found one gentleman, Mr. Gulston, alive and in spirits. They thought of preserving him, but he upbraided them so fiercely, that they killed him, too. There was a Lushington who managed to survive the night in the Black Hole. Let us hope that it was not he who perished, however gallantly, in Patna, a few years after such an escape.

The translator of the *Seir al Matakherin* to whom I have above referred, appears to have been a strange character. He was a Frenchman by birth, but turned Mahomedan and called himself Haji Mustapha. In Seton-Karr's *Selections from the Government Gazettes*, Vol. ii., p. 589, there is a copy of the advertisement of the sale of Haji Mustapha's effects. It appears from this notice, that he must have died in Calcutta about the end of 1794. Earl Stanhope has pointed out that it was probably from a note of Haji Mustapha's, that Macaulay got hold of the story that Mrs. Hastings was born at Archangel.

The total number killed in the Patna massacre was, according to the author of the *Seir al Matakherin** 198, so that the loss was greater than that in the Black Hole, where the number of those who died was 123.

A tablet, with an inscription, was placed on the obelisk in 1880 by the Bengal Government, but I regret to say that it is disfigured by blunders. The date of the massacre is wrongly given as the 5th November, instead of the 5th October. It would have been strange if the 5th November had been the right date, for, on the 6th November, the English took Patna by storm. Many of the names seem to be wrong. I do not think Carstairs was killed in Patna, and Captain Turner certainly was not, for Dr. Fullerton's journal shows that he died of dysentery, and probably at Monghyr. "Ardean Deckers" looks an impossible name, and the name of Gulston is omitted. The inscription has been copied into Murray's hand-book, but in a very blundering fashion. Captain Kinch, who commanded the artillery at Patna, has been made Captain Kirch, and Lieutenants-Fireworkers has been made into a proper name, whereas it is really the designation of a grade in the old Bengal Artillery.

* Gholam Hossen Khan, the author of the *Seir al Matakherin*, was a resident of Patna. He had large estates, some of which, I believe, are still held by Nawab Wilyat Ali, C.I.E., who is his descendant by the mother's side. The Nawab possesses a copy of the *Seir*, in his ancestor's own handwriting.

Sumroo is called a French renegade in the inscription, but this is not correct, for he was either a German or a Tyrolese. According to Mr. Keene, he was born in the Electorate of Treves. His real name was Walter Reinhardt, and under this name he was buried in Agra, where he died in 1778. The only ground on which he could be called a French renegade, is that he is said to have once been in the French army in India, and to have deserted. It does not appear that he ever abandoned the Christian religion, and his widow, the famous Begum Sumroo, became a Christian.

It was after the massacre that the place was turned into a cemetery, and hence it is that we find no monuments in it older than 1766. There are no remarkable monuments, or inscriptions. Apparently the earliest inscription extant is in memory of a Mr. Patrick Watson who died in 1766. Then come monuments to Captain Kinloch who died in 1768, and to William Majendie who died in 1769, second in the Council at Patna, though he was only 26. His name appears as Secretary in the Treaty of February 1765, which was made with Najam ud Dowla, the son of Mir Jaffir.

Samuel Charters, who is mentioned in Mr. Westland's *Jessore*, as one of the early collectors of that district, is buried in the Patna cemetery. He was senior Judge of Appeal, and died in 1795. There is a monument to a Mr. Thomas Cochrane who died in 1792, and which is described as having been erected by his ever grateful servant, Kitty. Another, of 1809, is erected to the memory of Bibi Mooty by her daughter Fanny.

The Patna charitable dispensary adjoins the cemetery, and probably occupies part of the site of Haji Ahmed's house. In its compound there is the tomb of a Mahomedan lady named Rahimanissa, daughter of Mahomed Yusuf Mashadi. She died in 1160 Hejira, or 1747, so that her tomb is probably a good deal older than any in the Christian cemetery.

The Opium Factory in Gulzarbagh appears to have belonged to the Dutch, and a portion of the building, which is composed of very solid masonry, is pointed out as having been erected by them. A part of the revetment, or river wall, in the city is still known to the inhabitants by the name of the Poshta Ollandaz.

It is popularly considered, however, that the oldest European building in Patna is the Roman Catholic church, or Cathedral, known by the name of the Padre Haweli. This lies between the Patna cemetery and the church, but on the north side of the street. It is said that the site was given to some French Missionaries in the time of Arangzeb. The church stands a little off from the street, and has a lofty and imposing façade. Over the altar, there is a large picture of the Visitation, that

is, of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth. The surrounding graveyard has inscriptions in French, Latin, Italian, Portuguese and English. Many of these have been obliterated, and there are some said to be hidden under the matting which covers the floor of the church. On the front wall, at the right of entrance, there is an inscription in English and Italian, in memory of one Joseph Godfrey Finch, or de Finis, who was a native of St. Front, in Piedmont, and died in 1815. The inscription records that he was rewarded by the Honorable Company for personal bravery at the battle of Sholingar with a gold medal and a pension for life. I doubt whether many persons know where the battle of Sholingar was fought, and who were the combatants. I find, however, from my father's history, that Sholingar is not far from Vellore, and that the battle took place in September 1781 between Coote and Hyder Ali, and resulted in the defeat of the latter. Behind the church there is a large bell, with the name Maria on it, and a Latin inscription to the effect that it was presented in 1782 by Bahadoor Sah, son of Prithi Narain, the King of Nepal. This was the Bahadoor Sah, who was killed in Nepal in 1797. A story is told of him, that he wanted the priests to teach him physical science, and that they refused unless he agreed to learn Christianity as well. He rejected this proposal on the ground that it would be inconvenient for a prince to turn Christian, but offered to supply three men who would become Christians instead of him. The priests declined, and this so surprised Bahadoor Sah, that he could only account for it by supposing that the priests did not really know science, and so wanted to evade the teaching of it. The Catholic priests appear to have settled first in Nepal, and to have come to Bettia and Patna after having been driven out from there.

According to some notes which were drawn up by Bishop Hartmann, and which the Reverend Father Lewis has kindly permitted me to see, the Patna Mission began in 1713. Patna, however, had been visited by priests before that, for one Joseph of Ascoli died there in 1704. The old records of the Mission were all destroyed on 25th June 1763, when the English made their attack on Patna. On this occasion three priests were assaulted in the church and stripped naked and narrowly escaped death. One of them was the Superior, John of Brescia. It does not appear which of the contending forces was guilty of this outrage. The records state that the church was re-opened on 31st July 1763, but it seems doubtful whether service could have been carried on while the Mohometans were in possession. The first entry in the book is of a burial, which took place on 14th November 1763, that is, some days after the English had

recaptured the city. From that time the registers appear to have been regularly kept. The foundation of the church was laid in 1772, by Father Joseph of Roveto, and the building was finished in 1779. One Tiretto of Venice was the architect.

Father Joseph of Roveto, came from Nepal, and was one of the three priests who were maltreated in 1763. He died in 1786, and was buried under the steps of the altar. The church is still used, but is no longer a cathedral, and it is much out of repair. There is a convent and a large girls' school at Bankipore, and there is a school for boys at Kurji, on the road to Dinapore. This last was established by Bishop Zuber.

In the Civil Courts' compound at Bankipore there is a lofty monument to Major Knox. This gallant officer seems to have somewhat dropt out of remembrance, but his memory deserves to be cherished. He was with Colonel Forde at the defeat of the Dutch in 1759, and he relieved Patna when it was besieged by Shah Allum and M. Law in 1760. This was a brilliant exploit. Knox was deputed by Calliaud to relieve Patna, and was furnished with a detachment of 200 Europeans. He performed the march from Burdwan (not from Murshedabad, as stated by Mill,) in thirteen days, himself marching on foot, as an example and encouragement to the men. The distance from Burdwan to Bankipore by the route which Major Knox seems to have taken, is, according to the military route-book, 294 miles, or 27 marches. He must then have marched at the rate of 23 miles a day. He also had to cross over to the north side of the Ganges in order to avoid the enemy. The time of year, too (May), added to the arduous nature of the undertaking. The author of the *Seir Matakherin*, says Knox performed nineteen days' journey in thirteen, and gives a graphic account of his seeing the troops crossing over to Patna in the early morning, and of their reception by Amyatt. Ram Narain was especially delighted, and told Gholam Hossein that he had given him a second life by bringing him the good news.

On the very night of his arrival, Captain Knox reconnoitred the enemy's camp in person, and next day he attacked them, at noon, when the guards were off duty, or negligent, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

Aliverdi made a wonderful march in 1748, when he came from Murshedabad to avenge the death of his brother and nephew, and it would be interesting to compare the two achievements; but, unfortunately, the time taken by Aliverdi does not seem to be known. His march, too, was from Murshedabad, which is only 259 miles from Bankipore.

Captain Knox's next achievement was to cross the Ganges and

attack the Governor of Purneah (Khadim Hossein Khan). Knox was accompanied on this expedition by Shitab Roy. The attempt to surprise the enemy failed, owing to the troops losing their way in the dark, and they were in great danger of being overwhelmed themselves. Knox, however, stood his ground, and after a conflict of six hours, succeeded in routing the enemy. It was in this engagement that Shitab Roy distinguished himself so much. In the evening after the engagement, Captain Knox crossed over to Patna, and brought Shitab Roy with him. Both were covered with dust and sweat, and when they came into the factory, Captain Knox introduced Shitab Roy, saying, this is a real Nawab; I never saw such a Nawab in my life. Macaulay refers to this incident in his essay on Warren Hastings, but apparently he wrongly connects it with the original relief of Patna. The battle where Shitab Roy so distinguished himself at Hajipore, was on the other side of the Ganges, and the inhabitants of Patna could not have seen it from their walls. Indeed, so far from their seeing the combat, all they saw was the palikibearers and others hurrying across the stream in boats. The news they brought was that Knox had been completely defeated. The family of Shitab Roy still exists, and receives a pension from Government. The present representative is Maharajah Sripat Singh. He is the premier noble of Behar, and sits in durbar above the Maharajahs of Dumraon and Darbhanga, though he has hardly a bigha of land in his possession.

I do not know what Captain Knox's subsequent services were, but it seems probable that he took part in the storming of Patna in November 1763. The inscription on his tomb is as follows:—

“Here lays deposited the earthly remains of the truly gallant Major Ranfurly Knox, who having lived many years in the military service of the Honorable United East Indian Company, universally esteemed and beloved, died on the 28th day of January 1764, aged 34 years, as universally lamented. Reader, whatever the principles of thy religion may be, form thy life after his example, so shall the pious tear never be wanting to be shed to thine, as to his memory.”

Major Knox thus only survived the battle of Buxar about three months. Close to his tomb there are two others, but they bear no inscription. The house now occupied by the Civil Court was formerly a dwelling-house, and it and the premises are known by the name of the Saltpetre Factory. It is not impossible, therefore, that Major Knox died in the house in the compound of which he was buried. In the abandoned part of the Bankipore cemetery which lies north of the public road and adjoining the Civil Court compound, there is the monument of an

artillery officer, a Lieutenant Collings, who died on 30th October 1765.

In the neighbouring cemetery, which is still in use, the most interesting grave is that of Dr. Lyell, of the Opium Department who was shot by a rebel in 1857, in Patna, a little way to the west of the Chauk.

One of the Gurney family is buried in this cemetery. She died in 1833, and was a daughter of Mr. John Gurney, and wife of Mr. Start, a Missionary. The inscription on the grave of one Samuel Denton speaks well for the salubrity of Patna. It tells us that he died at the age of 85, after residing in Patna for 56 years. This inscription reminds us of Bishop Heber's mention of Mr. Douglas, who was senior Judge of Bankipore, and who had lived in or near Patna for thirty years, during which he had only been over as far as Dinapore. Presumably, this is the Henry Douglas who was buried in the cemetery, and who is recorded to have died in 1839 at the age of 78. Bishop Heber visited Patna in 1824, and so Mr. Douglas had probably lived five and forty years there when he died. Mr. Douglas is still remembered by the native gentlemen of Patna. They say that they felt his death as if he were one of themselves, for he was always so polite and friendly to them, and used to send a chobdar with his compliments to make enquiries whenever any one of their families was ill.

Bishop Heber notices in his journal the practice of burying persons in compounds, instead of in the cemetery. The oldest of such graves appears to be one in the Commissioner's compound, where there is the tomb of one Anne Roberts, who died in 1768, at the age of 22.

Bankipore is the civil station of Patna, and five miles to the west of it. The "Competition Wallah" has recorded his unfortunate mistake in getting out of the train at the Patna station, and so having to walk through several miles of bazaar.

Bankipore (the city on the bend of the river) is pretty, on account of its maidan and its fine houses and gardens, though it is inferior in picturesqueness to Gya. The most conspicuous object in it is the Golah, which was erected in 1786 as a security against famine. It never has been anything more than a curiosity.

It has a remarkable echo, and the summit commands a fine view of the surrounding country. On the day when the sepoys mutinied at Dinapore, some anxious watchers climbed the Golah, and tried to observe with a telescope if the sepoys were marching eastwards.

It is an interesting recollection that Bishop Heber held a long conversation under the walls of the Golah with Padre Giulio Cesare

the Catholic priest. Among other subjects, they discussed Italian poetry, and the comparative merits of Metastasio and Alfieri. This Padre Giulio was, I suppose, the Father Scotti who was Begum Sumroo's Chaplain, and who eventually became a Bishop.

Though Bankipore has a very modern look, it is a place of some antiquity. In Mahomedan times it was occasionally used as a camping ground, and Aliverdi Khan assembled his forces in it before he marched against Sarfaraz Khan.

It appears, too, that Bankipore was a cantonment before Dinapore (properly Dánapúr, or the city of the sage) was made a military station. The 3rd Brigade was stationed here under Sir Robert Barker, and it was an occurrence at Bankipore which brought to light the famous White Mutiny of the last century. A part of the cantonment was burnt down, and a Court-Martial was held on an officer who was said to have caused the fire. It then turned out that he had done so in a quarrel with another officer, who had tried to take away his commission by force. This led to further inquiry, and to the discovery of the combination.

The Mutiny was about the reduction of the Batta. In April 1766, Clive got a remonstrance about the reduction, which was signed by 9 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, and 20 Ensigns of the 3rd Brigade, stationed at Bankipore. On the 20th May following, Clive arrived at Bankipore from Monghyr, and then the officers submitted and withdrew their resignations.

In Buchanan's time a provincial battalion was stationed at Bankipore.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. III.—THE KHALIF AL-MAMUN AND THE MUTAZALAS.

SPEAKING of the general progress in culture and of the “development and growth of new ideas” amongst the Musalmáns of India, a well-known Muhammadan author says:—“The young generation is tending unconsciously toward the Mutazalite doctrines.”* He also declares himself to be a Mutazala, and refers to the Khalif Al-Mámún as one who strove hard to enforce the principles of this sect in the dominions over which he ruled.

That period is one of the most interesting in the history of Islám, and, now that we are distinctly told by one who has every opportunity of knowing, that there is a revival amongst intelligent Muslims of a school of thought, to which much of the glory attributed to Baghdad under Mámún owes its rise, it may be well to ascertain who and what the Mutazalas were. The reign of Mámún was a golden age of Muhammadan literature and science, and, above all, the period when a determined effort was made to introduce freedom of thought into the Church of Islám, and to lay the foundations of a more rational system of exegesis.

That attempt failed utterly: whether the modern Mutazalas will succeed better remains to be seen. So far as this movement is a casting off of traditionalism, and an approach to a truer conception of the relation of man to God, it must commend itself to all who desire the well-being of the Indian Muslims. Even those who believe that Islám cannot change, as its finality is its glory, and that reform in any real sense of the term is impossible, must view with interest a present movement which recalls striking events of the past, and which, however short it falls of the ideal its leaders set before it, is infinitely superior to the ignorant, bigoted dogmatism of the orthodox Musalmán. We confess at once that we do not believe that Islám can be fundamentally reformed, and still be Islám. A system of religion may be organised which may retain the name, but that it will be the faith as held by the Asháb, the Tábi'in and the Tabá-i-Tábi'in—the companions and their followers to the second generation—by Imáms of repute, and the Khalafá-i-Ráshidín, we do not admit. Still, the Mutazala movement is a step in the right direction and one quite worthy of calling forth an intelligent interest in it.

* Personal Law of the Muhammad- Ali.
ans. (Introduction) By Syed Amir

In order that we may understand the forces at work in Al-Mámún's reign, it is necessary to notice briefly the course of events under the earlier Khalifs. The period comprised in the first forty years of the history of Islám was one of conflict. Gradually the House of Omayya, a branch of the great Koreish clan, had been rising into power. This family had long opposed the Prophet, and had been amongst the last to submit to his claims. At length, Mu'áwiyah, the Governor of Syria, assumed the title of Khalif, and changed the nature of the succession to that office from an elective to an hereditary form. Jalalud-din As-Syúti says:—"He was the first who made a compact for the Khalífate to descend to his son." Of the dynasty thus established, Damascus became the capital city. Yazíd, the first Khalif who succeeded by hereditary right, was a wicked, licentious man, which, added to the irregular mode of his succession, caused much discontent. Husain, the son of the late Khalif 'Ali was appealed to, and in an evil hour he consented to head the party of opposition. We need not now enter into the story of that tragic contest. The opposition was crushed for a time, but a victory so complete was an evil for the Omayyias, as a re-action was sure to set in sooner or later. When men realized the indignity which the grandson of the Prophet had suffered, they felt very sad. In the hyperbolic language of the historian of the day, "when Al-Husain was murdered, the world stood still for seven days, and the sun upon the walls appeared as saffron-coloured sheets." The result was that the 'Alyites increased in numbers and became a very strong party. The Persians, as a rule, took up their cause. The Khalif Omar ibn Abd'l Aziz, a man of narrow views and very bigoted, passed a decree which confined all posts in the administration of the country to Muslims. "O Believers!" he wrote, "those who associate others with God are unclean." Persians in numbers now became Muslims, but not loyal subjects of the Omayyias. Between the Persians and the Arabs there had long been a deadly feud, and the action of the Khalif, though it produced an outward uniformity, could not change the feelings of the one to the other. The Persians were ever ready to respond to any appeal made by rebels against the reigning dynasty. The hatred which the 'Alyites bore to the Omayyias naturally attracted them, and first the Arab Shíahs and then the 'Abbásides found in them ready and willing helpers.

The 'Alyites now invented, or revived, the dogma of the Imámat, by which they maintained that 'Ali and his descendants were by 'divine right' the only true Khalifs of Islám. This was in startling opposition to the theories and practice hitherto held and followed. The first five Khalifs had been elected, and Yazíd succeeded his

father by right of hereditary descent. The Shials now declared the former practice to be wrong, and whilst admitting the latter as correct, limited the application of it to the descendants of 'Ali thus excluding, on the one hand, anything like a popular voice in the matter, and, on the other, the accession of men from other families, however wise, powerful or noble. But it is hard to struggle against "*un fait accompli*," and the Empire of the Omayyas spread far and wide. Gradually the country around the Caspian and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea was incorporated in the Empire. The northern part of Africa, and many islands in the Mediterranean, were absorbed. In the year 92, A. H. * the whole of Spain was subdued, whilst towards the Indus the victorious Muslims found their way. The Khalif Walid (86-96 A. H.), one of the most famous of the Omayyas was not merely a great conqueror, but a patron of the arts and sciences. He embellished the mosque of the Prophet and founded schools and hospitals. But meanwhile a third party had been gradually growing in power and importance.

The descendants of 'Abbás, an uncle of the Prophet, were held in high esteem in the Muhammadan community. These men professed to sympathise with the 'Alyites, but all the while they were secretly forming a party of their own. As their plots began to thicken, they sent their emissaries to the Persians, from whom they soon gained a band of willing helpers. These men, thus gained, preached not the creed of Islám, but held out hopes of a day of deliverance from the hated Arab yoke. The province of Khorasan became a hot-bed of intrigue and disaffection, and the malcontents were at length joined by Abu Muslim, the Khorasani, a principal agent in the downfall of the Omayyas, and the rise of the 'Abbásides. After a conflict extending over a considerable period of time, the army of the Khalif was defeated on the banks of the river Záb. The Khalif Marwán, the last of the Omayyas, after finding the gates of his cities closed against him, fled, but was deserted by his followers till only one was left, and then, reduced to the last extremity, he rushed upon his pursuers, and, selling his life dearly, was soon killed. Thus, in the year 132, A. H., the curtain fell, and thus came to an end the eastern Khalifate of the House of Omayya. One lad, Abd-ur-Rahmán escaped to Spain, where the Omayya dynasty preserved for a while its ancient renown.

The 'Abbásides now came into power, and soon poured out the vials of their wrath upon the unhappy 'Alyites. The first 'Abbáside Khalif, As Saffa, truly called the Bloodshedder, had no mercy

* History of the Khalifs, by Jalal- liff Walid.
u'd-din As Syúti—Chapter on Kha-

for either Omayya or Shiah; both of whom fell victims to his fury.

The unity of the Khalífate was now, however, at an end. Spain became independent of the Eastern Khalíf. Egypt and Sicily found rulers of their own and the Tahárite kings in Persia refused allegiance to the Abbásides. Still a large and powerful Empire remained. Damascus, the capital of the now hated Omayya rulers, was deserted, and the seat of power was transferred to Baghdád. For a time rebellion within the limits of the Empire was fairly kept down, and a century followed, unequalled in the history of Islám for material splendour and intellectual accomplishments. Baghdád became one of the first seats of learning in the Eastern world, and to it flocked men of science and literature from all parts. In the language of an Arab poet, "the city was irrigated with water of musk and roses, and the scent of delicious perfumes was scattered abroad. Evening after evening joyful companies gathered together around a host, generous and munificent. Musicians made their melodious voices heard, blended with the soft sighing of the late." Such was one aspect of the golden prime of Hárún-ar-Rashíd, wrongly named the 'good.'

But it is not Baghdád, as made known to us in the *Arabian Nights*, or in the panegyrics of Arab poets that now concerns us, but Baghdád as a seat of learning and the centre of discussions on questions of deep import.

A powerful attempt was then made to introduce a freer spirit into the Islámic system of theology. Such an age, in this respect, has never since returned in any Muslim State.

The revival of a school of thought, active then but doomed to perish, has been reserved for Muslims learned in the English tongue, subjects of a Christian Empress, some of the leaders of whom are members of a British University.

Hárún-ar-Rashíd, the father of Al-Mámún, was strictly orthodox. He used to pray every day a hundred rak'ats, never neglecting them, save for some special cause: "he used to give in charity each day a hundred dirhams. He held the sacred shrines in reverence, and abhorred disputations in religion. Hearing of one who held the doctrine of the 'creation of the Qurán,' he said, 'If I find him, I will cut off his head,'!"* He caused the jurisprudence of Imám Abu Hanifā to be carefully arranged and written. The Haj was performed with great regularity. This attention to the outward forms of religion did not lessen the severity and harshness of his rule, or his passion for making raids upon the Byzantine

* Jalálu'd-din As-Syúfi on Hárún-ar-Rashíd.

territory, in which loot and slaves were obtained in abundance, or his love for pleasures of a very questionable nature.*

The last act of Hárún-ar-Rashíd was a very cruel one. Two days before his death, and when all preparations had been made for it, the hard-hearted Khalíf spoke thus to a defeated captive: "By Him who created Hárún, thou shalt perish by a death so painful, that its agonies shall infinitely surpass all that was ever known." A butcher was then called, and in the presence of the dying Khalíf, the prisoner was hacked to pieces, limb by limb, and at length the body was quartered.

Mámún was the son of Hárún by a Persian wife. The Persians by whose aid the 'Abbásides had originally come into power, and who, in a late reign had filled posts of great influence and importance in the Empire, looked upon him as one of their own race, and were filled with the most lively hopes of a permanent ascendancy over the Arabs in the court and in the capital. Mámún was a man of great vigour and of considerable intellectual capacity. He was, however, very much under the influence of Fadhl Ibn Sahl by whose advice and aid he had been enabled to overcome his rival brother, and to make himself master of Baghdád. This man, a Persian by birth, was a recent convert to Islám, and now used his power to fill all important offices with creatures of his own choosing. This soon caused a revolt. The descendants of 'Alí could never forget that it was by their means that the 'Abbásides had risen to power, and, as patriotic Arabs, they were not going to stand by and see all the various offices in the administration pass into the hands of Persians—men who, but a few years since, were fire-worshippers, and of the reality of whose conversion to Islám there were many and grave doubts. The standard of revolt was raised in Irak, the Hejaz, Fars and Yemen, and the rebels speedily gained many successes. There was much cruelty practised on both sides. The rebel leader in Yemen was known as the 'Butcher'; the one in Irak as the 'Incendiary.' In Mecca the rebels tore down the curtains of the Ka'ba, and showed such utter wantonness, that at length the people rose *en masse* and expelled them. Thus politically the times were most critical, for the mutual hatred of the Persian in office and of the Arabs out of it was very great. Mámún, yielding to the influence of the wily Fadhl Ibn Sahl, made an attempt to win over the 'Alyites to his side by adopting as his successor to the Khalífate 'Alí Ibn Musá-ar-Ruza, the eighth Imám of the Shiahs. Having summoned the principal officers of State, Mámún declared that, after searching throughout the whole empire, he found no one so worthy

* Jalálu'd-din As-Syúti on Hárún-ar-Rashíd.

succeed him as this descendant of 'Ali, and that, therefore, he would make him his son-in-law and his heir. 'Ali Ibn Musá was then proclaimed as Mámún's successor, and coins were struck in his name. The black garments of the 'Abbásides were discarded, and the Khalíf and his followers assumed the green robes of the House of 'Ali.

It was hoped and expected, that thus the Shiáhs would be conciliated, that the breach between the two clans—that of 'Ali and that of 'Abbás—would be closed, and that peace would prevail; but the time had long passed for such a result. In the early days of Islám, the 'Abbásides had been staunch friends of the Shiáhs against the Omayyas. In return for this, the 'Alyites might have shown gratitude by consenting to a union of some kind, but they found that their quondam friends, the 'Abbásides, had been aiding them for purposes of their own, and now, having gained their object in the overthrow of the Omayya dynasty, apparently loved the Persian better than the Arab. The feud was too bitter, the bloodshed had been too great, for this conciliatory policy of Mámún's to have any good effect. The men of Baghdád, 'Abbásides by descent, would hear of no such compromise. They cursed Mámún, and called for vengeance on Fadhl who had so wrongly, as they thought, advised the Khalíf. Mámún then showed weakness. He gave orders that his Vizier, Fadhl should be assassinated, and then pretending to be horrified at the crime, condemned to death the very men he had employed on this dark deed, for 'dead men tell no tales.' The 'Abbásides were then content, and in the year 204, A. H., Mámún, having discarded the 'Alyite dress, clad in the black costume of an 'Abbáside, entered Baghdád in triumph. He was now sole ruler of Islám in Asia, and, feeling more secure upon his throne, he again, irrespective of Arab feeling on the subject, promoted Persians to places of trust and honour. He was the first Khalíf who had a corps of regularly drilled Turkish soldiers. As he was opposed by Arabs when he favoured the Persians, and by Persians when he promoted Arabs, the Khalíf hoped that by means of a bodyguard recruited from neither of these races, but composed of Turkish slaves, he would get out of this difficulty. It was a dangerous experiment, and soon led to disastrous consequences.

The Persians whom he promoted, were the descendants of men who, owing to the decree of the Khalíf Omar, had become Muslims. Now, whilst professing an outward allegiance to Islám, they were practically simple theists, fond of religious discussion, and to a great extent tolerant of other men's views and opinions. The influence of the great family of the Barmekides was entirely on this side, and though Hárún-ar-Rashíd strove to utterly destroy

them, their practical teaching passed on to the men of the next reign. The people generally looked upon them as infidels, but their opinions were no barrier to employment under Mámún, into whose service Jews and Christians were also freely admitted. Such was the state of affairs when Mámún, at length, felt secure on the throne. The Shiahs, whom he had in vain tried to conciliate, were rendered powerless: the 'Abbásides, who had threatened to disown him, were won back by his discarding the green dress of the Shiahs and by his again appearing in public as a descendant of Al 'Abbás. Comparative quiet ruled in Asiatic Islám, and Baghdád, highly prosperous as the capital of a great Empire, was also the resort of learned men from all parts. Discussions on art and science were common, but the most popular and the most frequent were those on religion. Mas'údi in his work *Murúj-i-Dhahab* has preserved for us an account of the matters then discussed. Thus, at one meeting, the Chairman said: "You have discussed at length the theory of concealment (الكمون) and manifestation (الظهور), of pre-existence and creation, of duration and stability, of movement and quiescence, of the union and separation (of the divine substance), of existence and non-existence, of bodies and accidents, of the approval and the refutation (of the Isnáds of the Traditions), of the absence or the existence of attributes in God, of potential and active force, of substance, quantity, modality, and relation, of life and annihilation. You have examined the question as to whether the Inám rules by divine right, or by popular election, you have had an exhaustive discussion on metaphysical subjects, in their principles and corollaries. Occupy yourselves to-day with the subject of love."

In order to understand the earnestness with which many of these subjects were discussed, we must remember that some of them were, according to orthodox Islám, beyond the limits placed around human investigation. Thus a sense of opposition and an air of freedom pervaded these discussions. To get any true insight into them, and to see the part they played in those eventful days, we must turn aside for a brief consideration of the orthodox view of inspiration, and of the nature of the Qurán. Muslims hold that the Qurán is an objective revelation given through Muhammad, in which no ideas of the prophet, or any thing of human origin, is to be found. The very words and letters existed from all eternity, and were made known by the Angel Gabriel to the prophet. It is said to differ from previous revelations in this respect. Thus Ibn Khaldún says:—"Of all the divine books the Qurán is the only one of which the tex

words and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel and other divine books: the prophets received these under the form of ideas.* Such being supposed to be the case, the Qurán was not subject to the usual laws of criticism, and its interpretation was made dependent on the sayings of the Prophet preserved in the Traditions. These sayings are looked upon as inspired utterances, and therefore as an authoritative commentary on the Qurán. Thus early in the history of Islám was a barrier placed to the development of any true exegetical science. The companions of the Prophet are the early commentators. In support of the correctness of their explanations they produce a Tradition (*حديث*) of their leader, and all that a commentator

now can do is, to collect and to repeat what was thus delivered as the true meaning of any passage. Thus all life, all freshness, has passed away. The work of a commentator, as understood in the Christian Church, is quite incompatible with the true Muslim view of the inspiration of the Qurán and the Traditions. This hopeless condition was not, however, arrived at without a struggle. Even in the days of the Khalíf-al-Mansúr, some fifty years before Mámún's time, men had begun to revolt against the bondage of a hard and fast law which was environing them in every department of thought and life. There were at Court a party of men, called by their opponents Zindíqs, or atheists. It is difficult to ascertain their exact religious position, but it was a violent reaction against the excessive dogmatism of Islám, and, like most reactions, went too far, leading them, as it did, into universal scepticism. For example, one of their leading men, Abu'l Hudail relates how he met Sálíh Ibn ' Abd ' l Qadús sorrowing for the loss of his son. "I know not," said Abu'l Hudail, "why you should grieve for him, since, according to you, man is like grass growing in the field." To this Sálíh replied, "I grieve for his loss for this sole reason, that he had not yet read my book of doubts." "What book is that, Sálíh?" "It is a book composed by me; and whosoever reads it is led to so doubt of every thing that exists, as to imagine that it exists not; and so so doubt of every thing that does not exist, as to imagine that it exists." These men did not at first openly attack Islám, but spread their doubts abroad amongst the educated and wealthy classes from whom they obtained the material assistance needed for sending teachers amongst the common people. They do not appear to have ever formulated a system, and they are chiefly

* *Prolegomènes d' Ibn Khaldún.* Vol. 1, p. 195.

famed for their affirmation of negatives. They seem to have denied the existence of God, and so of a revelation from him, but they held that men were under a moral obligation to be kind to one another, and that the laws of nature implanted in the heart of man, should be observed. The orthodox doctors beheld the spread of this heresy with great dismay, and persuaded the next Khalif 'Al-Mahdi, to take vigorous measures for its suppression. A Court of inquisition was established, some genuine heretics were punished, and many persons against whom those in power had some enmity, were falsely accused. According to Jalálu'd-din As-Syúti, the Khalif Mahdi was "the first who commanded the writing of polemical works in refutation of the Ziydíqs and other heretics."

The orthodox writers refer to an effort, said to have been made by these men to compose something equal to the Qurán, and to their failure therein, as a conclusive proof of the divine character of that book. The story goes that Ibn-al-Mukaffa, a converted Persian, the author of the Arabic version of Kalilah and Damnah, was selected by the Zindíqs as the person most capable of producing a book equal in eloquence and style to the Qurán. He stipulated that twelve months should be given him for this purpose, and that all his necessities should be provided for, so that his mind might be free from all distraction. The story goes on to relate that six months after, his friends found him sitting, deep in thought, with pen and paper ready, but totally unable to produce a few lines equal to a verse of the Qurán. He had written again and again, but torn up all he wrote as inferior to the model set before him. Whether it is true, or not, that Ibn-al-Mukaffa thus failed, it is certain that he was a most active opponent of the orthodox party, by whom he was much hated. He was at last burnt to death in an oven, into which his limbs, previously cut off, had been cast.

But besides this spirit of doubt and unbelief which half converted Persians brought with them, there was growing up a large and important school of thought, which, though it differs in some important respects from orthodox Islám, cannot be called a system of unbelief, hardly of doubt. I refer to the remarkable sect of the Mutazalas. Their origin was as follows:—"According to the historian Ibn Khaldún, a famous theologian, Doctor, Al Hasan by name, was one day teaching in the mosque at Basra. During the course of his lecture, a discussion arose on the question, whether a believer who had committed a mortal sin became thereby an unbeliever. The Khárijites, a branch of the great Shiah faction, affirmed that the commission of a mortal

sin would make a man an unbeliever. The orthodox Sunnis denied this, saying that though such a person would become a sinner, he would not be in the position of an unbeliever." Then one of Al Hasán's scholars, Wásil Ibn Atá, rose up and said, "I maintain that a Muslim who has committed a mortal sin should be regarded neither as a believer nor as an unbeliever; but as occupying a middle station between the two." He then retired to another part of the mosque, where he was joined by a number of friends. A learned man, entering the mosque, went up to this group, but not finding Al Hasan amongst them, said: "These are the Seceders" (Al Mutazala). The name thus given, apparently in fun, remained with them, and as Al Hasán expelled them from the mosque and dismissed Wásil from his class, they became seceders, in fact, as well as in name. Wásil Ibn Atá then founded a school of his own, and the most important section of the Mutazalas are called the Wásiliyah. There are several other sections, but on the main points of difference with the Sunni, or orthodox party, all the Mutazalas are more or less at one. Driven out from the orthodox school at Basra by the greatest and most famous teacher there, they were left to themselves, and so they soon entered upon the discussion of many deep and important questions, connected with the subject of inspiration, of free-will, of the divine attributes, and of the future state. The best authority on the subject of their belief is Sharastáni, who in the *Milal wa Nahal*, has given a full account of each section of the Mutazalas. They all hold:—

"That God is eternal and that eternity is the special quality of His nature; they entirely deny the existence of eternal attributes, as distinct from His nature. They say, He is Omniscient as to His nature, Almighty as to his nature, living as to His nature, not through any knowledge, power or life existing in Him as eternal attributes. They hold that the word of God (Qurán) is a new thing, created (مخلوق محدث), localised, that it has letters and sounds, extracts can be made from it and written in other books. Anything which can be thus localised is an accident (not essence) and can be destroyed (عوض فقد نفني في الحال). How then can the Qurán be

eternal? They hold that the attributes of will, hearing and sight are not eternal in the nature of God, but they differ amongst themselves as to the nature and meaning of these attributes. They assert that in a future world the natural eye will not be able to see God (علي نفني رؤيه الله تعالى بالابصار في دار لقرار).

(و انفقوا) they maintain that it is wrong to make any comparison with the Deity. They consider it right to explain the Mutashábih verses of the Qurán (تأويل الآيات المتشابهة فيها) . (و اوجبوا) They consider that man is the creator of his own acts—good or evil—and that in a future state of existence he will deserve rewards or punishments, accordingly as he has acted here. They say that God has no connection with evil or tyranny, for if He had created tyranny, He would be a tyrant, just as the creator of justice must be a just being. They assert that God works only good, and that by means of wisdom, He must necessarily have regard to the good of His servants.

(و يجب من حيث الحكمة رعاية مصالح العباد) . However, there is some difference of opinion, not as regards God's goodness, but as regards the necessity of His having regard to the good of His servants (في وجوبه خلاف عندهم) .

They say, "that a believer who dies in a state of obedience and repentance merits a good reward in a future world, but that he who dies without repenting of his sins, merits an eternal residence in hell, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the unbelievers. They believe it is a necessary duty to know God and to render thanks to Him; and that this knowledge can be gained, and that this duty should be performed, even though no external revelation has been given to a people. They maintain that good and evil can be known by the natural understanding, and that, therefore, even without the guidance of an external law, it is necessary to do good and to avoid evil. God makes known the ceremonies of religion and gives laws by His prophets, but this is an act of grace, and is intended as part of our probation. With regard to the doctrine of the Imámat, there is some difference of opinion."

A very slight knowledge of the tenets of orthodox Islám will suffice to show how widely divergent are the results to which the principles of the Mutazalas lead. This extract from Sharastáni's great work makes it evident that they differ from orthodox Musalmáns on the following points:—

1. As regards the attributes of God, and in connection with this, the question of the eternity of the Qurán.
2. As regards free-will and fate, and the province of reason in guiding the actions of men.
3. As regards the power of interpreting the Mutashábih verses of the Qurán.

4. As regards the relation of God to man, implied in the question raised as to the necessity which impels God to reward the good deeds of His servants.
5. As regards "the vision of God" by the natural eye in the future, and the eternal punishment of wicked Muslims, and the absence of all intercession for them.

The Mutazalas are entirely distinct from the Zindíqs; they are Musalmans, though by way of comparison, they may be called the Broad-church party, hardly a rationalistic one.

The discussion on the nature of the divine attributes, whether they are internal or external, of God's essence or not, eternal or not, subjective or objective, was a very warm one in Mámún's time; but victory on either side of a dispute so abstruse would have led to little practical result. The same may be said on the very earnest disputes on the beatific vision. But the discussions raised on the eternity of the Qurán, opening up, as they do, the whole question of inspiration, and affecting the whole system of exegesis approved by the orthodox, are of the utmost importance.

The Muslim doctors, from the earliest times, have divided the dogmas of religion into two portions, *usúl* and *farú'*—roots, and branches. The former include the Islámie doctrine about God, the future state, and other matters of special revelation; the latter consist of dogmas and duties which naturally arise out of an acceptance of the former. The Prophet said: "Think of God's gifts, not of His nature, certainly you have no power for that." On this Tradition an argument was based that enquiries into the *usúl* were wrong, that men should accept what had been revealed, and ever mistrust their own perceptive faculties and notions. Ibn Khaldún says: "This is no reason why we should depreciate our intelligence and our perceptive faculties; intelligence is a balance perfectly just, it furnishes us with certain results without deceiving us; but we must not employ this balance for weighing subjects connected with the unity of God, the future life, the nature of Prophecy, the true character of the divine attributes and all the matters connected with these subjects. It is an absurdity even to wish to do this."* These fundamental dogmas, thus confined within the limits of dogmatic theology, became the object of attack by the Mutazalas who maintained that all articles of faith and practice were within the cognizance of reason. Thus arose the scholastic theology of the Muslims, known as *'Ilm-i-kalám*. Adopting a different punctuation in the 5th verse of the 3rd Súra of the Qurán, they maintained that men could discuss, and reason on, the Mutashábih verses.

* *Prologomènes d' Ibn Khaldún*, Vol. III., p. 45.

The passage reads thus :—"He it is who hath sent down to thee, the Book. Some of its signs are of themselves perspicuous (محكمات); these are the basis of the Book; and others are figurative (متشابهات). But they whose hearts are given to err, follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation; yet none knoweth its interpretation, but God. And the stable in knowledge say, We believe in it: it is all from our Lord: but none will bear this in mind, save men endued with understanding." From the words as thus arranged, it is clear, that no one can know the interpretation of the Mutashábih verses but God, whilst at the same time all persons must believe in them. This is the orthodox doctrine, and the verse, as given above, supports this view. There are, however, other commentators, who, with the scholastic theologians (Mutakallímán), adopted a different punctuation. They place the full stop, not after the word 'God,' but after knowledge, so that this portion of the verse reads, "none knoweth its interpretation, but God and the stable in knowledge (الراسخون في العلم). They "say we believe," &c.

They argued thus: "If the stable in knowledge" cannot understand these verses, how are they to believe them, and if the Qurán is to be a guide to men, why is so much of it practically a sealed book, why are not all its verses 'perspicuous?' To this it was replied that this peculiarity in its composition was a mark of its divine origin. Anyhow, any attempt to pry into the meaning of the Mutashábih passages was looked upon with horror.

Ibn Khaldún, speaking of the opinion that these verses could not be made the subject of investigation or discussion, says: "That was the rule followed by the ancient Muslims with regard to the Mutashábih verses; they also apply it to expressions of the same kind in the Sunnat, for these come from the same source as the Qurán."* Ayesha, a wife of the Prophet, said: "Avoid those persons who dispute about the meaning of the Qurán; for they are those whom God hath referred to in the words 'whose hearts are given to err.'"

The Mutazalas did not submit to such a restriction of the use of their intelligence and reason, and were thus soon led to attack the orthodox tenet of the eternal nature of the Qurán. They wished to make the revelation a subject of criticism but first it was necessary to place it on the level of books, also regarded as divine. This, Ibn Khaldún tells us, was "a pernicious doctrine which worked great evil."

* Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldún; Vol. III., p. 67.

It is not at all easy to understand what is meant by the dogma of the eternity of the Qurán. Al Ghazzáli speaks thus. "God doth speak, command, forbid, promise and threaten by an eternal ancient word, subsisting in His essence. The Qurán, the Law, the Gospel, and the Psalter, are books sent down by Him to His apostles, and the Qurán, indeed, is read with tongues, written in books and is kept in hearts; yet as *subsisting in the essence of God*, it doth not become liable to separation and division, whilst it is transferred into the hearts, and on to paper." Another Musalman author says: "The word as it exists in the mind of God is Kalám-i-nafsi (spiritual word), something unwritten, and eternal." The doctrine seems to be that the Qurán, the uncreated Logos, was from the beginning, co-eternal with the Deity, not of His essence in hypostatic union, but an inseparable quality of it, like His unity.* The Mutazalas held that the Qurán was created *in subjecto*, and that what was thus created was an accident, and liable to perish. They also urged the following objections: The Qurán is written in Arabic, it descended, is read, is divided into parts, and some portions are abrogated. Events are described in the past tense. If it be eternal, it will also last for ever, and then men will for ever be under its law: there will also be two eternals.

It does not appear that the doctrine of the Qurán was at first a hard-and-fast dogma, but, as its alleged superiority in style and matter † became an article of faith, it was looked upon as a miracle in itself—indeed, the miracle of Islám—and then as eternal. Thus the revelation was never made the subject of investigation, or tried by the ordinary rules of criticism. To the Mutazalas naturally objected. This led the orthodox to some stout asserters of the eternity of the Qurán, and of the objective nature of its revelation.

This subject was most earnestly discussed during the reign of Al-Mámún. In the year 212, A. H., the Khalíf issued a decree declaring that all who asserted that the Qurán was eternal were heretics, but it was not till five years later that he put it in force. ‡ He then wrote to the Prefect at Baghdád as follows §:—
"Verily, the Prince of the Faithful is aware that the public at

* *Vide* Note on p. 318. Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, No. 446.

† Baron de Slane aptly remarks:—"Were we to examine the Qurán by the rules of rhetoric and criticism, as they are taught in Muslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection

of thought and expression: an inevitable result, as the Muslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book."

‡ *Prolégomènes d' Ibn Khaldún*, Vol. III., p. 57.

§ This letter is given in full by Jalálúddín As-Syúti.

large, and the general herd of the rabble and that of the vulgar mob who have no insight or knowledge, nor seek illumination from the light of wisdom and its demonstration, are a people ignorant of God and blind in regard to Him, and in error as to the truth of His doctrine, and fail to estimate Him according to the reality of His transcendence, and to arrive at a true knowledge of Him, and to distinguish between Him and His creature, and that, inasmuch as they have formed an ill opinion of the difference between Him and His creation, and what He hath revealed in the Qurán, for they are agreed upon its being from the beginning, not created by God, nor produced by Him; yet verily, the most High hath said, 'verily, we have made the same an Arabic Qurán' (Súra 43). Now, indeed, whatever He hath made, He hath created as the most High hath said, 'and hath created the darkness and the light' (Súra 6), and 'do we relate unto thee of the histories of the Apostles' (Surá 11), viz:—of what had *previously occurred*, wherefore He announceth that He relateth events, *subsequent to which* He produced the Qurán. Again, He says, 'this book, the verses of which are guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly explained' (Surá 11). Therefore is God the guardian of His book and its expounder: He is, therefore, its maker and interrogator."

The Khalif then goes on to accuse the orthodox of spiritual pride and bigotry and calls them "vessels of ignorance and beacons of falsehood, men whose testimony should be rejected, for those who are ignorant as to their true course and their position in the divine unity are not to be trusted." He says to the Prefect, Isháq bin Ibrahim "Assemble the Qázis that are with thee, and read to them my letter, and question them as to what they maintain, and discover from them what they believe in regard to the creation of the Qurán, its being called into existence, and inform them that I seek no assistance in my service, nor do I put any confidence in one who is trustworthy in his faith; and if they allow it and are of accord, I command them to interrogate those witnesses that come before them, and to question them as to their belief in the matter of the Qurán." Seven famous Qázis were then summoned for a personal interview with Mámún, and through fear they assented to his views.

Many others, amongst whom were Hanbal, Wáld, and other famous Doctors of Divinity were summoned to the presence of the Prefect and examined. One example of the style of interrogation will be sufficient. "Isháq said to Ibn-ul-Baká, 'What dost thou say'? He replied, 'I declare the Qurán was made and brought into existence on the authority of the revealed text to that effect.' Isháq said, 'And what is made is created'? He replied, 'Yes.'

'Therefore,' continued Ishâq, 'the Qurân is created?' Al Bakâ replied, 'I do not say it *is created*.' So nothing satisfactory came of the enquiry, and the Kalîf wrote yet again,—“What the pretenders to orthodoxy, and the seekers after an authority, for which they are unfitted, have replied hath reached me. Now, whoso doth not admit that the Qurân is created, suspend him from the exercise of judicial functions, and do not give him authority to relate Traditions.” Messages were also sent to individuals thus: ‘Tell Bishar that if he denieth that the Qurân was created, his head shall be smitten off and sent to me.’ To another the threat was held out, ‘the sword is behind thee.’ All were threatened, and all were in daily terror, lest they should lose their lives, for Al-Mâmûn, on hearing that they had assented through fear and not from conviction, summoned them all to his presence. The Arab historian relates that the Khalîf died before they could reach Baghdád, and adds, “Thus the Lord was merciful to them and banished their fear.”

Many, however, suffered much persecution. The Imâm Ibn Haubal was severely beaten and imprisoned, because he would not agree with the Khalîf on this point. Al-Buwaiti, an orthodox theologian, was brought from Cairo to Baghdád, where, on his refusal to confess that the Qurân was created, he was imprisoned for life. Al-Rabi Ibn Sulaimân says: “I saw Al-Buwaiti mounted on a mule; round his neck was a wooden collar; on his legs were fetters; from these to the collar extended an iron chain to which was attached a clog weighing fifty pounds. Whilst they led him on, he continued repeating the words, “God created the world—by the means of the word, ‘Be;’ now if that word had been created, one created thing would have created another.”

Al-Buwaiti here refers to the verse, “Verily our speech unto a thing when we will the same, is that we only say to it, ‘be and it is’ (كن فيكون) (Súra 36 82.) There is also another passage which the orthodox produce in support of this dogma. It is, ‘nay, but it (the Qurân) is a warning written on honoured pages

(صحف مكرمة) exalted, purified’ (Súra 80, 11-12.) This is said to refer to the eternal copy on the Lauh-i-Mahfûz, the secret tablet; but Zamakhsari, a Mutazala Commentator, (520-613, A.H.) says the ‘honoured pages’ refer to the books of preceding prophets with which the Qurân agrees in substance.

The next point the Mutazala doctors took up was the fatalism of the orthodox Musalmans. They stoutly maintained that if man had no free-will, there was no meaning whatever in the

existence of commands and prohibitions, rewards and punishments; that if God decreed the actions of men, He should bear the name of that which He decrees; * that in many places in the Qurán the words 'to do, to construct, to renew, to create' are applied to men, and that the Hadís supports their interpretation of the Qurán. Thus "all good is in Thy hands, and evil is not to Thee." (الخير كله في يدك والشر ليس عليك). All

this was in opposition to the generally received dogma, which was that God has one eternal will which is applied to all that He willeth, both of His own actions, and of those of men, and this position they support by the verse, "When God created you and *that ye make*," and the Hadís: "God is the maker of all makers, and of their actions." But for every verse thus produced, the Mutazalas produced another, such as—"let him *who willeth* believe, and let him *who willeth* be an infidel" (Súra, 18; 28) †; and so the dispute went on. The fatalism latent in the Islámic system was too strong, too much in accordance with the view of God which was set forth by the Prophet and which the earlier doctors of Islám also expounded, for the Mutazalas, who then made such a vigorous effort to modify its deadly influence, to overcome it. Fatalism is a necessary result of the first principles of Islám; it is now part and parcel of it. God becomes a Being afar off, a capricious despot, not a loving Father of those whom He has created, and whom He watches over with tenderness and care. The Mutazalas saw the error in the system, they saw a portion of the truth, and like honest men held fast to it, but they did not see, it may be they had not the opportunity of seeing, the whole truth, and so they failed. If the modern Mutazalas are to work any reform in Islám, they must first remove from the minds of their Muslim brethren the utterly false notion of the character of God which Islám teaches and encourages. Whether they will succeed better than the Mutazalas of Al-Mámún's time remains to be seen.

The Mutazalas deny that God can be ever seen with the natural eye. The following story illustrates this point. The Khalif Al-Wásiq, a Mutazala, (227—232, A. H.) summoned the Traditionist Ahmad bin Nasr Al Khuzái to Baghdád, and questioned him regarding the creation of the Qurán, and the

* "If He creates tyranny He is a tyrant (لو خلق الظلم كان ظالما) Sharastáni, p. 30.

† The orthodox Commentator, 'Abbas says:—"This verse does not refer

to man's free-will at all, but to the decree, e. g. : 'He whom God wills to believe will do so, and whom He wills to be an infidel will be so.'" Tafsir-i-Husani, Vol. II., p. 9.

vision of God at the day of judgment. In regard to the latter point Ahmad replied:—"Thus goes the tradition, 'Ye shall see your Lord at the day of judgment, as ye see the moon'

(تروُن ربكم يوم القيامة كما ترون القمر). Al-Wásiq said, 'Thou liest.' Ahmad replied: 'Nay, it is thou who liest.' 'What,' said the Khalif, 'will He be seen, as is seen a circumscribed and corporeal form which space can contain and the eye grasp?' 'Verily, I deny a God with such attributes—what say ye?' Then some of the Mutazala doctors who were with him said, 'It is lawful to put Ahmad to death.' Wherefore he ordered his sword to be brought, and said, 'When I rise up against him, let no one rise with me, for verily I throw the burden of my sins upon this infidel, who worshippeth a God I do not worship, and whom I do not recognise with these attributes with which he investeth Him. The Khalif then beheaded the prisoner with his own hand. The body was afterwards impaled as a terror to others.*"

Al-Mámún, we are told, was well versed in the sciences, and the pages of Ibn Khallikán record his many conversations with the learned men with whom he surrounded himself†. Often subjects of the most abstruse nature were selected for discussion; sometimes the meetings were enlivened by controversies on knotty points in grammar and rhetoric. The following anecdote gives some idea of the Khalif's liberality of sentiment. It is to be found in the introduction to the seventh volume of the French edition of Al-Masoundi's *Muráj Ad Dhabab* (Prairies D'or). A mendicant, clad in rags, came one day to the palace, when the most illustrious theologians and doctors discussed in the presence of the Khalif. The mendicant insisted on entering, and on taking part in the discussion. Al-Mámún recognised in him one of a sect, yet in its infancy, but whose doctrines, a singular mixture of social communism and of pantheistic mysticism, were even then exercising a great influence on the destiny of the oriental world. He received him kindly, and gave him permission to speak. Without hesitation, the Sáfí demanded an account of the absolute power wielded by the Khalif. Was it usurpation, the conquest of mere force, or power delegated to him by the free consent of the people? If this had been said to any other ruler than Mámún, the executioner would have been ordered to give the reply, and the imprudent interrogator would have paid for his rashness with his life; but Mámún was amused,

* History of the Khalifs by As-Syúti, chapter on Al Wásiq.

† "Al Mámún possessed a natural turn for jurisprudence and deserves

to be accounted amongst the greatest doctors." Jalalu'd-din As-Syúti, chapter on Mámún.

and said, "The people are masters of their destiny, and in them resides the sovereign power. The power transmitted to me, I hold only for the public good. It is true, I hold it with a mandate, but I hold it without usurpation for the purpose of maintaining order in the State, and to render certain the performance of the great religious duties, the Haj, and the Holy War." The Súfi could give no reply to this statement, and so he went and reported the result of the interview to some of his companions who were hiding in a mosque near at hand. Thus the Khalif disarmed opposition. His opponents dispersed and made known everywhere the uselessness of provoking a rising against his authority. Al-Mámún by his ready wit stifled in the germ a conspiracy which might have been fatal. The recent translation of the 'Apology of Al Kindi,' an Arabic work believed to have been originally written during Mámún's reign, shows us to what a remarkable extent freedom of discussion was then allowed. Under none but a Mutazalá Khalif could such a work have been issued. By an old law in Egypt any house in which the manuscript of this work was found, was liable to be razed to the ground, with forty adjacent houses also; and the book would most certainly even now be confiscated at the Custom House in Constantinople.

We have the authority of Ibn Khaldún for the statement of the fact, that Al-Mámún gathered from other countries and from other faiths men of culture and skill. He tells us that Mámún was a great lover of the sciences, for, feeling a lively passion for intellectual pursuits, he had cultivated them. "He sent ambassadors to the kings of the Greeks to translate into Arabic the scientific works of that people, and then to introduce them into his own country. For this purpose, he sent with them many interpreters. From that time the Musalmáns, who have occupied themselves with speculative enquiries, have applied themselves to the study of these sciences in all their branches, and have become very clever in them."*

There was also a famous band of Nestorian Christians at Baghdád, many of whom were physicians of repute, who were in high favour with the liberal 'Abbáside Khalifs. "The Arabic translation of Aristotle's works, as of those of Greek authors in general were made, for the most part, by learned Syrian and Chaldean Christians, and especially by the Nestorians. The works of Aristotle were mostly translated from the Syriac."† These men, of whom Honein-Ibn-Isháq was the head, translated a large number of scientific and philosophical works. It is to men such as these that

* *Prologomènes d' Ibn Khaldún*,
Vol. III., p. 127.

† *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive
et Arabe* per S. Munk, p. 313.

the Arabs owe their acquaintance with philosophy, for it must be remembered, that "there never was an Arabian science, strictly speaking. The philosophy and science of the Muhammadans was Greek, Jewish and Persian. The Arab language having become the language of the Empire, this philosophy is written in that language, but the ideas are not Arabian; the spirit is not Arabian."* This is quite in accordance with the testimony of the Arab historian Ibn Khaldún, but none the less is credit due to Al-Mámún for the part he took in encouraging the Arabs to learn wisdom, even from other races, and from men of other creeds.

The following are some of the recorded sayings of Al-Mámún. †
 "The best of conferences is where one gets an insight into men. Men are of three classes, those who are as nourishment, necessary under all circumstances; those who are like medicine, necessary on occasion of sickness, and those who are like diseases, hateful under every condition. The answer of none has ever embarrassed me as the answer of a man of the people of Kufa embarrassed me, whom its governor sent to me, and he complained against their governor. I replied, 'Thou liest, for he is a just man.' He said, 'the Prince of the Faithful hath spoken truly, and I have lied; verily, thou hast chosen him for us in this city, to the exclusion of other cities, now appoint him to another city that he may encompass them with his equity and justice as he hath encompassed us.' I said, 'Rise and be off, verily I shall remove him from over you.' Mámún died on the 18th of Rajab, 218 A. H. (9th August 883, A. D.) His prevailing taste for discussion is hinted at in the words of one of his admirers. "The Imám of right guidance, Al-Mámún is employed in the concerns of religion, while men are busy about the world."

During the reign of his successor Mua'tasim, and during part of Wásiq's reign, the Mutazalas remained in power. Ad-Dahabi says "Al-Mua'tasim would have been one of the greatest and most awe-inspiring of the Khalífs, were it not for the inquisition of the learned regarding the creation of the Qurán which has left a stain on his glory," and As-Syúti tells us that "he followed the course adopted by Al-Mámún in this matter, and commanded that all teachers should instruct children in accordance with the Mutazala view." Many learned men were put to death, because they would not conform. The Imám Ahmad bin Hanbal was scourged in the year 220 A. H.

Al-Wásiq Billáh, the next Khalíf, succeeded his father in the year 227 A. H., and for a while supported the Mutazala party;

* History of Philosophy, by Lewes, Vol. II., p. 34.

† As-Syúti's history, Chapter on Mámún.

but towards the close of his reign he retracted, and stopped the persecution of the orthodox sect.

The following story illustrates the charge in the Khalif's conduct. The Court of Inquisition under the presidency of Ahmad Ibn Abu Dáid, a Mutazala doctor, met to consider some cases which were to be brought before it. The Khalif was also in court; an old man, heavily chained, was brought in, and then, the prisoner having gained permission to speak, the following conversation was held. "Ahmad," said the prisoner, "what is the dogma which you desire to have established?" "That the Qurán is created," replied Ahmad. "This dogma, then, is without doubt an essential part of religion, insomuch that the latter cannot without it be said to be complete?" "Certainly," "Has the apostle of God taught this to men, or has he left them free?" "He has left them free." "Was the apostle of God acquainted with this dogma or not?" "He was acquainted with it." "Wherefore, then, do you desire to impose a belief regarding which the Apostle of God has left men free to think as they please?" Ahmad remaining silent, the old man turned to Wásiq and said, "Oh, Prince of believers, here is my first position made good." Then turning to Ahmad, he continued, "God has said, 'This day have I perfected religion for you, and have filled up the measures of my favours upon you; and it is my pleasure that Islám be your religion' (Súra 5, 5); but according to you, Islám is not perfected unless we adopt the doctrine that the Qurán is created; which now is most worthy of credence—God, when He declares Islám to be complete and perfect, or you, when you announce the contrary?" Ahmad was still silent. "Prince of believers," said the old man, "there is my second point made good." He continued, "Ahmad, how do you explain the following words of God in His holy book. 'Oh, Apostle! proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord; for if thou dost not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all.' Now this doctrine that you desire to spread among the faithful, has the Apostle taught it, or has he abstained from doing so?" Ahmad remained silent. The old man resumed, "Oh, Prince of believers, such is my third argument." Then, turning again to Ahmad, he said: "If the Prophet was acquainted with the doctrine which you desire to impose upon us, had he the right to pass by it in silence?" "He had the right." And did the same right appertain to Abu Bakr, Omar, Osmán and 'Ali?" "It did," "Prince of believers," said the prisoner, "God will, in truth, be severe on us if he deprives us of a liberty which he accorded to the Prophet and his Companions." The Khalif assented to this statement, and at once restored the old man to liberty. This

was the indication of a change of policy. The Mutazalas, hitherto persecutors, soon became the persecuted. The orthodox were again able to hold up their heads, and to enforce once more the rigid claims of their traditional system, and to place an efficient barrier to all freedom of thought in the religious world. The next Khalif, Al Mutawakkil, a grandson of Ar-Rāshid, commenced his reign in 232 A.H. He soon evinced his partiality for the orthodox side, and favoured those who professed the Sunnī doctrines of the orthodox school. Jalālū'd-dīn As-Syūti tells us that he summoned the traditionists to Sāmara, loaded them with presents, honoured them, and commanded them to bring forward Traditions on the attributes of God, and the vision of God at the last day. This was done to refute the teaching of the Mutazalas on these points. The people were highly pleased. One said: "The Khalifs are but three, Abu Bakr for his waging war on the apostates, Omar for his removal of abuses, and Al Mutawakkil for his revival of traditional doctrine." A poet adds:—

"Now to-day orthodoxy has become
Honoured, as if it never had been in reproach,
And the innovators in religion had fled
Into Hell fire, disgraced and unaccepted of God!"

The Khalif also issued a decree declaring that the Mutazala dogma of the creation of the Qurán was an utter falsehood. He then proceeded to institute severe measures against the Jews and Christians, Shīahs and Mutazalas.

Under the Mutazala Khalifs, the Zimmis held very important offices in the administration of the empire, but as soon as Mutawakkil began to show a zeal for orthodoxy, he was besieged with complaints against the Zimmis, the Jews and Christians, who had had so much to do with the fame and prosperity of Baghdád. In answer to these appeals, the Khalif issued orders to the Governors of Provinces and to the Generals commanding armies and frontier forts, that no Zimmi was in future to be employed. There was no need for it, "for" said he, "God has endowed the Muslims with every thing needful without having recourse to these infidels who give companions to God, regard His messengers as impostors, and who obstinately reject His signs."

The non-Muslim population had to wear yellow head coverings, and to carry collars of iron or wood round their necks. The figures of devils were placed in front of their houses. The tomb of Husain was destroyed, its neighbourhood laid waste and pilgrimages to it prohibited. The Court of Inquisition was now fully occupied in dealing with cases of heresy, and an ardent

desire for orthodoxy was spread amongst the learned, whose example was followed by the great mass of the people. The Mutazalas were thoroughly beaten, and those who were allowed to live were expelled from Baghdád. Speaking of the efforts of the Mutazala Khalifs to encourage that system, Syed Amir 'Ali says, "Orthodoxy proved too strong for those sovereign pontiffs, and the triumph of Patristicism under the bigot Mutawakkil led eventually to the downfall of the Khalifate." *

Thus the Mutazalas lost all political power, but, as a school of free-thinkers, they continued to exist for a while in Basra. The Mutazala doctrines also lived on as a latitudinarian influence in the writings of the philosophers; but, as a distinct sect, the Mutazalas soon ceased to exist. At Basra, they still continued to discuss abstruse questions concerning the attributes of God. Such profitless discussion would have for us no interest whatever, were it not that amidst all the hair-splitting disputation a man was being trained who was the first to "give to the orthodox creed a scholastic basis of argument," and by whom the final blow was given to the Mutazalas. "The Mutazalas," it was said, "held up their heads till such time as God produced Al Ash'ari to the world."

Abu Hasan Al Ash'ari was born in Basra about the year 270 A. H., and died about seventy years after. As a young man, he was a student of the Mutazala doctrines. Ibn Khallikán tells us how he came to give up his connection with this rationalistic school. Abu 'Ali Al-Jubbai, a Mutazala doctor, was one day lecturing to his students, when Al Ash'ari propounded the following case to his master:—"There were three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious; the second an infidel, a debauchee and a reprobate; and the third an infant: they all died. What became of them?" Al-Jubbai answered:—"The virtuous brother holds a high station in Paradise, the infidel is in the depths of hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation." "Suppose, now," Al-Ash'ari said, "if that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so?" "No," replied Al-Jubbai, "it would be said to him: 'Thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience to God, and thou hast no such works to set forward.'" "Suppose, then," said Al-Ash'ari, "that the child should say: 'This is not my fault, you did not let me live long enough, neither did you give me the means of proving my disobedience?'" "In that case," said Al-Jubbai, "the Almighty would say,

* Personal Law of the Muhammedans. Introduction, page 18.

"I knew that if I allowed thee to live thou wouldst have been disobedient, and have incurred the punishment of hell: I acted, therefore, for thy advantage." "Well," said Al-Ash'ari, "and suppose the infidel brother were to say: 'Oh God of the universe, since thou knowest what awaited him, thou must have known what awaited me; why then didst thou act for his advantage, and not for mine?'"* Al-Jubbai was silent, though very angry with his clever pupil. Al-Ash'ari finding no reasonable answer given to him, began to doubt the Mutazala teaching on free-will, and to have misgivings on other questions. At last, he announced it as his deliberate opinion that the Qurán was not created. He entered the mosque at Basra, one Friday, and in a loud voice cried out:—"They who know me, know who I am; as for those who do not know me, I shall tell them; I am 'Ali Ibn Ismá'el Al-Ash'ari, and I used to hold that the Qurán was created, that the eyes (of men) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are the authors of our evil deeds; now I have returned to the truth. I renounce these opinions, and engage to refute the Mutazalas and to expose their infamy and turpitude."† He then founded a school of his own. To enter into details of Al-Ash'ari's teaching, would be to go beyond the limits of the subject now under consideration. It is enough to say that it was a return to orthodox Islám, and a successful opposition to the Mutazala system. Al-Ash'ari met all the distinctive doctrines of the Mutazalas by a direct negative, denying that man could by the aid of his reason alone rise to the knowledge of good and evil, or that he had any right to apply to the actions of God the moral laws which affect men. He maintained that no one knew, by reason, whether good would be rewarded or evil punished, and that the position of man before God must ever be that of a slave. It is true, that he used scholastic methods to maintain his position; but Ibn Khaldún draws a clear distinction between the use of reason by the orthodox, and the use of it by the philosophers. He says:—"The establishment of proofs, founded on reason, was adopted by the first scholastics as the subject of their works, but it was not with them, as with the philosophers, an attempt to arrive at the discovery of the truth and to obtain, by means of demonstration, the knowledge of that which had been hitherto unknown. The scholastics searched for intellectual proofs for the object of confirming the truth of the dogmas, of justifying the opinion of the early Muslims, and of repelling the

* Ibn Khallikán. Vol. II, page 669.

† Ibn Khallikán. Vol. II, page 228.

false doctrines to which the innovators had given expression." *

Thus even the improved method introduced by Al Ash'ari, though it availed him in dialectic contests with the Mutazalas, did not, by reason of the limit placed upon its use, tend in any way to retain a liberal spirit, or even a thoughtful spirit of enquiry in Islām; but rather the reverse, for it was used entirely to support Traditionalism, and it assumed that Islām was so perfect and so complete that growth and expansion were unnecessary.

Thus the Mutazalas failed to reform Islām. They lived on for a while in the schools of Philosophy, but on Islām as a system of religion they had no permanent influence. The reason may be that the discussions in Māmūn's time were more exercises of the intellect than any earnest groping for light. Morally, the Mutazala Khalifs were no better than others. They showed the same spirit of cruelty to those who opposed them, and the same self-will in all their acts of state. They opposed orthodoxy on purely speculative grounds, and not on moral ones. The great social evils of Islām—polygamy, concubinage and slavery—they seem to have looked upon with favour. In this respect, they made no attempt to improve the social life or habits of the people over whom they ruled. There was no force in the movement to regulate the nations, and so it came to an end.

The Mutazalas lived at a period when Baghdād and the Khalifate were at their prime. There was no lack of intellectual activity. The most eminent scholars of the Byzantine Empire were welcomed at Court, and the study of the arts and sciences was pursued with a most creditable ardour. It may be freely conceded to Muslims that this was a period of which they may be justly proud, and from which the orthodox may learn the valuable lesson, that all this glory was transient, that it only lasted whilst orthodoxy was practically set aside, and that it passed away with the suppression of the Mutazalas.

A thousand years have passed, and we are told, that the younger race of Indian Musalmans are tending unconsciously toward Mutazala doctrines. So far it is well, for any movement is better than the utter stagnation of orthodox Islām. That they will reform Islām, may be a pious wish of their leaders, it is nothing more. But whither their investigations on Mutazala principles will lead them, no one can say. They are placed in a far more advantageous position than the Mutazalas of

* *Prolegomenes d' Ibn Khaldūn*. Vol. 111, page 169.

Mámún's time were for searching after truth. Some, at least, may go on and see in the Logos of St. John, the uncreated word, the true Kalám Ullah, the Revealer of God to man, the one Prophet to whom alone even Islám imputes no sin.

EDW. SELL.

Since writing the above, I have had my attention directed to the Hibbert Lectures for 1882, and to the remarks of Dr. Kuenen on the suppression of the Mutazala movement. They are worth quoting. He says—

“The caprice of a tyrant may have been the occasion of the overthrow of the Mo'tazilites, but its real cause lay deeper, in the essence of Islám which the popular instinct had apprehended justly. The masses were not competent to follow the discussions of the scholars, but they felt that the defenders of the uncreated Qurán were upholding the absolute claims of their religion, and must, therefore, be right. It was not in the God of the Mo'tazilites, whose essence was righteousness, but in the God of orthodoxy, the Almighty, subject to no other rule than his own caprice, that they recognised their own and Muhammad's Allah. Alas! they were in the right. The law of Islám contains admirable moral precepts, and, what is more, succeeds in bringing them into practice and powerfully supporting their observance. But this is not enough to make it an *ethical* religion. It was the glory of the Mo'tazilites that they endeavoured to raise it to this character. But their effort struck at once upon the rock that must ultimately wreck it—the fixed character of Islám, fixed even then, nay, fixed from the very outset. Hence, too, the fact that their fall was followed by no resurrection.”—*Hibbert Lectures for 1882*, p. 49.

EDW. SELL.

ART IV.—THE BEHAR DIALECTS—A REJOINDER.

MR. GRIERSON'S article—"In Self-defence"—in the October number of the *Calcutta Review* calls for a rejoinder. No one can appreciate more highly than I do the service Mr. Grierson has been doing to the cause of Indian philology by his study of the Behar dialects. But he does not rest content, in the manner of Prince Lucien Bonaparte and the English Dialect Society in England, or of Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Hoernle, Dr. Hunter, and Mr. Beames, in India, with purely scientific labours. He is the author of a political propaganda, which, however well-meant, can have only the effect of further splitting up the already but too much split-up Indian population. This makes it the duty of all Indians who can understand the manifold bearings of the question, and who wish that the course of affairs in their unfortunate country should, under English guidance, be a process of steady evolution, and not a series of spasmodic, inharmonious, revolutionary movements in the direction of progress, to try to put in a clear light before the English rulers of the country, and also their own fellow-countrymen, the various aspects of the question, and thus help them to judge whether Mr. Grierson is a true or a false light.

I take the several points in Mr. Grierson's article, not exactly in the same order in which they occur in the article.

Mr. Grierson says that he and Dr. Hoernle are 'in accord on every* point connected with the Bihari language.' Now, however great the degree of accord between him and Dr. Hoernle (which by the way, I had no knowledge of till informed by Mr. Grierson himself), it is by no means clear how this can bar an adversary from confronting Mr. Grierson's loose, inaccurate, sensational utterances, with the careful, correct and sober statements of Dr. Hoernle, on collateral questions, such as the origin and character of Urdu. Mr. Grierson says—(*C. R.*, October 1882, p. 259): "A reader of the whole of my theory [of the History and Grammar of Urdú], and not one short extract, will see that it and Dr. Hoernle's are identical, though necessarily couched in different terms." The following extracts will, I hope, fully satisfy every one, that, if 'terms' are *intended* to have any meaning, Mr. Grierson's theory is essentially different, from Dr. Hoernle's, nay, from Colebrooke's too. The states in the extracts that follow are mine, except in that from Colebrooke.

* "Every point" does not extend, raised by Mr. Grierson. "Every it seems, to the practical question point" would thus be misleading.

MR. GRIERSON.

1. "We have now to consider what the grammar was which the Hindus contributed. To this the answer is,—the grammar of no one Indian dialect. The invasion of the Musalmans was essentially progressive. Its motto was "onward." It first attacked the Panjáb (?) and then Gujrát (?), and subsequently its victorious waves spread over Andh and the Doab, and thence over the whole of Hindustan. The conquering armies passed over many countries possessing many different languages, and hence, as it accompanied the troops, the soldiers' language adapted itself to its new surroundings, picking up part of the peculiarities of the new dialects which it came across, and sometimes discarding and sometimes retaining the peculiarities of the provinces where it first came into existence. *The Urdú is, therefore, both in grammar and vocabulary, a most complete lingua franca.* Its vocabulary includes Arabic, Persian, Turkí, and Telugu besides the words belonging to the Northern Indian Vernaculars, while *its grammar has levied a contribution from almost every language of North-Western India. Hence it is impossible to say what language is responsible for Urdú Grammar.* Many of the forms have been so deformed in Musalman mouths as to render it extremely difficult to trace them to any special language. Thus, while

DR. HOERNLE.

"It [Urdú] originated during the twelfth century in the country round Delhi, the centre of the Muhammadan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Márwárí and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (Urdú) of the Muhammadan soldiery in their intercourse with the surrounding populations, *a mixed language grew up which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjábí and Márwárí forms*, while as regards vocabulary it is partly indigenous Hindí, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the long final *a* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *an* and the Márwárí *o*, is a bit of Panjábí. Again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Márwárí. When the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdú! Thus the Braj forms the future either in *ihau* or in *aumgan* (1st pers. sing.); Urdú has retained only the latter in the form *únga*, on account (no doubt, of its similarity to the Panjábí *ámga*.....

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindí area; viz., the High-Hindí or Urdú, the W. Hindí, and the E. Hindí. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular [by vernacular must be meant here *lingua rustica*] of the people, *but it is the language of literature, of the towns, and of the higher classes of the population*, and it takes the form of Urdú

we can trace the Urdú genitive in *ka, ke, ki*, to the Braj Bháshá, *kau, ke, ki*, opinions differ as to whether we are to ascribe the instrumental in *ne* to Maráthí (?), or to the dialect of the people immediately surrounding Dillí, only one thing being certain, that *ne* was never used in this sense in Braj Bháshá. This must suffice, as an example, to show how Urdú never was the language, either in grammar or vocabulary, of any one people; it is as unfair to call it so as it would be to shake a number of Provençal French, Italian, Wallachian, Spanish, and German words out of a pepper-caster on a sheet of paper, to tack on to them Spanish inflexions for the nouns, the Wallachian inflexions for the verbs, and to call that a language.—*Calcutta Review*, No. CXXI, pp. 155, 156.

II.—“The above complacent description of this *lingua franca* [Urdú] is by the man [Mír Amman] who first gave it the dignity of being reduced to writing. The *Bágh-o-Bahár* was written by Mír Amman in the year 1801, so that Urdú can only boast of an existence as a written language of 80 years. Before that it was as little

among Muhammadans and of Hindí among Hindús; the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned.”—*Introduction to Gardian Grammar*, pp. VI, VII, VIII.

II. “It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdú was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindí area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power either in the army or court or in the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people.”—*Ibid*, p. VII.

COLEBROOKE IN 1803.*

II & III. “The *Canyacubjá* possessed a great empire, the metropolis of which was the ancient city of *Canyacubja*, or *Canoj*. Theirs seems to be the language which forms the groundwork of modern *Hindustáni*, and which is known by the appellation *Hindí* or *Hindeví*. Two dialects of it may be easily distinguished, one more refined, the other less so. To this last the

* The Vol. of the *Asiatic Researches* from which the extract is given

was printed in 1803. Colebrooke's paper may have been written earlier.

studied and as little cared for as the Pigeon-English of Hong-Kong. It had not, amongst the English even, the name that it now possesses, but was called contemptuously "Moors," and in such a tone, we find even the judicious Colebrooke, writing to his father in 1783, or 18 years before the Bágh-o-Bahár was written . . . Colebrooke at this time had been only three months in the country."—*Ibid.*, p. 153.

name of *Hindí* is sometimes restricted, while the other is often confounded with *Prácrit*. Numerous poems have been composed in both dialects not only before the *Hindustani* was ingrafted on the *Hindí* by a large intermixture of Persian, but also in very modern times by *Muhammadan* as well as *Hindu* poets. *Dóhrás* or detached couplets and *Cabits* or stanzas, in the *Hindeví*, may be found among the works of *Musalman* authors; it will be sufficient to instance those of *Melíc Muhamed Jaísí*, *Muhammed Afzel*, and *Amír Khán Anjám*. Most poems in this dialect are, however, the exclusive production of *Hindu* poets."* . . .

A high standard of evidence is certainly not one of the requirements of Mr. Grierson's logic, otherwise he would not have admitted this testimony of a young man just landed in the country.

Mr. Grierson is nothing, if not original, and the following is another original discovery of his.

DR. HOERNLE.

II. "It is commonly supposed that *Urdú* is a composite language, having its body and grammar consisting of the so-called *Hindí*, and its clothing of a large number of Arabic and Persian words substituted for their *Hindí* equivalents. But this is, of a truth,

III. "The High-*Hindí* dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the *Hindu* revival under the influence of English Missions and education. Naturally enough, *Urdú*, the dominant and official dialect came to hand in this movement, and was *Hinduised* or turned

* "Among the most admired specimens of *Hindí* poetry the seven hundred couplets of *BIHARILAL* and the amatory verses of *SUNDER* and of *MATIRAM* are conspicuous. But their dialect is not pure *Hindeví*; since they sometimes borrow from the Persian language. *SUNDER* wrote his poems in the reign of

SHARJEHAN, and seems to have been patronised by that prince whom he praises in his preface. *BIHARILAL* flourished at the court of *Ambar* towards the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Christian era."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, p. 220.

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putting the cart before the horse with a vengeance. Urdú, as a spoken language, is more than three hundred years old, while *Hindī did not exist even in name till seventy years ago.* As a matter of fact, it is Hindī which is derived from Urdú and not Urdú from Hindī. It is Hindī which has borrowed the body of its language and its grammar [does not language include grammar?] from Urdú and which has supplied a number of Hindū words in exchange for the equivalent Arabic and Persian ones."—*Ibid.*, p. 152.

Now this tremendous discovery of Mr. Grierson's rests entirely on a verbal equivocation. It is only if by Hindi is understood High-Hindi prose that Mr. Grierson's proposition would be correct. But Hindi, as is well known, is used in a very loose, wide sense, embracing within its sweep the so-called Hindi of Chand Bardai, as well as that of the latest Khariboli schoolbook. A Hindi poetical literature, varying from the archaic Hindi of Chand to what differs very little, if at all, from High-Hindi, existed side by side with an Urdu poetical literature, and only prose Hindi literature was a little posterior in date to prose Urdu literature; which, too, sprang up under English influence and English authority. A spoken Hindi must also have long existed side by side with a spoken Urdu, for Sanskrit culture never died out, and a Pāndit of Delhi or Agra must have spoken Hindi where Muhamadans or Persian-knowing Hindus spoke Urdu.

I give a few more extracts from Mr. Grierson's first article, to show, by additional evidence, that Mr. Grierson's vein is that of an unsober, sensational writer.

IV. "The invaders did not speak any of the languages of the invaded country. The language of the bulk of the troops was either Turkī or Persian, the latter of which, although undoubtedly a language of the Aryan family, *had so long separated from the common stock as to have lost all trace of resemblance to the tongue of the Aryan brothers of Hindustan.*"

Separated from the common stock longer than what?—the Aryan tongues of India? "Lost all trace," &c. Is this a sober

into High-Hindī by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdú and High-Hindī are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible."—*Introduction, Gaudian Grammar*, p. VII.

statement of facts? Again, the language of the bulk of the troops, in so far as it was Aryan, must have been Pashto rather than Persian, which last could have been in use among only the leaders and the body of educated adventurers who poured into the country in the wake of the Mahomedan conquest.

V. "The same dialect which was spoken by the cowherds who sported with Krishna on the banks of the Jamuná is now spoken by their descendants, as they wind their way to the Cutcheries of Agra and Mathurá; and it is the same all over Hindústán; the Munsalman language never penetrated to the mass of the people."—*Ibid.*, p. 155.

This is about as correct as it would be to say, that the same dialect that was spoken on the banks of the Rhine, when the Roman legions crossed the river, is spoken by the descendants of the old Teutons at the present day.

I admit I was in error in thinking that the name 'Bihari' had been of Mr. Grierson's invention. But what shall we say of a language, the very existence of which remained to be discovered by a German savant, and a name for which had to be invented by the Editor of the *Englishman* in the year of Grace 1881, on what blessed day we are not told by Mr. Grierson, who says simply that it was in the spring of that year? 'Bihari,'* as a designation of the Eastern Hindi dialects, has no practical significance, except in connexion with the proposal to create for Behar a cultivated standard of the 'language.' Popular instinct recognises no such language. It regards

* Despite its adoption by the highly erudite Dr. Hoernle, the term seems to be more misleading than *E. Hindi*, which he proposed earlier. Europeans have a notion that Behar or, puristically Behár is the modern name of Magadh, but the term Bihár, as a designation for the province, is as little current among the people inhabiting Bihar as *Greece* or *Germany* among the Greek or the German people. If Magadh is now Bihár, Magadhí must be Biháří, and this seems to have induced Dr. Hoernle to adopt the name Biháří, for historically the E. H. dialects have grown out of the Magadhí Prakrit. But Magadhí has left Maggá as its modern representative. The term Biháří would indeed be very much like the play of Ham-

let, with the part of Hamlet left out, for Bhojpuri, which is the strongest, and most typical of the E. Hindi dialects is spoken over only a small portion of Behar, (as shewn on Dr. H's Map), while outside Behar it is spoken over a larger area than all Behar. Again Banawarí, another E. Hindi dialect, spoken west of Bhojpur, covers an area nearly as large, on Dr. Hoernle's Language-Map, as Maitihíl, and Magadhí (Maggá) together. Under the circumstances E. Hindi, it seems, would be a less misleading name than Biháří, and properly safeguarded by a definition, it may serve as well as the term *Low German*, which is made to include even the 'substantive and independent' English tongue.

Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magga as distinct languages. If 'Bihari' is a language, let it alone, let it develop itself if it can. If High-Hindi be deemed an unsuitable medium of popular education in Behar, the eastern part of the North-West Provinces and in Chutia Nagpur, let popular education be imparted in the language which the people of each locality may wish to adopt, on the equitable principle of local self-government which Dr. Hunter announced in his Allahabad speech as the solution of the Hindi *vers.* Urdu difficulty in the North-West Provinces. Only do not put on official pressure, do not call in state action. Under the operation of a let-alone policy, such as has been indicated above, it is quite certain that no 'Bihari' or 'Eastern Hindi' literature will grow up, while, if any demand is felt for education in Maithili, Magga and Bhojpuri, such demand will be satisfied by local organisations under the usual general control of the State. Eastern Hindi can be called a language only in the sense that Platt-Deutsch is called a language, *i. e.*, as an aggregate of several closely related dialects, not one of which is admitted to be the literary standard to which the others subordinate themselves. There can be no possible objection to the Eastern Hindi dialects being scientifically studied, just as the Platt-Deutsch dialects have been scientifically studied, or as the English dialects are being scientifically studied. No body has in Europe ever thought of cultivating one of the Platt-Deutsch dialects of northern Germany, and enforcing it over the whole Platt-Deutsch portion of Germany, to the exclusion of Hoch-Deutsch. But India is an ignorant, and a conquered country, and it is therefore nothing very surprising that Mr. Grierson should consider it a fair field for a bit of philological experimentation, without minding that experimentation in practical matters often means experimentation by vivisection. Englishmen, who are so conservative at home, so extremely jealous of Government initiation in all matters, are nevertheless extremely ready in India to have recourse to direct political action; in matters which should best be left to be regulated by the cultivated intelligence of the people. The principle laid down by Buckle, 'first change the opinion, then change the law,' does not suit the average Anglo-Indian temperament. It is a process that cannot find favour with men who, trained up in the unhealthy atmosphere of an ignorant and obsequious subject-population, naturally enough fall back into the habits of thought and action that centuries of social and political training have repressed in England.

Mr. Grierson says, 'the Babu advocates the extension of Bengali into Mithila, &c.' (*C. R.*, October 1882, p. 257). That

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I have advocated the extension of Bengali into Mithila is, indeed, news to me. I said in a note that 'the extension of Bengali into Mithila may be advocated with, perhaps, better reason than extension of some Behar dialect over all Behar, since even Maithili written character is almost identical with the Bengali'; while in the body of the article I argued against the sufficiency of the reasons urged by Mr. Grierson for the extension of some one Behar dialect over all Behar, and distinctly said, that such extension would be as bad as the extension of Bengali over Orissa, which has been advocated in Bengal on the theoretical ground, as I stated, of the close affinity between the languages of Bengal and Orissa. This close affinity is universally admitted, while the degree of affinity between Bengali and Maithili was stated by Dr. Hoernle to be of only a doubtful character. Elsewhere in my article, I expressed, by implication, my disapprobation of any extension of Bengali over Assam, though Assamese is beyond question a dialect of Bengali, so much so, that the *Hindoo Patriot*, in noticing the first Number of the *Assam News*, called the language of the newspaper 'Assam Bengali.*' That, in the face of all this, Mr. Grierson calls me an advocate of the extension of Bengali into Mithila, does not speak well of his fairness to an antagonist. As a matter of fact, holding such views as I do in respect of written Bengali (Vide *Calcutta Review* for October 1877, Art. "Bengali Spoken and Written") I should be the last person to advocate its extension anywhere beyond the limits within which it prevails. My argument was only an *argumentum ad hominem* against Mr. Grierson.

There is nothing surprising in what Mr. Grierson says about one man having collected in a single district in one month 400 words not to be found in Bates' Hindi Dictionary. This dictionary is by no means a complete repertory of provincial Hindi, and the Pandits who lent their help, I presume, in its compilation, must have been as anxious as their brethren in Bengal to leave out words that had not the ring of Sanskrit about them, and appeared to them in consequence to be vulgar. The so-called Bengali *Abidhans* (Dictionaries) are conspicuous by the absence of almost all words that are distinctively Bengali. An English-Bengali School Dictionary, recently compiled, on the basis of that by Carey, gives the following words as Bengali equivalents of horse:—অশ্ব, হয়, তুরগ, তুরঙ্গ, তুরঙ্গন

* I have seen the *Assam News* the test of dialectic filiation, then myself, and I can say that if mutual intelligibility is to be adopted as Assamese as a Bengali dialect.

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The real living Bengali word *ghonrā* (otherwise *ghorā*) is entirely omitted. Oddly enough, the semi-Tatsama *ghotak*, from which *ghorā* is derived, has also been omitted.

As regards the differences between Hindi and the Behar dialect pointed out by Mr. Grierson (*C. R.*, October 1881, pp. 370—371), leaving out the grammatical forms, the following remain. E. H. Phar=H. Phal; E. H. Gárl=H. Gálí; E. H. Nangot=H. Langot; E. H. Bētiya=H. Bitiyā; E. H. Bōlāwat=H. Bulāwat; E. H. aūr=H. aur; E. H. Ghor=H. Ghorā; E. H. Loh=H. Lohā; E. H. Bar=H. Barā. Now taking the differences to be exactly such as they have been represented by Mr. Grierson to be, they are no wider than differences between admitted dialects of the same language, for instance, between Scotch and any south English dialect, or literary English itself. But the fact is that Mr. Grierson exaggerates the difference between Hindustani and the Behar dialects by taking the most divergent forms of the two. For instance, in the Bhojpuri dialect, as used in the Saran District, *ghorā* is the word in common use for horse, while *ghor* is a poetic form of it used in colloquial speech but seldom. Now Mr. Grierson takes hold of *ghor*, which seems to be much in use in Tirhut, and bringing it under the convenient name of 'Bihari,' shows it to differ from the corresponding Hindustani *ghorā*, which is the term in common use in western Behar. Gálí and gárl are both recognised as Hindustani, and are both given in Fallon's as well as Forbes' Dictionary. Fallon's Dictionary gives gárl as Brij and Poet for gálí, so that gárl is a typical W. H. term. The grammatical differences pointed out by Mr. Grierson may to a large extent be matched by some of those occurring among English dialects, as seen in the specimens given in Latham's *English Language*,* to say nothing of such differences as, on the authority of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, were pointed out in my last article, to exist among the Italian dialects. As regards vocables, Mr. Grierson may also be asked to turn to his own language. The glossary affixed to Burns' poems and certain other small Scottish poems on which Burns wrote, his *Remarks* consists of so many as 3,836 words, and Burns, by the way, it has to be remembered, often writes pure English, such as the first and the concluding stanzas of his *Cotter's Saturday Night*. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary is a thick quarto volume

* The first two verses only of the song of Solomon yields the following purely grammatical differences (*English Language*, 5th Ed., pp. 346-384):—I am=I be; A'm; I'm; Awm. Ise, I's, O'm, Ah'm, Iis, Hah am,

Aw's, Iem. My=Moi, me, mā, mo, mah, maw. Is=Bē, ez, es, uz, iz, 's. The two verses contain, besides, numerous verbal variations, which are not given here, to save space.

34 pages, double columns, which, at an average calculation 564 words to a page, would give 35,757, or say 35,000 words in round numbers, making allowance for the blank space on pages where the initial letters change.* From the short glossary of Scottish words and phrases appended to Collins's Globe Dictionary, I give a number of words and phrases (not an exhaustive list), under the first four letters only, that are essentially the same as their English equivalents, and leave it to Mr. Grierson and the public to judge whether they do not differ from the latter quite as much, if not more than the E. H. and H. H. terms pointed out by Mr. Grierson differ among themselves. I leave out entirely such wholly different words as bairn=child, clarkit=wrote, &c., (a far more numerous class than the other), and give only such as are essentially the same. Ain=own; airn=iron; aith=oath; aneuch=enough; at weel=I wot well; aucht=eight; auld=old; backit=backed; bawk=bank; beuk=book; bill=bull; bink=bench; binna=be not; blin=blind; bluid=blood; bowk=bulk; braid=broad; breeks=breeches; brig=bridge; brither=brother; ca'=call; cairts=cards; cam=came; canna=cannot; could=cold; caup, cap=cup; chaw=chew; claith=cloth; cleed=clothe; cluds=clouds; cleugh=cliff; commaun=command; cood=cud; daur=dare; dee=die; denner=dinner; dizen, diz'n=dozen; dochter=daughter; doo=dove; downa=dare not; drap=drop; drouth=drought; drucken=drunken; dule=dole. "Even in England," says Max Müller, "the local *patois* have many forms which are more primitive than the language of Shakspeare, and the richness of their vocabulary surpasses, on many points, that of the classical writers of any period."†

The extremely lame line of defence taken up by Mr. Grierson, in respect of his position that 'the name of Bidyapati is as much a household word among the inhabitants of Bengal and Behar as that of Tulsidas is amongst those of the Upper Provinces,' and 'that the graceful lyrics of Bidyapati are on the lips of every educated man in Behar' is in itself proof enough of the utter untenability of the position. Nevertheless I shall furnish additional and conclusive proof. Mr. Grierson

* I have carefully scrutinised the first ten pages of the Dictionary, and have found that where any word within these pages happens to correspond with an English word, the correspondence does not extend to meaning. Leaving out the first page, which in respect of printed matter is but half a page, the 10 pages

from the second are found to contain 564 words, which gives an average of 56.4 words to a page. The first and the last page of the Dictionary have together been counted, a page for each is about half a page in respect of printed matter.

† *Lectures on the Science of Language, First Series, 3rd Ed., p. 51.*

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cannot well know more of Bengal than I do, but he is an intrepid Briton, who cannot bear the idea of being beaten on any point. Vaishnavism, as taught by Chaitanya, or even in its older form is by no means 'the most influential religion in Bengal.' The people of Bengal, particularly the upper castes, are for the most part Saktas, and the influence of Vaishnav literature in Bengal has been far smaller than Mr. Grierson believes it to have been. Babu Hara Chandra Datta, in reviewing Bengali poetry in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1852, passes by Krittibas's *Ramayana* and Kasidas's *Mahabharata* as 'faint echoes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*,' and speaks of the following books in detail:—1. *Kabikankan Chandi*. 2. *Annada Mangal* and *Bidyasundar*. 3. *Gangabhakti Tarangini*. 4. *Panchali*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. So much for the influence of Vaishnav literature 30 years ago. It is the progress of English education that has made the non-Vaishnavs in Bengal appreciate the literature of the Vaishnav sect, which, in fact, is the oldest literature in Bengali; and Prof. Ramgati Nyayaratna, writing his *Discourse on Bengali Literature* under these influences, has devoted considerable space to Bidyapati and the other Vaishnav writers. For myself, I can say that, while at school or college, and for several years after leaving college, I never heard even the name of Bidyapati, and that I first read Bidyapati in Babu Saradacharan Mitra's edition, which is but a recent publication. A well-informed friend tells me that it would be no exaggeration to say that 99½ per cent. of the educated men in Bengal have not read Bidyapati. But it is best to come to particulars. The Sanskrit College is the most important seat of Indian learning in Bengal, and the following is the result of my inquiry at that College:—

Pandit Mahes Chandra Nyayaratna, C. I. E., Officiating Principal, remembers to have occasionally seen bits of Bidyapati before the issue of Sarada's edition. Has read a good deal more since the issue of this edition. Has not read the whole. বিদ্যাপতি শারদার এডিসনের পূর্বে মধ্যে মধ্যে কখন কখন এক একটু দেখা হইয়াছে মনে হয়; শারদা এডিসন করিয়া দেওয়ায় তদপেক্ষা অনেক বেশী পড়িয়াছি সত্য কিন্তু কখন সম্পূর্ণ পাঠ করি নাই।

Pandit Girish Chandra Vidyaratna, Professor of Sanskrit Literature and a Bengali author, knows nothing particular about Bidyapati's having been a poet. Has never read any work of his. বিদ্যাপতি কবি ছিলেন এ বিষয়ে আমি বিশেষ কিছু জানি না তাঁর পুস্তক কখন পড়ি নাই।

Pandit Madhusudan Smritiratna, Professor of Hindu Law, has not read any Bengali work by Bidyapati. বিদ্যাপতি কবি রূত কোন বাঙ্গালা পুস্তক আমি পাঠ করি নাই।

Pandit Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, Assistant Professor, and a well-known Bengali author, says he has heard of Bidyapati's name, but has never read or seen any book by him. বিদ্যাপতির নাম শুনিয়াছি, পুস্তক কখন পড়ি নাই ও দেখি নাই।

Of seven Pandits in the college, and the librarian (a Sanskrit scholar, like the Pandits, and a Bengali author), one had not, up to the time of my inquiry, heard Bidyapati's name, five know his name only as a poet and nothing further; one read a few of his *padābalis* some six years ago; and another has heard some of his *padābalis* in *Kirtans*, but has not read any thing written by him. This last is the only gentleman in the College who has ever heard any of Bidyapati's *padābalis* chaunted, with a knowledge of their authorship.

Of the two lecturers in the College, both M. A., B. L.'s of the Calcutta University, one has read nothing of Bidyapati, and the other's acquaintance with him is mainly due to Babu Sarada-charan's edition.

The High Court Bar contains the best educated body of men in Bengal, and I am assured by a pleader of the court, that 'most' of the pleaders have not read Bidyapati, and that 'the few' that have read him, 'most' have read him only in Sarada-charn's edition. I have not been able to obtain exact figures however.

Bidyapati's lyrics are indeed chaunted in Western Bengal, where Vaishnavism largely prevails, and where Jayadeva's lyrics are still greater favourites. *Kirtanias* from the parts about Birbhum do chaunt Bidyapati's lyrics in their *Kirtans*, and several persons have no doubt heard Bidyapati's *padābalis* in *Kirtans* without knowing the name of the author. But his name is so little known over Bengal generally, and his influence so small, that it would be a most extraordinary flight of rhetoric to say that his name is a 'household word' in Bengal. Tulsidas's name is more known in Bengal than Bidyapati's, and there is a cheap edition of Tulsidas's Dohas in Bengali character.

Mr. Grierson considers the test to which I subject him in regard to his assertion that Bidyapati's 'lyrics are on the lips of every educated man in Behar,' to be 'very unfavourable and unfair.' It so happens, however, that the test is the most favourable to him that it was possible for me to choose. I had to choose places outside the Maithil area, one within the

Bhojpuri, and another within the Magga portion of Behar; and it so happened, that I had friends at Chhapra and Bhagalpur, who could furnish me with reliable information, and in no other two such places as I wanted. Now Chhapra, being north of the Ganges, is certainly more nearly connected with the Maithili-speaking population to the east, and therefore more likely to have been influenced by Bidyapati's poetry than any place south of the Ganges. The Bhagalpur district again lies both north and south of the Ganges, and occupies, therefore, both Magga and Maithil territory. Bhagalpur town again is on the Ganges, which parts Maithil from Magga land, and Maithils are numerous in the town itself. That Bhagalpur is 'in the extreme southern corner' of Behar, is another of Mr. Grierson's slipshod assertions. Mr. Grierson coolly ignores the statement I made on the authority of one of the best educated men in the Lower Provinces, Babu Suryanarayan Sinha, the leader of the Bhagalpur bar, viz., that Bidyapati's 'name is quite unknown in the districts of Behar south of the Ganges.' He would further except from the class of educated Beharis, all Persian-knowing natives of Behar, and to make good his position, he would perforce have to except most, if not all, Pandits too, for Pandits of the old school, as a class, look down upon all *Bhasha* writers, and Behar has not reared up a new school of Pandits, such as we now find in Bengal, side by side with men of the old school. By only thus excluding from the class of 'educated Biharis' all Persian- and Sanskrit-knowing individuals, would Mr. Grierson seek a basis for his position. But who are the educated men in Behar who know neither Persian nor Sanskrit? As regards Mr. Grierson's extremely aerial statement about quotations and phrases from Bidyapati, Mr. Grierson would be at a loss, I am afraid, if he had to name particular quotations and phrases from Bidyapati, and the people, outside Mithila, who use them. It seems to me certain that Mr. Grierson's proposition about quotations and phrases is only a deductive inference from his assumption that 'the graceful lyrics of Bidyapati are on the lips of every educated man in Behar.' I cannot pretend to have as much knowledge of English as Mr. Grierson has, but from what I know of the language, it is by no means clear to me that he attaches any definite meaning to the term 'every educated Biharis.' By what process again, logical or lingual, does he bring 'quotations and phrases' within the class-name lyric? Can a single phrase, or a number of phrases either, be called a lyric; or a verse or two make up a lyric?

(7.) I admit I inadvertently used the expression 'current language' for current *lingua franca*. But Mr. Grierson's admission justifies my remarks nevertheless. Mr. Grierson admits

that 'the necessity of having a *lingua franca* as a means of communication with traders from all parts of India, has kept up and extended the use of Hindí [the term is misleading], so that in these towns and their immediate suburbs the actual language of the country has to a large extent fallen into disuse.' With extended means of communication, surely such necessity may well be expected to increase daily, and thereby to strengthen the position of the existing *lingua franca*. Why seek to create by artificial nurture a new *lingua franca*, a literary 'Bihari,' that shall be a general medium of communication for Bhojpuris, Maithils and Magadhis? In accounting for the prevalence, again, of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of the Behar towns, Mr. Grierson wholly ignores the historical fact of the long-continued political supremacy of the Muhammadans, and their overwhelming influence in the towns during the continuance of such supremacy, an influence whose effects remain to this day, in the prevalence of Hindustani and in other matters as well. When Muhammadan gentlemen in Behar talk with Hindus, the language is always Hindustani, and never Bhojpuri, or Maithil, or Magga; and Hindus from different districts, as stated by one of Mr. Grierson's own authorities, have recourse to the same Hindustani tongue when they have to converse with one another. In posing as the champion of Behar and Beharis, Mr. Grierson loses sight entirely of the Behar Muhammadans, whose social and political importance is far larger than a mere numerical estimate would indicate. '*Das Hinduon men ek Musalman*' so runs the Hindustani proverb, and in schools and colleges the average intelligence of Behari-Muhammadan is higher than that of Behari-Hindu boys.*

When I first went to Behar, I was not quite twenty-five, and had only such practical knowledge of the position and character of Indian Muhammadans as I had gathered in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. What most struck me, then, in the constitution of Behar society, was the great social and intellectual predominance of the Muhammadan and the extreme weakness of the Brahman element; and I have lately heard an acute observer remark that the Muhammadans of Behar are its Brahmans. Now a just and wise government should not lose sight of this. As for my Hindu countrymen, in Behar, and elsewhere, it would be as unwise on their part to think of casting aside Hindustani, which Muhammadan political ascendancy in India has caused to become the *lingua franca* of the land,

* Says the Bengal Educational Report for 1880-81, (p. 30) 'the Muhammadans are described as being the most promising pupils in the Patna Collegiate School,' (p. 30).

as to think of reviving the old rigid rules of caste which the lofty creed of our own large-hearted and subtle-witted Buddha had failed to overthrow, but which the levelling faith of *Islam* at last in a large measure practically battered down; as unwise as it would be for Indian Kayaths, for instance, to relinquish the social and intellectual elevation which they owe so largely to the Mahommadan *regime*. But as I said in my previous paper, Hindustani must, with the increasing advancement of the Hindus, be in a large measure de-Persianised.

Speaking of my 'hopeful prophecy' about Hindustani, Mr. Grierson tauntingly remarks that the wish is father to the thought. Is the wish illegitimate? Had Mr. Grierson been a native of India, instead of an Englishman, he would certainly have thought more kindly of the wish. Granted the wish, why does Hindustani, and not Bengali, Marathi or any other Indian tongue suggest itself to the mind as likely to become India's acknowledged *lingua franca*? Why, again, does the idea suggest itself, not to my mind only, but also to other minds, both native and European? Mr. Grierson's own countrymen cannot be suspected of having any extravagant wish that some one of the Indian languages should become the universally accepted *lingua franca* of the country, and yet why do Mr. Beames, Dr. Fallon, and Mr. Keene* take nearly the same view of the matter as I do? If I am a dreamer, I am content to dream in such good company.

Mr. Grierson says, "nations or tribes cannot change their languages by Act of Parliament, but only by the attrition of ages, and seldom even then." Now, the inefficacy of Acts of Parliament in such matters is a thing that Mr. Grierson only 'believes that he believes,' to quote a happy expression of Herbert Spencer's, but does not in reality believe. Else, why should he be so very eager to invoke the authority of the State in enforcing 'Bihari,' by which must be understood one of the Behar dialects raised to the dignity of a literary language, over all Behar. If he had no faith in State action, how could he believe that enforcement by the State of one of the Behar dialects would lead to

* I quoted Mr. Beames at length in my last article. Mr. Keene says—"During this period originated the Urdu language, an application of Western Prakrit to the use of all classes, which is still growing, and which promises to become the *lingua franca* of the whole peninsula." *C R.*, October 1882, p. 182., Dr. Fallon, in the Dissertation prefixed to his Dictionary of Law and Commercial

Terms, speaks of Urdu as the English of India, and compares the Urdu of the present day to English as it was before there was a thorough fusion between the Saxon and the Norman-French elements, and when the latter element was super-abundant. Having no copy of this dictionary by me at present, I give this last reference from memory.

its being 'rapidly adopted by the educated classes,' a process not certainly to be called a result of 'the attrition of ages.' It was only because 'the attrition of ages' had caused Hindustani to become the *lingua franca* of the Behar towns that Government, in the first instance, could think of making Hindustani the language of courts and schools. If what Mr. Grierson contends for, is the result which natural forces tend to produce, he may well wait for that result to come about in due course; and the State would then in proper time have to act in deference to the people's wish. Why not maintain the *status quo* till a large proportion of the Behar people come to have sufficient enlightenment to understand these matters aright, when, under the system of local freedom about to be inaugurated, local communities would be free to move for a change of school language, and court language too? Why create an official 'Bihari' by Government initiation and Government patronage, when, to quote the Munger (Monghyr) Zamindar, whom Mr. Grierson quotes in support of his position, 'the Tirhoot men have a language peculiar to their own district, and so have the Maggaha and Bhojpore (*sic*) men, &c.' Another of Mr. Grierson's authorities, a Deputy Magistrate and a Shahabad man says:— 'As a rule, all the Biharis [Behar Muhammadans are evidently left out of the category], high or low, both men and women, speak their own provincial dialect, *i.e.*, Bhojpuri, Tirhutí, or Magalí. Both the sexes of the higher classes in their mutual intercourse use the dialect peculiar to their own district. Even the Kayasths, who as a class receive a regular training in Persian and Urdú from their childhood and leave their homes at an early age in search of employment in distant districts, talk in the dialect of their native district, with their families, servants and friends belonging to the same district. It is only in their intercourse with Muhammadans, residents of other districts, and people with whom they are not familiar, although belonging to the same district, that they converse in Urdú....It is a remarkable fact that uneducated Biharis of the Brahman, Rajput, and Bhuinhar classes, in their intercourse with strangers, speak a mixture of Urdú and their own provincial dialect." No evidence could more conclusively show that the Behar people recognise no community between Bhojpuri, Magga and Maithili, and that the Hindustani is the *lingua franca* of the Bihar Hindus of the upper castes. Even uneducated Brahmans, &c., have to speak it, though they necessarily mingle with it largely their own provincial grammar and provincial terms. Not only Brahmans, Rajputs, and Bhuinhars, but Kahars, Mallahs, and other low caste men, if they seek service away from home, or visit distant parts of the country, do pick up Hindustani, as I can say from personal knowledge. There are others who

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understand it without being able to speak it. Not only is Hindustani thus generally used as a *lingua franca* in Behar, but it is so also in the Chutia Nagpore Division. I have never yet met a Lohardagga Dhangar, and I have met numbers, who has not been able to express himself with perfect ease in Hindustani. I have lately had an opportunity of hearing a Palamow Kahar speak with his master, the Munsif of Palamow (since transferred), and Hindustani was the language used. I spoke to the man myself, and found he could speak it with perfect ease, and further learnt from his master that Hindustani was the current *lingua franca* in Palamow, though among themselves different classes of people spoke their own peculiar *bolī*. I have had exceptionally good opportunities of talking with men of the Mallah caste, and have invariably found that the men could all speak Hindustani, though among themselves they used their own *bolī*. Mr. Grierson is entirely in error in saying that Hindustani is known in Behar as French is known in England. Hindu gentlemen and lower orders of Hindus in Behar learn to speak Hindustani in addition to their respective vernaculars by the mere force of their surroundings, under the pressure of actual intercourse,* and not from books and teachers, as French is learnt in England. Colloquial Hindustani is picked up in the same way in Bengal by upper and middle class Hindus, and by such lower class people as have much intercourse with Hindustani-speakers. So far as my own knowledge goes, and so far as I have been able to learn on enquiry from others, there are no upper or middle class Bengalis, living in towns, or in considerable villages not far away from towns, who are not able to speak Hindustani on the commonest topics. They may speak such incorrect Hindustani as *hām jāntā hai*, but still they manage to express themselves in Hindustani somehow. The neighbouring Eastern Hindi dialects are not understood or spoken anywhere in Bengal as Hindustani is, and this in spite of the closer affinity of Bengali to these dialects.

I have no pretensions to any regular knowledge of the three Behar dialects, Bhojpuri, Maithil and Magga; and of the three, Bhojpuri is the only one that I have heard much spoken. But from the examples given on pp. 20, 21 of Babu Radhikaprasanna Mukarji's first pamphlet and in Dr. Hoernle's grammar,† nay, from the

* Kayath lads learn their Urdu, not from books but from conversation with their *miya jis*, who teach them the rudiments of Persian.

† Dr. Hoernle says that "in the formation of the past tense, Maithili agrees very closely with Bengali, while it differs widely from the E. H." (pp. VIII, IX, Intro. Gaud. Gram.)

I suppose he cannot have changed his view in respect of this practical point. Again, on p. 344, the Maithili and E. H. (Bhojpuri) old pres. indic. forms (which have 'assumed the sense of a *habitual past*,') are given as follows:—Maith, *ecchī*, *ecchen*, *e achhi* with pls. *ecchī ecchī*, *e athi*.—E. H. *aiñlon*, *aiñēs*, *aiñū* with pls. *ilā*,

very doubt Dr. Hoernle felt as to whether Maithili should be considered an E. H. or a Bengali dialect, it is clear to me that the differences between the Behar dialects are considerable ; and in the absence, therefore, of definite data as to the degree of their mutual intelligibility, I am unable to attach much importance to Mr. Grierson's *ipse dixit*, that the dialects are mutually intelligible to the masses. What opportunities has Mr. Grierson had of hearing Maithilis belonging to the 'masses' talk with Bhojpuris and Magadhis belonging to the 'masses?' It will not do again to take the 'masses' on the borderland of each dialect-area. No doubt the degree of mutual intelligibility is greater among these dialects than between these dialects, on the one hand, and Hindustani on the other. The fact, however, that Hindu Maithil, Magadhi and Bhojpuri gentlemen, when they speak to one another, speak Hindustani and do not speak each his own dialect, goes a great way against the mutual intelligibility theory of Mr. Grierson. If the dialects are mutually intelligible to the masses, they ought to be much more so to gentlemen, who must possess higher intelligence and greater knowledge. Men belonging to the masses would generally use, each his own dialect, because they are unable to speak the town *lingua franca* ; and, the dialects being sufficiently similar, this would be no absolute bar to intercourse. Even if the point of mutual intelligibility were to be fully conceded to Mr. Grierson, the right of Government to artificially create a literary language that could be a common ground for Bhojpuris, Maithilis, and Magadhis can by no means be sustained. Such artificial creation would be an act of despotism, the like of which no one could ever venture to propose in Europe or America. When North-Western Germany, on to Lubeck, became a part of Napoleon's Empire, and Hamburg became the capital of the French department of *Bouches d'Elbe*, suppose that Napoleon had divided his empire into three confederated States, France (with the Rhine for her boundary), and Italy, and Holland (with the annexed German territory incorporated with her), and that, with a view to morally detaching the annexed German population from Germany, and attaching it to the northern appendage to his empire, Holland, he had decreed that, the vernacular of the annexed territory being more nearly allied to the Dutch of Holland than to literary German, Dutch was to be enforced in the annexed territory to the exclusion of

añah, añèn. From Babu Radhika's first pamphlet I give a single example. H. Tūn kyā kahte ho= (what are you saying)=Tihen ki kabichh (Bhagalpore dialect)=Tun kā kah ha (Patna dialect)=Ton (tonh)

ki kahai (kahait Fem. kahiti) chhah (Maithili.) A comparison among themselves of the grammatical forms given in Babu Radikha's second pamphlet discloses certain inaccuracies, and so I do not quote any of them.

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the latter tongue. How would the public opinion of Europe have received the despot's mandate? Let us take again another case. Holland and Belgium remained politically united from 1815 to 1830, and the Dutch and Flemish languages differ but slightly from each other.* Yet no one ever thought of imposing Dutch upon the Flemings. Hanover remained united to the crown of Great Britain, though not to Great Britain, from 1714 to 1837, and this union was of some use to the latter country in the matter of mercenary soldiers that she got from Germany. No one ever thought, however, of cementing the union by enforcing English in Hanover, though the dialect of Hanover is more nearly allied to English than to High German, and we have it on the high authority of Dr. Max Müller that the language of the Hanoverian sea-board, as of Holland and Flanders, is intelligible to English sailors, who must come under the category of 'the masses.† But India is not Europe, and hence Mr. Grierson's astounding proposal of enforcing one of the Behar dialects over all Behar. There can be no question but that in Mithila, Magadh and the Bhojpur country, the dialect of each tract would be an easier medium for imparting popular instruction than any of the other two kindred dialects, or Hindustani, and hence, as I said in my previous paper, it may reasonably be maintained that Maithili, Magga and Bhojpuri should be the vehicle of popular instruction in Behar, each over its own area. Why not carry things as far as that? It is as easy to compile school books in any one of the dialects as in the other two. The Maharaja of Darbhanga has lately undertaken to have the whole of the Ramayan translated into Maithili. This does not look like readiness on the part of the Maithili-speaking population to allow their *bolī* to be supplanted by Bhojpuri or Magga. Bhojpuri again is the most widely spoken, and, on the whole, the strongest of the E. H. dialects.‡ The Bhojpuri area, too, has its Maharajas, whose local attachment would induce them to back up Bhojpuri as naturally

* "Nearly akin to the English, and still more nearly akin to the Frisian on its northern, and the Platt-Deutsch of Westphalia on its eastern frontier, is the Dutch of Holland, of which the Flemish of Belgium is only a modification."—Latham's *English Language*, 5th Ed, p. 167.

† "We know that the Saxons, the Angles, and Jutes, came from the Continent, and that their descendants along the northern coast of Germany still speak *Low German*, or *Nieder-*

Deutsch, which in the harbours of Antwerp, Bremen, and Hamburg, has been mistaken by many an English sailor for a corrupt English dialect."—*Lectures on the Science of Language. First Series*, 3rd Ed., pp. 177-178.

‡ "Among the various E. H. dialects . . . the Bhojpuri is the most important. . . . It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H."—Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar, Introduction*, p. VIII.

as the local attachment of the Darbhanga Maharaja has induced him to come forward as the patron of Maithili. If Government would be justified, by a despotic exercise of authority, in creating an official literary 'Bihari' language, why not exercise the same despotic authority in a more widely beneficent way—a course for which the previous Muhammadan rule has half prepared the country—i. e., help the further spread of Hindustani and endeavour, besides, to obliterate the differences between Hindi and Urdu. Sir George Campbell, who saw into these things with extraordinary insight, in abolishing Urdu as the language of the law courts in Behar, ordered that the court language was thenceforth to be Hindustani, i. e., a language neither distinctively Urdu nor distinctively Hindi, but a common platform on which Muhammadans and Hindus could meet.

It may be argued that the exigencies of administration—the protection of the ryot—require that there should be a literary 'Bihari' language. I reply, that these requirements would be fully met if, while Hindustani remained the recognised court language, to which it has the best claim, as being the *lingua franca* of the province, and the common ground on which Hindus and Muhammadans meet, the officers of Government in Mithila were required to know Maithili, those in Magadh to know Magga, and those in Bhojpuri territory to know Bhojpuri. It may be said that under the existing system of transfers from district to district, this would impose a too heavy burden on the officers, in that they should have to learn now this, and now that language. But the Government of India has lately, most wisely, as I humbly think, resolved on stopping the frequency of transfers. Further action in this direction seems to be necessary in the interests of the country. It is precisely those officers that have lived longest in any of the natural ethnic divisions of the country that have identified themselves most with the ethnic group inhabiting that particular division. Mr. Ravenshaw in Orissa, and Colonel Tod in Rajasthan, may be mentioned as notable instances. Political divisions in India would best be on the basis of language and popular tradition. Such political creations as the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, the North-West Provinces, the Central Provinces, the Lower Provinces, and Behar, having no root in popular tradition and feeling, do not warm the heart, rouse no strong local feeling, and want in consequence the elements of permanency about them. Bombay should naturally break up into Maharashtra, Gujrat and Sindh; Madras into Telingana, Dravida, Karnata and Malaya; and Behar into Mithila, Magadh and Bhojpur, the last going over to the Bhojpur of the west; and the interests of administration and of British officers engaged in the administration

would be alike secured if such officers were, as far as possible, and without any prejudice to their claims, to promotion, confined to one language-area. Few have the special turn for the acquisition of languages that characterises Mr. Grierson and certain other officers in the service, and men of moderate linguistic aptitudes would take it as a boon not to have to learn more than one or two Indian vernaculars. Officers with special aptitudes for acquiring languages might at their own request be moved from province to province, and transfers might also be made as a punishment. Transfers made otherwise entail expense and prevent the growth of a feeling of local attachment, such as could make Colonel Tod look upon Mewar as his country.

To return to the particular requirements of Behar. Mithila and Magadh are proud and classic names in Indian history, and no Hindu who has a reverence for the past of his country, can wish that such names should be overshadowed and obliterated by the Muhammadan *Behar*, which, as a designation for the whole province, is as much a foreign creation as the Madras and Bombay (the Presidencies) of the English, and the Hugli river of European nations generally.

Let us suppose that the Bengal and the Indian Governments adopted Mr. Grierson's view, and enforced an official 'Bihari' in the law-courts and schools in Behar. The Governments could not in consistency stop here. Bengali would have to be enforced in Orissa,* and most certainly in Assam, or, alternatively, Assamese in Assamese Sylhet; and an official W. Hindi, † more nearly approximating to all the *lingua rustica* of the North-West Provinces than Hindustani does, would have to be manufactured and enforced there, at least in all village schools, for Hindustani is the language of the towns only of the North-West Provinces, and villages within even two or three miles of Delhi and Agra speak their own rustic dialect, though villagers visiting towns speak Hindustani as well,—are in fact *do-bhashis*, as almost all, if not all, Hindu gentlemen in Behar are. For aught we know, some future philologist may discover more than one type of language ‡ in the vernaculars of the western parts of the North-West Provinces, and then on Mr. Grierson's principle, there would be room for the manufacture of a third literary language. All hasty action—action based on 'insufficient light' is to be deprecated. Well may we, in India, exclaim, with Matthew

* "An Oriya can generally understand what is said to him in Bengali."—Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India*, pp. 108, 109.

† In a passage already quoted from Dr. Hoernle, he maintains "that there are three different forms

of speech current in the Hindi area: viz., the H. Hindi or 'Urdu', the W. Hindi, and the E. Hindi."

‡ The two ablest inquirers in the field, Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Beames, are not at one on every point connected with the affiliation of the Aryan vernaculars of India.

Arnold, "What if rough and coarse action, ill-calculated action, action with insufficient light, is, and has been, for a long time, our bane*?" In the present instance, again, action on the part of Government in the direction pointed out by Mr. Grierson, would not only alienate the Muhammadan population, but would make Hindus suspect that the British rulers of India were pursuing the old Roman policy of *divide et impera*.

To many, besides Mr. Grierson, my conception of the future of Hindustani will no doubt appear a wild one. It is necessary, therefore, I should explain myself further in regard to it. The progress of knowledge, in India, will inevitably create a national feeling among Indians,* and further industrial development, with increased facilities for communication, will bring about a more extended intercourse among the people of the different parts of the country, and, as caste-feeling grows weaker, intermarriage, too. This will inevitably strengthen the position of Hindustani, which is already in a large measure the *lingua franca* of the country. Surely, it would be easier and more consistent with self-respect to use the *native* Hindustani as a general means of inter-provincial communication than to use the *foreign* English. Already do Indian Muhammadans, in all parts of India, consider themselves as one people, and the language of the Muhammadan nobility and gentry everywhere is Hindustani. When a national feeling grows up, Hindus and Muhammadans, despite difference of religion, would inevitably be welded together into one people, as Celt and Saxon and Norman have been in the British Islands. Let us see what turn things are likely to take in Bengal (the part of India with which I am most familiar) when a national feeling developes itself. The Hindus of Bengal must see that Bengal cannot stand isolated from the rest of the Indian world, and that in respect of language Bengal is

* *Culture and Anarchy*, 2nd Ed. page 49.

† Mr. R. C. Dutti, a member of the service to which Mr. Grierson belongs, has the following in the Preface to his *Shatabarsha*:—Fifty years ago the inhabitants of Bengal looked upon Bengal alone as their country. In consequence of half a century's good education (শিক্ষা)

and other events (অন্যান্য ঘটনা) more liberal sentiments display themselves at the present day. Every well educated Bengali now regards all India as his country. The Maratha, the Rajput, the North-West man, and the Sikh

are all regarded as fellow-countrymen and brothers. Among the countless multitudes of India, day by day, a friendly feeling, an intimate relationship has been growing up; day by day the people of India have been forming themselves into a nation. So far as the small ability of the writer can accomplish, it is attempted to strengthen this liberal creed (উদার বিশ্বাস).

Mr. Grierson calls me a foreigner in respect of Behar. Against such language I must, in the name of all educated Indians, strongly protest. Every educated Indian regards all India as his country.

divided against herself, in that half the population consists of Muhammadans who own no allegiance to Sanskritised Bengali, which is the literary language of the Hindus of Bengal, and which arrogates to itself the exclusive name of Bengali,* just as Persianised Hindi or Urdu arrogates to itself the exclusive name of Hindustani. The Musalman nobility and gentry of Bengal do habitually speak Hindustani, and lower class Muhammadans are, many of them, *do-bhashis*, speaking habitually Musalmani-Bengali (which is their vernacular), and Hindustani also, when there is occasion for it. The amount of intercourse between Bengalis and Hindustanis, already so large, must necessarily in the future receive immense development. Under such circumstances, where is the improbability of Bengali being ultimately relegated to a position analogous to that of Flemish in Flanders, while Hindustani assumes the place held by French in the same country? There have been instances in the world, ere this, of cultivated languages dying out or retreating to a position of inferiority before some other tongue. Such cultivated languages as Sanskrit, Greek and Latin have died out. Saxon was a cultivated language at the date of the Norman conquest. The *langue d'oc* was even a more highly cultivated tongue than the *langue d'oïl* to which it succumbed. Several of the Italian dialects have been cultivated, but they have all been overshadowed by the 'soft bastard Latin' of Tuscany. And what again is this mighty Bengali literature which, it is supposed, cannot recede to a subordinate position. It is only in novels and poetry that it has attained a high standard of merit; and even here the Bengali estimate (and we have no other) of this class of literature must naturally be largely influenced by 'the patriotic bias.' In other respects, Bengali literature, so far from approximating to a European, scarcely comes up to even a Hispano-American or a Brazilian, standard, as a glance at Trübner's *Literary Record* would shew. The only other literature in Bengali, besides poetry and novels, consists of school-books and newspapers. I by no means undervalue such literature as we have. I believe the cultivation that Bengali and other Indian vernaculars have been receiving will ultimately be of service to all India. Every one of the Aryan vernaculars in India will be a feeder to Hindustani, which has no objection to borrow from any source. Bengali literature, however, like other Indian vernacular literatures, is a purely local literature. It cannot influence other parts of India, much less countries out of India.

* The catalogue of books, &c., published in the Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette* for the 23rd August 1882, has the following on page 93 about the *Haft Payakar*, a book in

Musalmani-Bengali :—

"There is a larger admixture of Bengali words in this book than is commonly met with in Musalmani-Bengali works."

The Behar Dialects—A Rejoinder. 283

It is not poetry, or novels, or school-books, however good in their way such things may be, that can cause a literature to be prized abroad. If there were no progressive scientific and philosophical literature in English, Germans and Frenchmen would have cared less to learn English than they now do, and Tennyson and George Eliot, great though the intrinsic value of their writings, would have had far fewer readers on the Continent than they now have. Bengal and Maharashtra are the parts of India where the Indian mind is at present most active. Now, Bengali literature, or Marathi literature, depending for its cultivation on Bengalis or Marathas only, could not acquire the strength which Hindustani literature could, if Bengalis, Marathas, Hindustanis, Panjabis, all contributed to its growth. Unless there is such intellectual co-operation from all parts of India, each of the Indian vernaculars must remain weak and overshadowed by English; and Indians speaking or writing for all India, or for the world, must speak or write in English. Such practical acknowledgment of England's intellectual leadership must under any circumstances continue long, but in the nature of things, Indians must aspire after ultimate intellectual independence, and must seek to speak to the world, through the medium of an Indian tongue, rather than through the medium of English. I should exhort those of my countrymen in Bengal, who advocate the extension of Bengali over Orissa and Assam, to consider whether the extension of Hindustani over Bengal would not be nearly as easy and very much more beneficial from the point of view of both Indian and Bengali interests. Those who wish to draw Uriyas into the larger current of Bengali life ought to be prepared to be drawn into the still larger current of Indian life, and to help the development of such life. It is the predominance of Urdu, the prevalent notion that Urdu is Hindustani, that has prevented the growth of the conception that it would be best for India's interests to adopt Hindustani as her national *lingua franca*. But Hindustani is not synonymous with Urdu. It stands on a sufficiently wide basis to be able to 'absorb and domineer' at least all the Aryan vernaculars of India. If the British Government set about creating an Indian *nation*, as it has created an Indian *empire*, and managed the matter from a *native* point of view, there can be no doubt that it would seek to gradually elevate Hindustani to the position that English and Hindustani together now occupy in the country: Would not Hindustani in such a case gain ground every where in India, and the other Indian languages fall into a subordinate position in relation to it? And, then, the worshippers of things that be, who now think it absurd and impertinent that any Indian should talk of Indian unity under the banner of Hindustani, would come to recognise the altered

state of things as one extremely natural. Mr. Beames very cautiously says, that what he thinks to be the probable future of the Aryan vernaculars of India, cannot be predicted with certainty, for the matter hinges on political circumstances which no man can foresee. But from the progress that equitable feeling, and consequent political liberalism, have been making all over the civilised world, and pre-eminently in England, it may, I humbly think, be safely surmised that England will day by day treat India more and more largely on the principle of *do as you would be done by*, and that she will train her up, as fast as practicable, to be a self-governing member of a confederated British Empire. In an enlightened and self-governing India, the position of Hindustani cannot be other than what Mr. Beames predicts.

In conclusion, I have to say, that I do not intend to carry on this controversy any further in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. I have said enough, I think, to convince all competent and unprejudiced men that Mr. Grierson's proposal for the enforcement of one of the Behar dialects over all Behar is utterly unjustifiable. The present paper may be fitly concluded with a very pertinent extract from Latham's *English Language* (5th ed., p. 399.)

"The question as to whether the Lowland Scotch be a dialect of the English or a separate and independent language, is a verbal, rather than a real one. Reasons for considering the Scotch and English as *dialects* of one and the same language lie in the fact of their contiguous dialects being mutually intelligible. Reasons for calling one a dialect of the other depend upon causes other than philological. *e. g.*, political preponderance, literary development, and the like. Reasons for treating the Scotch as a separate substantive language lie in the extent to which it has the qualities of a regular cultivated tongue, and a separate substantive literature, partially separate and substantive at the present time, wholly separate and substantive in the times anterior to the union of the crowns, and in the hands of Wyntoun, Blind Harry, Dunbar and Lindsay."

All India has been united into one empire by England's might, and it may be allowed to patriotic Indians to hope that, as knowledge spreads in the country, and as the recent *national* policy inaugurated by our truly noble Viceroy develops itself, the Aryan vernaculars of India, which are now 'wholly separate and substantive,' may gradually become only 'partially' so, and that they, as well as the non-Aryan vernaculars, may all eventually assume a relation of subordination to Hindustani, such as Scotch, Gaelic, Welsh, Maux and Erse now bear to English.

SYMACHARAN GANGULI.

ART. V.—THE TRAVANCORE-COCHIN ARBITRATION.
(*Independent Section.*)

THE most valuable, as also the most indisputable blessing which British rule has conferred on India is internal peace. This, the most cavilling critic cannot deny. Neither in pre-historic, nor in comparatively modern times, did the vast continent ever enjoy such tranquillity, as it does, under British supremacy. The hundreds of chiefs, petty and great of the land, knew no other object of life than war and pillage. War is a normal institution according to the earliest of Hindu books; and a distinct warrior caste, the Kshetriyas, has all along been recognised. The first duty of a new king is, they tell us, Dig-jaya, the conquest of land. Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pándavas, sent his four brothers and Krishna himself to accomplish Dig-jaya, preliminarily to the Rájasúya Yajna.

The perpetual strife, rapine and bloodshed of the Mahomedan rule are matter of history. England's struggle of a century in India, ever directed by an unerring singleness of purpose, from the battle of Plassey to the final re-occupation of Delhi and Lucknow in 1857-58, has given internal peace to two hundred millions of mankind. Every Indian Chief, great or small, is a feudatory vassal of Queen Victoria, and cannot go to war with his neighbours, but must be content with the intervention of the paramount power in the settlement of international claims. The arbitration of the sword has given place to civil adjudications. By the very nature of things these adjudications must always be numerous, and the principles that guide them, and the manner in which they are carried out, must form a subject of importance to the public. There has been lately such an arbitration in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula to which we propose to call the attention of our readers in the following pages.

The southernmost point of India, is, as every school-boy knows, Cape Comorin. But perhaps every school-boy does not as clearly know, that Cape Comorin is situated in the small, but fertile and flourishing native State of Travancore. The present territorial configuration of that State developed itself in the eighteenth century, and almost contemporaneously with, and under circumstances not dissimilar to, those of the growth of the British power in India. Rája Mártánda Varmá succeeded to a heritage as thorny as it was poor. The feeble rule of a series of his predecessors had fostered the greed of the

surrounding chieftains and the turbulence of internal malcontents to such an extent that their kingdom was almost a misnomer, and their authority little better than a mockery. But Mártánda Varmá was one of those whom the world produces but at rare intervals. He was born to command and to conquer. He had the best of schooling—that of hardship. He had the best of teachers—foes. He was served by one of the ablest of ministers. Sully did not serve Henry IV. of France more ably and faithfully than Rámaiya did Mártánda Varmá. "The Baron de Rosny was the very man to remedy this state of matters; rude, obstinate and haughty, but at the same time resolute, active, indefatigable, wholly devoted to his master's interests," Rámaiya was unrelenting, unsparring, and often unscrupulous to his master's enemies; but his self was merged completely in that of his master. He was as fearless in the Council-room as he was in the battle-field. With such a minister at his right hand, and with a strong will, abiding patience, and indomitable courage, the Rája not only won back what his predecessors had lost, but subjugated; one after another, the neighbouring chiefs who were a perpetual source of trouble. His conquests northward absorbed ultimately the domains of all the chiefs interlying his own territories and those of the Rája of Cochin. The subjugated chiefs sunk to the level of pensionaries, and, the Rája of Travancore succeeded to their rights, political and hierarchical.

Here we should pause a while to examine briefly the origin and nature of those hierarchical rights. According to all legends and all available evidence, the Malabar coast was populated by Aryan emigrants from the Eastern side of the Ghauts. It is equally a fact that the priestly class not only predominated among the emigrants, but actually monopolised the whole of the land of their adoption to themselves, the rest of the emigrant population being their "drawers of water and hewers of wood"—their serfs, or at the most, their tenants-at-will. But to stereotype the configuration of a society for all time to come is as much an impossibility as to fix that of the clouds in the sky. Aggregations and segregations of power, influence and wealth, must ever and anon go on under the guidance of the universal law of struggle for existence and survival of the best. Those priests are the wisest, and consequently the most powerful, who, without directly arrogating secular power to themselves, can bring into the meshes of their moral influence, those in whose hands that universal law places such power. The ecclesiastics of the Malabar coast knew this as instinctively as the ecclesiastics of Rome. But they had the additional advantage of having something more solid than benedictions and indulgences to confer upon their

political stewards—*viz.*, the sovereignty of the land which exclusively belonged to them. They were equally wise and far-sighted in another step they took. They foresaw that the halo of sanctity which encircled themselves might not be proof against the gradual degeneracy of religious feelings which time must produce, and the consequent encroachment upon their supremacy in the land. And they *constitutionalised* that sanctity, by demising large tracts of land and their revenues to certain temples built and consecrated by them. Men who would not hesitate to rob a priest may still hesitate to commit sacrilege on an object of general religious worship. Of these temples the priests assumed the proprietary wardenship. Almost every temple of note had a synod of these priestly wardens. They invited the leading layman or chief to a membership of the synod, and entrusted to him the stewardship of the whole temple domain subject to their superior authority. Thus arose these rich temples. Thus arose the sovereignties of the Malabar coast. We would ask the reader to remember this distinctly, for we shall have occasion to recur to it further on. To say that the temples were endowed by the sovereign would be to put the cart before the horse. The sovereignty or supreme stewardship over the temple was termed, in the Malayalam dialect, *Koilma sthanam*. It often occurred, in the process of time, that these chiefs had to acknowledge the suzerainty of one superior chief; but, except when expressly stipulated to the contrary, the minor chiefs did not abdicate one iota of their own sovereignty over the temple domains. Their relative position to the Suzerain was exactly that of the ruling Indian Princes to the Queen-Empress.

Let us now return from this digression. We have said that the Raja of Travancore had conquered all the minor chiefs and brought his frontier in contact with that of Cochin. Several of these chiefs possessed temple domains and sovereign rights over them within the geographical limits of the Cochin Raja's territories. By right of conquest the Raja of Travancore acquired these possessions and rights of the vanquished chiefs. If Cochin were the Suzerain of those chiefs, as she has been latterly contending, she wofully failed in the duty of a Suzerain. Imagine, a French army landing at Pondicherry and marching to Hyderabad and wresting his territories from the Nizam, and the British authorities looking upon it complacently all the while. If Cochin relies upon the strength of this plea of suzerainty, she must take credit for this incredible infatuation likewise. But the fact is, Cochin, if she had suzerainty, was by no means in a position to fulfil its duties. The Rajas of Cochin claim lineal descent from Cheraman Perumál, the most powerful of the foreign kings, who, according

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to legendary accounts, was elected and invited to rule the land by the Brahminical lords. The Jews of Cochin possess a deed of grant of certain privileges said to bear the sign manual of Oheráman Perumál. We need not grudge Cochin all this mythical glory; but time had given rude jerks to the political kaleidoscope. The Zamorin had become all powerful; and when Vasco de Gama set his foot on the Indian soil, the might and fame of the Zamorin were only inferior to those of the Badishah of Delhi. Cochin existed by the mere sufferance of the Zamorin. In the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, the Zamorin invaded Cochin. Rájá Mártánda Varmá of Travancore had died, and been succeeded by his even more famous nephew, Rama Varmá. Cochin sought his aid in repelling the Zamorin's invading force, and he gave this effectually. Such aid is, however, never rendered and never can be rendered by one State to another, without stipulating for some counter-benefit. Accordingly, Cochin ceded to Travancore certain tracts of her territory adjoining the then frontier line of Travancore, and these form the four or five of the northernmost taluks of Travancore.

It is a notorious feature of human transactions that cessions made in the hour of sore need, however just and *bonâ fide*, are repented of afterwards; and that the ceder, under better circumstances, never leaves a stone unturned to recover them if possible. Cochin was exactly in such a situation. She looked to the ceded taluks and to the temple domains acquired by Travancore by right of conquest, or by voluntary surrender by the temple synods, no less wistfully than France did to Savoy and Nice. Every loop-hole in the verbiage of the treaties and engagements, every legal quibble, every oversight or petty indiscretion of minor administrative agents, was laid hold of and claims built thereon. Boundary disputes are proverbially prolific and complicated everywhere in the world; and, when the boundary line marks out a tract of territory which in its entirety belonged at one time to an adjoining State, they are far more so. Thus there have been between Travancore and Cochin, during nearly a century, two sets of disputes—one regarding the sovereignty over temple domains, and the other regarding the boundary line. Ever since the direct and close connexion of these two States by subsidiary alliance with the British Government, these disputes have been the subject of enquiry by successive Political Agents down from Colonel Colin Macaulay, and, in a few instances, by the Governments of India and of Madras. But decisions were piecemeal; and the States continued appealing and protesting irrespectively of their conclusiveness.

The Duke of Buckingham seriously turned his attention to this question when he was Governor of Madras. Whatever place

history may assign to the Duke in the ranks of Indian statesmen, he was a thorough Englishman, honest to the core, and had the courage of his opinions. Early in his Governorship he observed this unsatisfactory state of things, and made up his mind to effect a settlement which should be final. The plan which first suggested itself to him was a mediation; and the Madras Government instructed its local Agent, the Resident, to effect it. Mr. John Child Hannington was then Acting Resident. His plan was to call a conference of the Dewans or Ministers of the two States, with their advisers and records, to hear them and examine the records, and to decide the several disputed questions. Quilon, with its spacious, though old fashioned, "Residency," and its surpassingly charming lake scenery, which no Scotchman can contemplate without being intuitively reminded of his own highlands, was fitly chosen as the place of rendezvous. The Plenipotentiaries arrived. Shangunive Menon of Cochin, and Nanoo Pillai of Travancore, with their respective secretaries and advisers dropped in. The business of the conference was opened by the Resident, Mr. Hannington, and each side was asked to put in a statement of all its claims. The statements were put in. But a hitch arose here. Neither party would consent to certain important *possessions* being questioned at all, while, unless they were included in the category of moot questions, the opposite side would not consent to a settlement. The conference thus fell through. The main cause of this breakdown was the absence of a clear, formal, and obligatory basis of action. The whole question was once more shelved. The departure of Mr. Hannington on the arrival of the permanent incumbent, Mr. McGregor, and the unpivoted state of things during the last two years of the late reign in Travancore, placed the question in abeyance. However, things underwent great changes in less than two years from this abortive conference. The Maharaja died and was succeeded by his brother and namesake. The new Maharaja earnestly wished to strengthen his hands by securing the services of the ablest and most reliable available man as his minister. He had known Mr. V. Ramaiengar for nearly twenty years, and was on intimate terms with him. Mr. Ramaiengar had risen by dint of his eminent abilities and force of character to the highest rung of the service under the Madras Government yet open to natives; and, he deservedly stood highest among natives in the estimation and confidence of that Government. Apart from other considerations, Mr. Ramaiengar's intimate acquaintance with the spirit of the Madras Government at their very head-quarters commended itself to the Maharaja, and he sought and obtained the services of Mr. Ramaiengar as his Dewan.

Both the Duke of Buckingham and Mr. MacGregor were about

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to close their official careers, and they naturally wished to decide the important questions then pending. Pre-eminent among these was that of the boundary and territorial disputes between Travancore and Cochin. The plan of quasi-official mediation had failed; a more formal procedure was necessary. That of "arbitration" suggested itself. It was proposed by the Madras Government and accepted by the two Native States. A special agreement between the two States to abide by the result of the arbitration was essential; and the following deed was executed by their Dewans in the names of their masters :—

"Agreement for the settlement of boundary disputes and other matters of contested sovereignty between the States of Travancore and Cochin, entered into by the Dewan of Travancore on the one part, and by the Dewan of Cochin on the other part, on behalf of their respective Governments.

"I. Subject to certain exceptions hereafter specified, the two Governments agree to accept the final arbitration of such officer as may be appointed by the Government of Madras.

"II. In regard to the following cases, the Governments agree to abide by the finding of the Arbitrator, subject to an appeal to the Governor in Council, provided such appeal be preferred within six months from the date of the announcement of the Arbitrator's finding :—

- (1) The dispute regarding the Davasom of Elancoonnappalay and the Dasoms thereof ;
- (2) The dispute regarding the Annamanaday Davasom and the Dasoms thereof including Uddoor Gramom ;
- (3) The dispute regarding the villages of Pallipooram, Poorathoor and Perinchery of the Perumanum Davasom ;
- (4) The dispute regarding the Thachudaya Kymul Stanom of the Iringalacoda Pagoda ;
- (5) The dispute regarding the Idiyara Madu Hills.

"III. As regards any case, including those specified, it shall be open to either party to advance, as a preliminary plea, that the subject has been already formally settled by a previous agreement executed by the two Governments, or finally decided by the Madras Government or by Commissioners appointed by them.

"In the event of the Arbitrator finding this plea in the affirmative, he shall proceed to record a finding in accordance with such previous decision.

"Such decision of the Arbitrator, on such preliminary objection, shall be subject to appeal to the Madras Government, provided it be on one of the specified exceptional cases, in the same manner as if it had been on the merits, and provided it be preferred within sixty days from the date of the announcement of the Arbitrator's finding.

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"IV. In the event of the Arbitrator's decision on such preliminary objection being reversed on appeal, the party originally advancing the plea shall be required to put in his proof; when one party advances the preliminary objection of a previous decision, he shall not be required to state his case on the merits at that stage of the proceedings.

"V. If in any case there shall be any ambiguity in a former decision, and if the Dewans cannot come to an agreement as to the way in which the decision is to be carried out, the matter shall be referred to the Arbitrator, whose interpretation shall be accepted as final by both parties as regards any of the cases excepted in Article II. in which an appeal from such interpretation shall lie to Government.

"VI. Pending the final adjudication of all disputes both Governments shall, as far as possible, refrain from entering on debateable ground, and shall strictly observe the principle of the maintenance of the *satus quo ante*.

"Should both Dewans be unable to agree as to what this is in any particular case, the Arbitrator shall be empowered to define it, and his decision shall be acted on, pending final adjustment. Executed this 21st day of October 1880."

The expenses of the Arbitration under the above agreement were to be borne by the two Native States in equal shares. As far as antecedents went, no fitter name could have suggested itself to the Madras Government, or to the Native States, than that of Mr. J. C. Hannington, who, on being relieved by Mr. MacGregor, had reverted to his permanent appointment of Civil and Sessions Judge of Salem. He was familiar with, at least, the main phases

settlement. Besides, approaching, and the been; since General rich many a Madras ship would naturally was proposed by the Native rulers: he 1880.

to collect, examine, t forth. Travancore

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were nearly double that distance. Cochin was the ceder, and Travancore was the acquirer. Cochin had never ceased to smart from the cessions she made under sore political exigencies. Every expedient which political morality could suggest or sanction, short of what the overshadowing British supremacy would not permit, had been continuously tried by her. The helm of the Cochin State had been in the hands of one single family for nearly 45 years with only one short break. And that family has cherished the question of territorial "rectification" as hereditarily and as persistently as the house of Romanoff has done what is usually termed "Catherine's will." Every one of these reasons was directly reversed in the case of Travancore. She was, in fact, unprepared. She had to rummage bundle after bundle of palm leaves stowed away in the most scattered and out-of-the-way places and half destroyed by white ants. The arbitration had to be adjourned for months.

The Residency at Cochin (Balgatty) was fixed as the headquarters of the Arbitrator's Court. If this were on the score of facilities for inspecting the disputed boundary lines, other places—Alway for instance—better fitted could be named. Balgatty is almost within call from the Cochin Dewan's Katcheri at Ernakulam, and a swift cabin boat could ply between the two in fifteen minutes. There may not have been any import in fixing such a place; but a more neutral location of the Arbitrator's Court might have improved appearances.

The two States appointed their "Commissioners" and professional Advocates. Travancore's first Commissioner, though an executive officer of tried character and abilities, was found to be wanting in the judicial stamina absolutely necessary for a special office, and he was soon replaced by the veteran officer Travancore possesses. Extraordinarily full, patient, thoroughly upright, and liberal, asubbanjar has few equals in the service. It delighted the audience to hear on each intricate point. The official assistant and a shrewd, and painstaking lawyer, Cochin, too, put f

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to be final. In the latter, they were appealable to the Madras Government, whose decisions the contracting parties agreed to accept as final. The Arbitrator began with the Boundary cases. The Chertalai Taluk, in Travancore, was first taken up; and in the course of his adjudication, the Arbitrator awarded a small tract to Cochin—not because Travancore failed to establish her claim to it, but because he thought that a more convenient line was much to be desired. On the Travancore Commissioner's telegraphing this to his Government, they protested against it. We have mentioned this little incident as it involves a very important principle.

Now, two questions present themselves to us for consideration. 1. What is Arbitration? 2. Did the contracting parties, the Arbitrator, and the Madras Government understand it, according to that definition? In reference to the first question we quote Vattel:—

“When sovereigns cannot agree about their pretensions, and are nevertheless desirous of preserving or restoring peace, they submit the decision of their disputes to Arbitrators chosen by common agreement. When once the contracting parties have entered into articles of Arbitration, they are bound to abide by the sentence of the Arbitrators; they have engaged to do this; and the faith of treaties should be religiously observed.

“If, however, the Arbitrators, by pronouncing a sentence evidently unjust and unreasonable, should forfeit the character with which they were invested, their judgment would deserve no attention: the parties had appealed to it only with a view to the decision of doubtful questions. * * * * * If the injustice is of small consequence, it should be borne for the sake of peace; and if it is not absolutely evident, we ought to endure it, as an evil to which we have ourselves voluntarily exposed ourselves. For if it were necessary that we should be convinced of the justice of a sentence before we would submit to it, it would be very little use to appoint Arbitrators.”

The most moot point in the above is, “the injustice of small consequence” which “should be borne for the sake of peace.” When Vattel laid down this *dictum*, he contemplated only Arbitration which two *independent* sovereigns agree to accept from a third, that third having no other authority over the two, except what is voluntarily granted by them and found within the four corners of the agreement. There peace is the great object to be secured even at the sacrifice of minor points of justice. This view, however, does not hold where the British Government arbitrates between two feudatory

Indian Chiefs bound to it by treaties. Every such treaty invariably begins with the words: "The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both." No feudatory can raise his little finger against another without becoming the "enemy" of the paramount power which no chief would dream of risking. Peace, therefore, may be accepted as inviolably established and to be beyond the need of arbitration. By implication this fact makes justice all the more paramount in an arbitration by the British Government. The Madras Government recognised it fully, as the "Agreement" drafted by them would clearly convince us. The Native States understood it in the same light. We do not say that in such an Arbitration there should be no concessions on the "give and take" principle. Far from it. Only we contend that such concessions should not be forced upon the parties by the Arbitrator; that they should be the outcome of the conviction of the parties of reciprocal convenience; and that the Arbitrator should impartially watch that an equation of benefit is secured to both sides except in the case of voluntary surrender. We have said that the Madras Government and the Native States fully recognised all this. But we suspect that the Arbitrator himself had a hazy conception of it. If so, Dewan Ramaiengar's vigorous protest surely corrected it. The boundary cases, with one exception which will be hereafter noticed, proceeded without any hitch. In every instance almost the Arbitrator's decision gave additional territory to Travancore, a fact which must suggest that the balance of encroachment was on Cochin's side. It would be inexcusable in us to omit to say in this connexion, that the activity, alacrity, and endurance exhibited by the Arbitrator are beyond all praise. He had traversed and re-traversed an extent of ground mostly malarious forests or marshes, more than once, seriously risking his health, which may count not less than 500 miles. We do not think that another man could have accomplished all this so expeditiously and thoroughly as Mr. Hannington did.

The "Territorial" cases came up in their turn. These were five in number. Of these, the most important one—*Idiyaramac Hills*—was a purely "territorial" one. The remaining four referred to Temple possessions and rights. Of these, the *Orinjalkuda* case involved the simple right of appointing a completely independent *Kymal*, or chief, to manage the concerns of the *Erinjalkuda* Temple and its extensive possessions. The other three related to *Koilma Stānam* acquired by Travancore by conquest or cession. Of these four the simplest one—that of the right of appointing a chief, was taken up at first. The heavy mass of record

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put forward by both sides was exhaustively gone through and the Arbitrator awarded the right to Travancore. Simple as it was, it created immense sensation in both States. The plan of a compromise was privately suggested by Cochin, and was supported by the Arbitrator, who had by this time become Resident likewise. Probably the Resident Arbitrator wished that Travancore should give up all the Temple cases, and that Cochin should give up her claims on the *Idiyaramad Hills*. But the Travancore Maharaja had pretty shrewdly studied the pieces on the board, and thought that since matters had so far advanced, it would be wiser to await patiently a formal declaration of the rights of the two States, and then accept such compromise as both sides might find mutually convenient. The rejection of the offer of compromise, backed by the Arbitrator, evidently disturbed his equanimity. This might have been obviated if the Madras Government had avoided investing him with the double capacity of *Resident cum Arbitrator*. A separate man as Resident, between the judge and the clients, would have been a blessing. But there is no use in crying over spilt milk. Be that as it may, a change seems to have come over the Arbitrator-Resident from that time. Cochin appealed in the Kymal case and Travancore answered. The Madras Government confirmed the Arbitrator's decision. Travancore pushed on the preliminaries to the appointment of the Kymal. Certain chiefs from Malabar, were according to custom, invited by Travancore to attend and ratify ceremonies; and they came in. A responsible officer was deputed by Travancore. The Resident was requested to adopt precautionary measures against opposition, which, in the particular circumstances, was not unlikely. But he refused to do anything beyond giving general intimation to the Cochin officials. Those officials co-operated most perfunctorily. The result was a most unseemly *fracas* in which the chief priest of Travancore was severely and wantonly wounded in the skull. The ceremony was interrupted. We doubt much if such an issue would have been possible if it had been shown to Cochin clearly, that Travancore's declared legitimate rights would be effectually backed by the British Government. Travancore, of course, protested, and Mr. Hannington himself, under instructions from his Government, saw to the due performance of the interrupted ceremony some six months later.

It was but a few days before the *fracas* in the Erinjalakkuda Temple, that the Arbitrator pronounced his judgments in the other four "territoria" cases. Both sides argued laboriously, masses of records were gone through, and numerous witnesses examined. The Arbitrator declared all the four cases in favor of Cochin.

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No Judge or Arbitrator is amenable to his superiors or to the public for errors of judgment. And we firmly believe that the Arbitrator decided these "territorial" cases to the best of his judgment. Yet, the best judgment of one man may not be the best judgment of others ; and there can be no harm in seeing a case as others see it. In the *Idiyaramad* case Travancore urged : 1, that the Idiyaramad Hills formed part of the Malayattoor range just as the Matterhorn formed a part of the Alps ; 2, that the Alangad District, including the Malayattoor range, was ceded by a treaty entered into by Cochin ; 3, that Cochin having urged her claims to the Malayattoor range, Colonel Colin Macaulay, then Resident, after fully going into the question, rejected those claims ; 4, that the Government of India confirmed Col. Macaulay's decision ; 5, That when again Cochin brought her claims to the *Idiyaramad* portion of it, Col. J. Munro, the Resident, examined and rejected them ; 6, that while declaring Travancore's *right* to it, Col. Munro, considering the embarrassed state of Cochin's finances, recommended to Travancore to permit Cochin to continue to possess it for a few years more ; 7, that when Travancore claimed mesne profits from Cochin, Col. Newall, then Resident, recommended and obtained a remission of those demands from Travancore ; and 8, that when Col. Newall, in view to settle the then pending disputes between the States, asked the two Dewans to put forth lists of their respective disputes, and specially warned them that no questions ther omitted would afterwards be admitted, Cochin did not insert *Idiyaramad* in her inventory. Most of these facts were admitted by the Arbitrator, but he had an explanation for every one of them. Even the non-appearance of *Idiyaramad* in the list furnished to Col. Newall was attributed to the treachery of the then Dewan of Cochin.

In the remaining three Devasvam, or Temple cases, the whole turned on the meaning of the word, "*Koilma Stanam*." Earlier in this article we pointed out the origin and growth of sovereignty on the Malabar coast. We also pointed out the erroneousness of supposing that the more ancient temple were endowed by sovereigns. The Arbitrator seems to have fallen into this very error. He says ; " I am justified in stating that the sovereigns of the States in which this Devasvam existed, even though they were themselves the founders of the Devasvam, conceded to the Deity through his managers, power within the limits of the Devasvam, which included every function of Government save and except Royalty. Within the Devasvam limits, the managers of the temples collected the revenue and exercised all judicial powers. The sovereigns themselves

yielded homage and paid substantial tribute to the Devasvams (they do so still). The various chiefs or *Svaroopams* assisted in the management of the Pagoda and in the celebration of its ceremonies. In course of time these endowments were infringed upon and these privileges curtailed, as the secular influence prevailed and the religious influence diminished." This is exactly reversing the true origin of Temples and Sovereignities. Let the intelligent reader compare it with what we have already put forward and say which theory is more natural, more likely, and more supported by the circumstances of a society whose chief characteristic is hierarchy.

In another part of the judgment from which we have just quoted, the Arbitrator says :—

"The difficulty in coming to a decision in this case has been reduced somewhat by the declaration made to me by the Travancore Representative, on the 20th October 1881, wherein he states that the only right Travancore wishes to be declared is the sovereign right or proprietary right, or to use his own words,— 'If we are found not to possess proprietary, right or sovereign right, we have no right at all in the Pagoda.'"

He proceeds then to show that Travancore has neither right. He thinks that the Deity of the Pagoda is the proprietor or Janni; and Travancore is simply the manager. As for sovereign right, his rejection rests on the phraseology of the Treaty between the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin which speaks of "Devasvams situated in your and our territories." We venture to think that the Arbitrator's interpretation is, in neither case, correct. The Deity of a Pagoda can be proprietor only in name. The Pagoda itself, or the Deity himself, is the property of some animate being or beings. We have already shown how these Pagodas and Pagoda lands were originally created by the Brahmin lords, how inseparably those Brahmin lords identified themselves with the possession of those corporate estates, and how, as time flowed on, they associated with themselves, for political reasons, a secular leader to manage and defend those possessions. That leader became part and parcel of the Devasvam corporation. To deny proprietorship to that leader, as identified with the Devasvam body, over the Devasvam property, is special pleading. That even sovereign rights were exercised by the heads of Devasvam corporations or *Yogams* or *Sanketams*, the Arbitrator himself has admitted in the passage already quoted. As for the significance of the words of the treaty, "Devasvam situated in your and our territories," let us conceive a parallel case. Let us imagine that Calais was still in the possession of England. Let us further imagine that a Treaty was entered into between

England and France by which Calais was given up by England and Pondicherry by France. Will the words "our possessions in one another's territories shall be exchanged," mislead any one? Will those words disprove England's sovereignty in Calais or France's sovereignty in Pondicherry? We have already shown that minor chiefs often exercised sovereign rights within the geographical limits of a great chief's territory. The Paroor Rája, from whom Travancore wrested Elaunkunnapulay, may or may not have been a feudatory of Cochin. But the moment Cochin signally failed to perform the duty of suzerainty—that of protecting her feudatory—the tie was entirely dissolved. So, that presumption would serve little to weaken Travancore's right of sovereignty.

Lastly, the Arbitrator relies upon the interpretation of the word "*Koilmā*" by Messrs. Page and Boddam, by Col. Macaulay, and by Anglo-Malayalam experts like Messrs. Logan and Thompson. Now let us imagine a batch of Hindu graduates, or men much more experienced, asked to explain the meaning of "A poor Knight of Windsor." The explanation by Anglo-Malayalam experts of, and the casual allusion by English officers to, the word "*Koilmā*" will be on a par with the above. "*Koilmā*" is an equivalent of "Lord." Both are equally elastic in their import. The King himself used to be sometimes addressed, "My Lord." An innkeeper is also a "Lord." When a Malayali says, "he will represent his grievances to *Koilmā*," he refers to the King or Government to whom he is subject. "*Koilmā*" is also the appellation of a very petty temple functionary. To rest a grave issue upon the interpretation of such an elastic term by European experts is very questionable.

What is most surprising is the Arbitrator's going beyond Cochin's actual demands. Cochin never contended for anything beyond sovereign rights; but the Arbitrator awarded to her not simply what she wanted but what she never dreamt of asking for—the property and management of the Temple domains.

Travancore appealed to the Madras Government in due course. The Appeal Memoranda were masterpieces of terse logic and perspicuous and pointed language. The Madras Government disposed of the Appeals in a G. O., dated 30th October 1882, referring to the *Idiyaramad* decision, they remarked: "The Arbitrator's decision in this case cannot be upheld. The arguments adduced by Travancore, in paragraph 52 of her Memorandum of Appeal, seem to the Government to be unanswerable." In the three Devasvām cases they awarded sovereign rights to Cochin and Temple rights to Travancore. This is not at all surprising, for it is impossible for the best of Englishmen to analyse and study the

rights of sovereignty proprietorship, and a host of others in so peculiarly circumstanced a land as Malayam, which have lain interlaced for more than ten centuries. In the course of the G. O. the Madras Government further observed, referring to the three Devasvams cases: "The Right Honorable the Governor in Council has no doubt that it would be more convenient if in these three cases Travancore parted, which she is not likely to do, with her present powers of supervision, but so far as the question rests with him for disposal, he can only express an opinion on the expediency while deciding positively on the right." If we are not mistaken Travancore accepted this friendly hint, and a private proposal was made to Cochin of an equitable compromise in those cases, but the friendly advance was not reciprocated by Cochin. We hope something may yet be possible, for we deprecate divided authority and constant interference between the two States. The Madras Government will do well to bring their moral influence to bear on the question; but they will, we are sure, bear in mind that an equitable compromise is that which secures an equation of benefit to the parties.

One of the last of the "boundary" cases decided by the Arbitrator was that of the Cranganore river, or estuary, and the little island in it. The Dutch had obtained these from Cochin. Travancore purchased them from the Dutch. Travancore's possession of Cranganore was made a pretext of by Tippu to invade Travancore. Col. Macaulay distinctly recognised Travancore's right to the whole river and the island in it. Travancore has all along been in possession. In the face of these strong facts, the Arbitrator drew his boundary line in mid-river and mid-island, and adjudged Travancore's acceptance of a money payment for the moiety he gave over to Cochin, at the rate Travancore originally paid to the Dutch. Travancore applied to the Arbitrator to review the case; but he rejected it saying, "If I were to review my award in this case, I should have to do so in many others, and holding this view, I see no good reason to do so." Travancore has appealed to the Madras Government.

ART. VI.—ADAMOLI'S NOTES ON A JOURNEY FROM
PERM TO TASHKEND.

GIULIO ADAMOLI, at present a Member of the Italian Parliament, who started from Perm for Tashkend, on the 28th June 1869, has lately published the notes made during his journey, in the *Diritto*, a well known daily paper of Rome, as they were written originally, in a series of letters to his father. No notice appears as yet to have been taken of these notes in any English publication, but as the localities described in them are situated along one of the routes to India, they should command some interest here, though they contain no military or statistical information of much importance, and merely embody the impressions made by the country and its people upon a well educated and observant traveller. On comparing the route followed by Adamoli with the map appended to Mr. and Me. de Ujfalvy's travels in 1876-77, I found it to be the same with that of the later traveller, or rather travellers.

Adamoli had for his companion a young Russian, Jehaikofski by name, who happened to be a military officer. On leaving Perm, they saw at the end of the town a large prison, the first of a series, located at a distance of 100 versts* from each other; these were large square wooden houses with barred windows, in which the prisoners deported to Siberia rest for the night, and obtain food. Formerly they performed the journey walking, but now they are taken in carts from station to station; an advantage which is, however, counterbalanced by the additional danger which they incur, any man making the least attempt to escape being at once shot, which was not the case before. Empty carts were constantly met returning, and some of them looked like veritable iron cages. Other vehicles loaded with furs arriving from Siberia, were seen in great numbers, as also one with tea, and convoys of tobacco going to that country.

After passing through Kungur and Suksuski, the travellers met the usual convoys of emigrants slowly wending their way towards the lands assigned to them in the east. Every individual obtains 40 acres of land for the asking. When he arrives, he digs a hole to shelter himself, and in course of time builds a hut. In these parts the rotation of crops consists of the usual cereals, such as barley, oats, and wheat. The conversation of Adamoli's companion proved most interesting. He explained the administrative

* One verst makes 3,500 English feet, or 1,166 yards and a fraction.

and judicial machinery of Government after the wise and useful reforms introduced by the Emperor Alexander II; but the proceedings of the police were so severe, that any person who happened to assist a man or endeavoured to rescue him from being drowned, or wounded, or from any other accident, was forthwith taken into custody as a witness by them, and sometimes kept in prison for months. The people, consequently, instead of affording aid, preferred to run away when an accident took place. There are assemblies named district-councils, in which all the landed proprietors have a right to vote, and some are composed entirely of peasants.

Ekaterinburg is in the Ural Mountains, which, our traveller avers, deserve there the name of hills only. The road was so bad, that the jolting of the carts nearly broke the bones of the travellers; but it was being mended by laying on it trunks of pine trees, then, a layer of earth, and over it another of gravel from the Ural. Here our travellers met in one day, at least 200 carts laden with tea travelling to Perm from Kiarka and from Kulja, whence, it was all going to the fair of Nijui Novogorod. Convoys of cotton from Bokhara were also met.

In these mountains there were numerous villages with smelting furnaces and iron-manufactories. The motive power is water, and the water of the rivers is dammed up, so as to form small lakes. The forges at Yarzoff and at Waslieskoi Selo were the largest which our travellers saw.

In the Ural mountains stone and brick-houses were to be seen here and there, but the latter are very abundant in Ekaterinburg, and are of good architecture. Adamoli describes Ekaterinburg as a pleasant town, which has a bank, a lyceum, a theatre, a public garden with music, and a *restaurant*. It is situated near a small lake formed by dykes, which provides with water the mint, as well as another establishment, also belonging to the crown, where those stupendous and colossal bowls, vases, &c., on which Russia prides herself so much, are manufactured of *malachite*, *lapis-lazuli*, *jasper*, and of all kinds of stones from the Urals.

Adamoli visited this manufactory, and found everywhere patience, but no ingenious processes, the only exception being perhaps a certain kind of hand-lathe, or wimble, not seen by him before. It was not larger than a bottle and was turned rapidly by means of a string wound round it, but we have no doubt that this instrument is nothing more than the gimlet used daily by every carpenter in India; hence it is no wonder that a whole year is required to cut through a single stone. Formerly the work was carried on by slaves, but it is now done by freemen, as

everywhere else. There are also other manufactories of this kind, belonging to private firms, the largest of which is that of Jacobleff. The lakes are formed from the water of the *Issiott* river which supplies all the industrial establishments. A workman's wages per diem are from 30 to 80 Kopecks, or from 48 to 128 English farthings, according to his skill.

The gold-mines are 12 versts from the town. At the time of Adamoli's visit General Yossa was the chief director of all the mines and industrial establishments of the Crown in the Ural mountains, consisting of the following divisions: Bogoslavski, Goroblagodazki, Ekaterinburgski, Votkinski, Permski, and Slatonstofski. All the private mines and establishments, which are extremely numerous in these mountains, were likewise superintended by him, and he furnished Adamoli with an official letter to the director of the gold-mines of Beresowsk.

The travellers skirted in their carriage the lake Shiaratask, and were carried in about one hour to the town of that name, containing 11,000 inhabitants, all exclusively occupied in the search for gold and the exploration of the mines. The houses were of wood, as in all Russian villages, but the streets were broad, giving Adamoli the impression that he had been transplanted to America. The country all round was entirely uncultivated (just as about Ekaterinburg) absolutely no one being engaged in agriculture. The travellers alighted at the elegant and comfortable little house of Mr. Ivanoff, the director, who received them with great courtesy and gave them some preliminary explanation about the diggings in the auriferous sands, which he took them in his carriage to see. It is not more than fifty years since the gold began to be taken from the sands, after it had been discovered that it would be more easily extracted from them, than (as had been done for a century) from the quarries, which have been entirely abandoned for the last fifteen years, and the operations confined merely to sand-washing. First of all, the travellers went three versts to a village situated on the banks of the Beresowsk, a rivulet issuing from a pond, and flowing after a course of three or four versts into another rivulet, the *Isema*, which is auriferous. The gold-bearing sands form a stratum of the thickness of about one metre, which is, however, covered by another of two or three metres in the locality inspected. Operations are prosecuted on a large scale. The sands are placed in a kind of trough, whence they enter a machine driven by steam. There they are sifted, bruised, stamped, turned, and issue from it upon a long inclined plane with notches, sticks, and extended cloths, upon which the heavier particles settle, whilst the lighter ones are washed off by the water which flows abundantly during the whole operation. All

the sediment left by the first washing is collected and placed on a second inclined plane, from which the gold is obtained by another simple washing. The last substance to separate, from the gold, is a black powder of magnetic-iron. Adamoli saw 3,000 *pood** of sand yield not more pure gold than would fill the hand of an infant, the biggest particle of it not being larger than a grain of corn. The average yield of these diggings, or rather washings, was 30 *doli* for every 100 *pood* of sand, one *doli* being the thousandth part of 14½ ounces English avoirdupois, or the Russian pound (phunt).

Our traveller visited another quarry on the banks of the Ishma which had been opened last winter. It yielded 8 *zolotnik* (a hundredth part of the *phunt*, or 0.15 English ounces avoirdupois per *zolotnik*) from 100 *pood* of sand as a maximum, and 2 as a minimum, of pure gold. New pits, 4 *arsheen* square (2 feet 4 inches English make one *arsheen*), lined with large beams of pine-trees were being dug everywhere, but the yield of the sand extracted from them could not be ascertained with precision. Here steam was used only for working the pumps, all the sifting and washing being done by hand. This quarry bore the name of Alexeyeff, but twenty-three of them were under the direction of Mr. Ivanoff, who worked them with the aid of nine supervising officials. From this locality Adamoli went to a new mine where experiments were being made for extracting quartz. A fosse three metres deep had been dug for a trial, and a well of thirty feet, but other works also were being carried on there on a large scale. The quartz veins are enclosed within others of gravel, and sometimes yield a great deal of gold; these veins terminate on the surface of the soil, and occasionally a nugget of pure gold is found on it. To extract the gold from the quartz, the people there first break the mineral then bruise it, and wash it.

As already observed, other similar mines exist in the Urals. They yield annually 100 *pood* of gold to the Crown, and 150 to private individuals; precious stones also occur in abundance. A great emerald-mine belonging to the Crown was rented to Mr. Trunoff; and it is mentioned as a peculiarity of this mine that, on account of the abundance of mica that covers the soil, the work people are dazzled by the reflection of the sun, as the excavations take place on the surface only.

In the gold mines of Beresowsk, belonging to the Crown, 300 labourers are employed in summer and 1,500 in winter. The Crown possesses other gold mines in Siberia, in Bernauld, and in the Altai. Iron, lead, and other mines of the Government are being

* One *pood* makes 36 pounds 2 ounces English avoirdupois.

worked also at Nertchinsk in eastern Siberia, beyond the Baikial Lake, where the deported are employed, but never in gold or in silver mines. In the Urals any one may ask for permission to prospect for gold, and obtain it. When a locality has been found, a certain portion of it is rented out on the condition that the gold is conveyed to Ekaterinburg, where it is taken charge of by the Government and sent to St. Petersburg. There, the owner of the gold receives its value in cash or bank-notes, after deducting the taxes, the cost of transport, &c. All the gold of the Empire must pass through the hands of the Government.

After spending a very pleasant evening in the house of Mr. Ivanoff, whose family also lived with him at the mines, our traveller returned to Ekaterinburg, but left it on the 3rd July for

Journey to Omsk.

Omsk. His impression of Ekaterinburg was not favourable, and it appeared to him to be almost uninhabited, because at this season of the year all its labouring population were absent, employed in the mines. There were but few shops, and those, in the bazar, were almost all closed. On the great square, in front of the barracks, however, there was some bustle, as stalls were being erected for the great horse fair which was soon to be held.

On leaving the town, the highway presented a very animated aspect, in consequence of the convoys that were met, each consisting of 10 or more carts belonging to peasants who brought flour and other provisions to the town. Each party forms during the night a circle of the wagons, in the centre of which a big fire is kindled, and the forelegs of the horses are tied so, that they cannot go far. Parties of gypsies, too, could be seen camping in beautiful, clean tents, open on all sides, having nothing dirty about them like those of Italy. At one stage a convoy of deported prisoners was just starting, and they were about to enter their wagons. Their features in general were not as horrible as those of Italian prisoners. Each vehicle carried five prisoners with one soldier, and travelled quickly enough. Every one had a small coloured square on his back with certain hieroglyphic signs thereon, marking his degree of punishment. Some of the women were delinquents, but others only accompanied their deported husbands. There were some Jews who had been manufacturing counterfeit money, and one Pole implicated in political troubles, but he was allowed to move about freely, being only exiled. Those most worthy of compassion were the little children; they had scarcely been huddled into the wagon when a torrent of rain began to fall, and it was pitiful to see them. Gradually the road became very bad on account of the immense convoys of tea which pass over it, and

the horses also, which the so-called "free post" furnishes, became worse, but it terminates at Fumegu, where the "imperial post" begins. For the former, three kopecks have to be paid for each horse per verst, and for the latter only two, of which sum one-half is paid on receiving the *Podorožna*, or written permission, and the rest from post-office to post-office. This business our traveller had to transact at the police-office and treasury, neither of which edified him, and he avers that he had never seen anything more slovenly or filthy. The town itself, however, although small, he found to be neat, and superior to many of the same size in Italy. It had a bank, a fire-insurance office in excellent order, a bazar, some good shops, a large wooden bridge, a street paved with wood, and kiosks, and presented the appearance of an American town. Adamoli arrived at Fumegu at about 11 A. M. on the 4th July, after travelling 306 versts with 12 posts, and left it on the same day at 5½ P. M. During the two first posts the soil was sandy, but full of fords as it passed along the Andreyewski lake; after that, however, it was splendid, and might have served as a model for the post-routes of Italy, enabling the travellers not only to read in the day, but also to sleep, which they did so well, that they passed, during the night, through two towns without knowing anything about them. They crossed also the Pischma, a famous river, which carries gold-sand to the vicinity of Ekaterinburg.

The road continued most excellent through a continuous plain, in some parts covered with birch-bushes, in others arid like a steppe, but in others sown with corn, which, having only blossomed at this season, could not attain maturity. The whole road was at intervals flanked by poles, so as to make it distinguishable under the snow in winter. As our traveller progressed, he found the population decreasing, villages more rare, and so poor, that lastly, in the vicinity of Omsk, even the churches were only of wood. The huts were miserable, with falling roofs; there was no longer any symmetry or regularity to be seen about the streets, but mud and dirt everywhere, and no hut had more than a ground-floor. Even the post-houses, the best in the villages, became gradually lower, smaller, and more hut-like. Nevertheless in the yard of every house, a pole with a little box on the top could be seen, intended to invite starlings to construct nests, but usually tenanted by sparrows only. The villages and their surroundings, sometimes a few versts in extent, are enclosed by a rude wooden fence having a gate at the end of the street, and opened by an old man or disabled soldier, who lodges in a hole near it, for the carriages that pass. This fence serves to prevent the cattle from dispersing, enabling a few herdsmen

only to guard it, and protect them from the attacks of wolves. There is an extraordinary abundance of cows, sheep and goats. The horses were not so numerous, but proposals were constantly made to the travellers by their keepers, to hire some at a considerably lower rate than those of the post. They were so good in spite of not being shod, that galloping was again resumed and found very pleasant, the road being also much better; for, after leaving Fumegu, the enormous convoys of goods that spoiled it were no longer encountered, the merchandize being transported on the rivers. Even the deported had taken that route, and their sight no longer afflicted the travellers; for all that, however, the carts of peasants going to market, or to their work, made the road lively enough.

A halt was made at a place called Abtark, where a fair was going on, which was to last eight days. In large wooden barracks all sorts of primitive goods of iron, wood, and cloth were exposed for sale. Various sorts of meal, produced in the country, were not sold in the shops, but retailed by the peasants themselves from their carts. Great quantities of dried fish, strung on sticks, could be seen, and seemed to be the staff of life in these regions. The costumes of the people were not very different from those hitherto seen; the women were robust and not too dirty, but had hanging breasts, although still young, a sight which, presenting itself everywhere, was not agreeable.

The weather was getting daily warmer; the nights were cool, but the dust of the road was very annoying. On the morning of the 7th July, the travellers arrived on the banks of the Irtysh, where they were obliged to wait a good hour till they could be ferried over, so that they had time to take a bath in the river, and to converse with other travellers who were waiting to cross like themselves. They were four or five peasants with their carts and horses, enveloped in a dense cloud of smoke produced by grass kindled to keep off the gad-flies, which were terrible. These men were, very handsome and robust, with intelligent physiognomies, and wore long white petticoats, hats of the same colour, and the usual boots. They had emigrated to Siberia seventeen years ago, but were not much pleased. The soil is most excellent, but the seasons are bad. No labour is required beyond sowing, but if this is done too soon, frosts destroy the germs, and if too late, the grain has no time to ripen. They examined Adamoli about his affairs with American inquisitiveness, which, however, the people did everywhere, without being intimidated by his gentlemanly manners or by the uniform of his companion. Accordingly, he asks:—
“Do they not feel that they are our equals since the abolition

of serfdom? They asked us about our intentions, and, after ascertaining that we were going to Turkestan, they manifested a desire to emigrate there; accordingly my young companion, who is a captain in the staff corps attached to the Governor of Verno, wrote down their names and promised to obtain for them the land they required. Really, I have never seen any peasants more *comme il faut* than these. The day before, we had already had an example of the courage of this race; the three horses of one of our *Tarantas* broke the reins and were in full flight, when two peasants, leaving their convoy, threw themselves at their heads and stopped the animals suddenly; and *per Dio*, to stop a *troika* (three-horse carriage) in full flight is no easy thing! Poor Valler and Atelchik, who were in it, trembled for fear." Another man was a Pole, and likewise a handsome young fellow; he had fought in the last insurrection, was made prisoner and deported to Siberia, where 50 roubles* were given him, with which he bought horses and began to prosper; but he was allowed to enter the ferry-boat only after long supplication and paying a bribe of some kopecks, whereon the carts were pushed closer, and his own also admitted. There was also a most singular character, a delinquent with extremely heavy chains on his legs, travelling about in this manner on his own hook, carrying all his baggage under his arm. Such fugitive deported men could be seen everywhere, and it was usual with the people of the country to leave bread and other provisions on the windows at night for them to eat. Soldiers in those parts were so scanty, that exiles could roam about at pleasure and might be seen in every village; very many of them had settled, however, at Omsk, where all the cooks, servants, &c., happened to be exiled Poles.

Omsk, situated at the confluence of the Om and the Irtysh, has the appearance of a very large town, owing to its being constructed without regularity and containing immense empty spaces; but the number of its inhabitants was at the utmost, 26,000. The prison overtops all other buildings, and may be seen from a great distance, there being but very few other high houses besides the Moskow-hotel, in which Adamoli lodged, and some Government offices. The inhabitants all dwelt in wooden houses possessing only a ground-floor. A small fort, constructed according to the modern fashion, was sometimes of use when Omsk was a frontier-town, but when Adamoli visited it, not a single cannon could be seen. The society of Omsk consisted entirely of Government officers and their wives, who amused themselves

* A silver rouble is 3s. 4d. English money.

as they best could, and, there being no public theatre, private performances, by amateur actors, were occasionally given. As all over Russia, so also here, a so-called fire-tower, of some height, could be seen. It is tenanted day and night by a watchman, who gives a signal with a bell as soon as he discovers a fire, whereon the firemen, who are always on the alert, immediately proceed with their engines to the locality indicated. In the town the horses of the fire engines alone were allowed to wear bells, those of all wagons being tied up as soon as they entered it. At Omsk, the Kirghizes, whom Adamoli thought extremely picturesque, with their immense fur-bonnets, long-gowns, and high saddles, became fewer in number; dogs, on the contrary, abounded, as in Ottoman towns, and their howlings continued throughout the night. The Government kept three steamers at Omsk, one of which brought salt for the whole of Siberia from Pavlador, and the second carried timber, but the third made only one trip per annum for the transport of hides.

Baron Vrangél, the chief of the Government Chancery, for whom Adamoli had a letter of introduction, received him very courteously. The town contains a square surrounded by tolerably good shops; and there was also a Military College, but the most curious sight in this square, was the contiguity of a Greek church, a Catholic one, built by the Poles, and a mosque, the first named being between the other two. At sunset the travellers paid a visit to the mosque, just when the Mollah was reciting his prayers with a white turban on his head, turned towards Mekka; all the furniture the edifice contained, was a carpet, two pulpits and a Qorán. The mosque is surmounted with a large cupola and flanked by two minarets, from which the Faithful are called to prayers, but the greatest noise proceeded from the Greek church, in which a dozen or two of bells of every size were being tolled. In the evening the travellers proceeded to the local Vauxhall, where the whole society of Omsk, from the highest to the lowest, assembled, and had a sight of Russian, and Jewish, as well as Kozak, beauties. There the middle class dance in the great hall to the sounds of modest Kozak music, till one o'clock after midnight, whilst high society merely looks on though it is sometimes tempted to take part in the amusement.

The colonel of the place laughed heartily when Adamoli told him of the prisoner at large he had seen at the ferry of the Irtysh, and asked him whether he had not noticed a peasant behind the man. Prisoners are often thus given in charge of a peasant to conduct them from one station to another. It happens, however, that the peasant is sometimes otherwise engaged, and then deposes his wife to take charge of the prisoner. The

watchmen at Omsk keep themselves awake during the night, as in the rest of Russia, by striking certain tablets with iron sticks.

Our traveller heard that the fish of the Irtysh were of stupendous size, that is to say, the *Nielma*, which he did not see, though he ate of the *Sterlek*, which he found superior to that of the Volga, because not so fat: *Sterleks* weighing 60, and sturgeons 130 pounds, three arsheens long, were caught.

At Omsk the travellers began to feel the advantage of travel-

From Omsk to Se- ling with a Government officer. They sent
nipolatiensk. two *podorosnas* to the post-office, and found

that there were horses for him but not for them; so they asked for six horses with his *podorosna*, which was imperial, and they were immediately produced, enabling them to take their departure.

The travellers had scarcely passed beyond the military camp outside Omsk, when they suddenly found themselves in an arid, uncultivated plain, covered with yellow, withered herbage. There were no longer any fields or signs of cultivation, except here and there some dwarfish birch-trees, and at last not even these. The quail, a denizen of the fields, which had hitherto followed the travellers with its perpetual *quic-quic-quic*, also disappeared, and ceded its post to the steppe-partridge, at which the travellers sometimes had a shot from their carriages. There were also large flocks of common crows, which appeared to be the only inhabitants of this boundless plain, but whenever the road touched the banks of the Irtysh, ducks and all kinds of aquatic birds were seen making for the water. The river has excavated for itself a bed, which is sometimes deep, and in other places again shallow and so broad, that occasionally islands, covered with the richest verdure, and leafy bushes refreshing to the sight, presented themselves, forming a strong contrast to the dreary aspect of the plain which stretched away on the right of the travellers.

Villages now no longer occurred between the post stations, but only *stanitzas* of Kozaks at the latter, surrounded by *Kibitkas* of Kirghizes. A *stunitza*, or station of Kozaks, was usually composed of about thirty wooden huts, tenanted by them and their families. All were situated on the banks of the river, with gardens, protected by fences of hurdles. Judging from the huts at the post-stations, Adamoli considered them extremely clean, and was surprised to see women scrubbing the floors. At every halting place the travellers were surrounded by Kozaks and Kirghizes, who had long conversations, disputed, and gossipped, before harnessing the horses, so that it was a pleasure to hear them. The Kozaks, with their military caps and *Kalats*, looked like warriors in a sufficiently curious dressing-gown

Pavlodar, marked on maps as a town between Omsk and Semipolatsinsk, was found to be nothing more than a *stanitza* somewhat larger than the others; but before reaching it, they saw at the station of Tchérnarski extraordinary piles of salt heaped up near the bank of the Irtysh and ready for embarkation. All this salt had been brought from the Lake of Kerek, which is situated 25 versts east of Pavlodar, and provides the whole of Siberia with that condiment. Our traveller asserts that he is not exaggerating, when he calls these heaps of salt, which were regularly piled up as gravel is in Italy, mountains. One heap was as high as a house of three storeys, 30 mètres long, and from 12 to 15 broad. The salt is exposed to the air and rain, but the former being very dry, and the latter occurring but seldom, not much damage is done. This was the opinion of the natives, but Adamoli differed from it, as, whilst he was there, a shower of rain fell almost every night. He also entered a Kibitka, or tent of ten paces diameter. The perpendicular frame of it, up to the height of a man, was made of wooden lattice-work with large interstices, but the frame of the roof consisted of pliable sticks, united in the centre. This frame was covered with large pieces of felt, called *liri*, made of goat's-hair and water-proof. On the top there was a circular aperture for the escape of smoke and admission of light, but in case of rain, it was closed, as well as the door, in the same manner. The interior contained a few wooden utensils, a bed overloaded with coverlets of various colours, and an old Kirghiz, who could not understand a word of Russian, rocking a cradle. Outside, a large cauldron was boiling on a tripod, and a Kirghiz girl was milking the cows. The Kirghizes scattered about in the stanitzas, do not live as they do in the steppes, where alone their habits can be properly ascertained. They know only a few external forms of Muhammadism, and appear to have no distinct notion of it, greasing the carriages of the travellers with pork-fat, which a Tartar would never have done. They have a very handsome appearance when in their saddles, with long poles hanging from them and trailing on the ground, galloping after a troop of horses.

A short time after leaving Pavlodar, the appearance of the country began to change a little, the road descending into the broad bed which the river had formed, but again abandoned, so that it was as arid as the steppe, but nevertheless more pleasant, as the eye, instead of losing itself in the infinite, could rest on the little eminences which rise here and there in the valley. Here and there also firs and poplars could be seen,

in gradually increasing numbers; then groves appeared, and the country undulated more and more on the right hand, taking, on the other side of the Irtish, the form of hills, and almost mountains. No large boats were to be seen anywhere on the river, but only some rafts, which were piloted over the shallowest places by men standing on the bank. These rafts were laden with wood, but at every stanitza some canoe, made of a single tree-trunk, was to be seen. The travellers shot plenty of birds, and especially large woodcocks, which were cooked in mutton-grease by the Kozak women at the stanitzas, and made excellent dinners.

When Semipolatsinsk was reached, on the 13th July, the travellers found it to be a small fort. First Russian, especially Tartar, dealers had grouped themselves round it for the purpose of carrying on a small retail commerce with the Kirghizes. In this manner the place assumed some importance, attracting caravans from Kulja and other Chinese towns; but, when afterwards disturbances arose, the said caravans arrived rarely, or not at all, so that, when Adamoli was there, the town carried on merely a large retail trade, as it was the centre of the Government of the province. Trade with the Kirghizes takes place only by barter; the Tartars (almost all of whom come from the Governments, or rather provinces, of Omsk, Kazan, &c.) bring dyed cotton-cloths and manufactured articles of which the Kirghizes stand in need, and the latter, in their turn, give for them sheep and cattle, or simply grease and furs, which are then taken by the Tartars to the fairs of Irbit and other places, and sold in them for money.

Contrary to the instincts of his race, an old Kirghiz Khan desired to build himself a permanent abode of bricks; but he struggled in vain against his nature, and the buildings were allowed to fall into ruin. Being seven in number, they furnished the name of Semipalotinsk, that is to say, "seven palaces," to the town, which presented a handsome aspect from a distance. This, however, proved to be a delusion and a snare, for, on entering the place, it was found to consist of wooden barracks scattered about in the sandy plain, without any pretensions; there were, however, also a few brick houses belonging to the Government, the handsomest of them being a large prison, exactly of the same design as that at Omsk. In the Tartar portion, entirely separated from the Russian, there were at least a few broad and straight roads. But few droshkis (carriages) could be seen, as Tartars ride only on horseback, and many of these were encountered. The chief mosque was of the simplest kind, but had a few granite steps, while the others were all of wood. At a short distance from the town the Tartar cemetery,

enclosed with wooden palings, could be seen. The graves were marked by little earth-hills, with a pole fixed near the head and another at the feet; some were enclosed with palings, and a few with brick-walls.

The people of the provision bazar consisted of male and female Kirghizes, Tartars, and four or five Chinese who, wore long tails, robes of white cloth, and upturned shoes. This bazar was a collection of small wooden shops, containing but little that could please a European, although in a shop of the Russian town wines and similar goods were sold. The caravanseraï, on the banks of the Irtysh, also of wood, with verandahs and low, most simple shops, was deserted. In this place our traveller imagined he had discovered the reason why the Tartars wore sleeves a span longer than their hands, namely, to protect them from mosquitoes, flies, and other insects, which tormented him to such a degree, that he thought it better to sleep in the carriage than in the houses.

The travellers departed from Semipolatsinsk at 7½ A. M. on the 14th July, and had rain for several days, To Serghiopol, which made it so cold, that the thermometer fell to 12° R. and made them compare the weather to the chilly October season of Italy. They had, however, brought excellent provisions, and a good stock of cognac, as well as sherry, which kept them in good spirits.

On leaving Semipolatsinsk it was necessary to cross two arms of the Irtysh, separated from each other by a tongue of sand. The ferry presented a very animated and strange sight; the confusion, the grotesque costumes, the horses, sheep and carts, the Kirghizes, Tartars, Kozzacks, and the travellers, all cooped up in one boat, formed an extraordinary picture. On arriving on the other bank, all jumped out to lighten the boat, and finally the heavy carriages, too, were dragged out, with much shouting. Then, passing through the other half of the town, which is the poorest and is situated on the left bank of the Irtysh, the travellers cast a last glance at the majestic river, and continuing their journey, entered the real steppe, meeting no village and not even a tree till Serghiopol, a distance of 272 versts from Semipolatsinsk; the only rivulet, seen midway between these two towns, was not broader than two cubits, and said to be often dry.

At the post-stations there was always a tolerably deep well, but containing little water. Each post-station has two small centre rooms for the Kozzack and his family, which is usually numerous enough, flanked on the one side by a chamber for the coachmen, and on the other by a little room for travellers. It is

built partly of wood and partly of earth. In front there is a pole on which a lantern is hoisted during dark nights; in the rear there is an enclosure for horses, which are, however, always in the steppe, so that it becomes necessary to wait till they are brought. Sometimes there are three or four Kirghiz yurts (huts) around the post-house, with the cattle belonging to them, if the well happens to contain water enough.

As the travellers gradually travelled further from the river, the country began to rise gently till they reached a vast plain, surrounded by the so-called Arcad mountains, and; after thus advancing for some hours, they passed through a *defile*, followed by undulating plains and hills, till they arrived at Serghiopol, at noon, on the 16th July. The preceding night had been spent at a station called Azikboulazki for fear of the roads, which had been spoiled by the rain, especially in the lowest places where the ground was saline. There the travellers supped on *pilmenia*, an abominable Siberian dish, and on *kumis*, but undrinkable. Here, too, remembering their trials at Semipolatiušk, they slept in their tarantas (carriages). They also met for the first time camels.

Serghiopol was found to be a collection of ill-shaped quadrangular heaps of earth, with small apertures for windows. Eight or ten of the houses had slanting wooden roofs, and all the rest, which were hardly higher than a man, were covered with horizontal, mud-plastered beams. But little wooden frame work could be seen about the houses, they being mostly constructed of mud-bricks, mixed with straw and dried, while some of them had three or four sticks round them, believed to be little trees. The yards round the houses were also enclosed with mud-walls. Three or four huts in the desert, with a large pair of scales, under a roof of five disjointed planks, did duty for a bazar. This place contained also a fort with a wall, three feet high, of sun-dried mud-bricks, a fosse three paces broad, and barracks, producing a kind of effect, but from a distance only. They were, however, whitewashed, and the planks covering them were painted red. The church did not look bad. On the bank of the Ayugaz river, there was a garden with a few poplars, which might pass in the desert for trees. Around the fort there were some Kirghiz yurts. Here the travellers were detained for the night because they could not get horses till the next morning.

On the 17th July, in the morning, the party left Serghiopol. The road passed nearly the whole day along the river Ayugaz with its limpid waters, which fertilized the adjoining places, so that there was plenty of verdure, but beyond everything was desolate.

From Serghiopol to
Verno. (Russian
Vyernoyeh)

The road passed over hills and mountains, through gaps which were sometimes rugged enough, and the post-stations always presented the same aspect, namely, houses of mud-bricks with wooden frame-work and straw roofs, also three or four Kirghiz yurts for horses. The people on the road were either carriers of wood, or consisted of a few Kozzaks here and there, a camel, or a cart of Chinese going to Semipolatsinsk to manufacture bricks. There were numbers of birds at which the travellers shot from their tarantas without stopping them; these were chiefly the *raptchik*, or steppe-partridge, somewhat bigger than the European species, of a blacker colour, with more dark and more distinct spots on the back, the half of the abdomen black, and a nearly red ring round the neck; three claws on the leg and the spur almost imperceptible. These were met with by hundreds, but the *drakhva*, of the same colour as the *raptchik*, although as big as a turkey, with long legs and neck, a real miniature ostrich, could be approached only in a carriage and not on foot. There were also wild geese, none of which could be taken; and immense numbers of birds of prey.

On the same day (the 17th July) salt appeared in great abundance, so that in some localities the road looked quite whitish, as if partially covered with snow. Here and there cemeteries also were perceived, some of the tombs being surrounded with walls and spacious enough to contain the bodies of a whole family. On a hill, a kind of truncated cone, constructed of rubble masonry, appeared among a number of graves, and the coachman, who was a Kirghiz, stated that it contained the remains of a family of saints called *Orogopelkh*. The flora of this region consisted of broom, rose, and thistle bushes, all of which occur also in the meadows of Italy; a yellowish rose was also extremely common, and quantities of violets were seen.

On the 18th, in the morning, when the travellers awoke, they saw opposite them, in the far distance, the snow-clad Alatan chain, which was very pleasing to the sight, but quickly disappeared on account of the clouds that intervened. Some little rivulets were crossed, which sufficed, however, to invigorate the vegetation, but salt became also more abundant, and salt pools, some of which encroached upon the road. There was always some moss and some herbage, good for pasture, along the road, as well as an abundance of small and of large birds, so that the steppe was decidedly not as horrible as it is usually represented to be, and only few things reminded the travellers of the desert, namely, the skeletons of horses, scattered here and there by the side of the road, the mirage and columns of sand, from time to time uplifted by a whirlwind. In spite of

the serenity of the sky, the sun is so covered with vapours, in these localities when it is about to set, that darkness covers the land before it has disappeared. At 3 P.M. the travellers reached the *Lepsa*, a beautiful little river, with sandy banks, which they crossed in a boat. After that they waded through several others, and in the night, they passed over the bridge of the *Acasu*. There they saw a convoy of tea going from Omsk to Verno, whence they concluded that none was any longer imported from Kulja. No *kauls* (groups of tents) of Kirghizes were any longer seen, they being at that season all in the mountains.

On the morning of the 19th the spurs of the Alatan were reached. These mountains presented beautiful outlines, but as no trees could be seen, their barrenness was unpleasant. For a while the travellers skirted them, and then entered a rugged and narrow pass, the road through which must have cost much labour, and where a company of soldiers were still seen working. On emerging from the passage of Gasford, the first table-land was reached. It was at first believed to be uncultivated, like the steppe, because only the usual withered herbage could be seen; gradually, however, as the travellers approached Arasanski (the first village encountered since Serghipol) they saw here and there cultivated fields, and haystacks—in fact the first signs of agricultural civilization; and ultimately, *ariks* or channels, regulated by the hand of man, for irrigating the soil.

Arasanski is a Russian village which enjoys a high reputation on account of its sulphurous waters. The Government has constructed reservoirs covered with wood, and laid out a garden with grass and clumps of poplars, where the elegant society of Kapal and Verno meet. Sick people arrive from greater distances, and even from Zomsk. The temperature of the bath is most pleasant, but on tasting the water and not finding it affect his palate much, Adamoli arrived at the conclusion that its medicinal qualities could not be very powerful. As he was there during the hot portion of the day, Adamoli saw nothing of the society, except some officers and a woman of the town, but Waller, who remained till the evening, afterwards reported that there was music and a brilliant assembly in the garden.

Adamoli and Tehaikofski departed at 3 P. M. to Kapal to make arrangements for continuing the journey, and Waller was to have followed them in the evening as soon as the horses had arrived. They reached Kapal in less than three hours, after having crossed a hill that intervened on the table-land. Here, in the absence of Waller with their impedimenta, they were hospitably entertained by some officers, who also proposed to them to make an excursion from Kapal which they accepted.

Accordingly the party, consisting of four, were at 11 A. M. on the 20th in the saddle, mounted on those famous unkempt Kozak horses which are never shod, know no oats, and are in the mountains as indefatigable as goats. A Chinese saddle had fallen to the lot of Adamoli, in which he did not feel very comfortable. The ascent of the mountains under which Kapal is situated, was immediately begun, and various Kirghiz families were encountered descending to the plain in order to profit by the season for sowing. Their huts and all their utensils were conveyed on the backs of oxen or cows, the people also riding on them or on horses, followed by a flock of sheep which constituted the bulk of their property. Oxen and cows were used much more as beasts of burden and for riding than for draught; at Kapal some were seen even with elegant saddles, guided by strings passing through their nostrils.

After surmounting the first heights, the travellers came upon an encampment (*haul*) consisting of six or eight huts (*yurt*) and ran there to have a bowl of *kumis*. All round, numbers of horses, goats, camels, and oxen were browsing, and the whole space was intersected by outstretched ropes with nooses for confining the more unruly beasts during the night. Nearly all the horses had their forelegs shackled with ropes, so that they could make but short steps, and be recaptured quickly. Nearly all the women were engaged in spinning or weaving. Adamoli is of opinion that the daughters of Noah must have used the identical looms at which the Kirghiz women worked; three sticks, a comb, a wooden spatula, and a little rod for a shuttle, were all the materials they required. They worked squatting on the ground, upon a web of goat's hair no bigger than a span.

The marriage customs of these people are curious. When a man has made his choice of a bride, he is obliged immediately to set up his *yurt* near the *haul* in which the girl lives, and begins to court her. He makes a bargain with the father for the price which he is to pay him, whereon the bride may pay a visit to the bridegroom in his *yurt* every evening. These visits ought to be altogether sentimental during the time the bridegroom is engaged in paying off the dowry to the father of his spouse, a period which may be long enough when the suitor happens to be poor; but, alas, corruption has penetrated even among the simple-minded Kirghizes, and the visits generally terminate in a very unsentimental way. During the period of probation, the father of the bride has a right to make use of the shepherds of the bridegroom, or of the latter himself, for pasturing his cattle. After having paid the dowry the bridegroom enjoys conjugal rights (which, as just hinted, he has usually anticipated.) The ceremony comes

afterwards, and is of the simplest kind. The father presents the girl to the husband, telling him that he gives her to him to be his slave and absolute property, but requests him not to sell her; the husband replies that he will care for her and protect her, but kill her in case of her proving unfaithful. Then banquetting commences, more or less according to the wealth of the family, but in any case two sheep must be slaughtered. On this occasion the *mollah* recites some verse of the *Qorán*, of which he does not understand a syllable. In other respects, the Kirghizes cannot be called Muhammadans, because they are indifferent. Their women enjoy much liberty, and appear to be on terms of equality with the men. At any rate, the woman who acted as guide to the travellers having been chaffed by a group of Kirghizes who happened to pass by on horseback, she returned their joke in rhymes with compound interest, and some very expressive gestures. In the afternoon, too, when they entered a *yurt*, they were received by a woman who continued to do the honours of the place even after the men had arrived. They asked for *kumis* (sour milk of mares) and were shown to the tent of a wealthy old fellow, this beverage being procurable only where many horses are kept. On entering, they were received with the usual *Aman*, (a word of salutation) and, after they had been invited to squat on a piece of goat-felt, a little boy whose face was besmeared with milk and millet, brought in the *kumis* in a wooden porringer varnished red, black and yellow. Having been told that Adamoli was a great *Tura* (*chief*), the said old man got up to fetch a basin of majolica which he kept enclosed in a case, and presented it to him with a bow, passing his hand over his beard. Such courtesy could not be disregarded, and Adamoli forced himself to swallow some of this beverage which he could not relish. One of the party happened to spill the last drops of the porringer upon the ground, whereat the Kirghiz was scandalised, and wiped the ground with his hand, which he then rubbed on his dress; *kumis* being a sacred beverage, to allow which to be spilled on the ground is a great sin, God having granted it to the Kirghizes, because he protects them in a special manner.

About 3 P. M. the travellers resumed their ride, and, after continuing it for some time, halted to make tea. The horses having been tied in a circle, the head of one to the tail of another, so as to hinder them from grazing, some wood was cut among the bushes and tea prepared. After this refreshment the party ascended to the top of the Kerinin, proceeded awhile along the crest, and at 8 P. M. made an attempt to ride down into the valley by the moonlight, but this attempt was immediately abandoned by

Adamoli and his two companions, on seeing the precipitous character of the road, for which pusillanimity they were well laughed at by Papoff, the Russian officer who guided them. At 10 P. M. they reached the bottom of the valley in which the Kara torrent flows, and there they found three or four soldiers, commanded by a corporal, engaged in felling and splitting the wood required for their battalion; it being necessary to come all this distance to obtain wood; poplar, beech, and pine trees growing here in abundance. It is wonderful what a Russian soldier abandoned to his own resources can achieve. These soldiers had received orders to prepare a certain number of cart loads of wood for the battalion. They arrived without any thing except their axes, muskets, and a few meagre provisions. They began by constructing for themselves a most comfortable hut, and near it a small room for a vapour bath, as well as a bold bridge, which looked as if it had been built by an engineer. After that they made cart-poles, axes, and wheels, which they finished with a lathe of their own construction, fixed between two trees. In ovens of their own construction, they extracted a kind of gum from the bark of beech-trees. The corporal who originated all these contrivances was a most original and humorous fellow, who was not astonished to see Italians, as he had made the acquaintance of some prisoners of that nation in the Crimea.

In this locality the travellers spent the night, but first had a supper of bits of salt-meat roasted on a spit with intermediate pieces of lard; they had delicious tea, and slept soundly till morning around the camp-fire. When they awoke, they found that the sheep for which they had sent over night, had not yet arrived; they accordingly roamed about the valley and found the flora to be nearly the same as that of the Alps, namely, wolf's bane, felwort, anemone, umbellifera, and a kind of most beautiful yellow poppy, berberry bushes, &c. But if there was not much difference in the flora, there was a great deal in the fauna, and numbers of unknown birds of every colour were fluttering about.

The long expected sheep arrived at last, partly in a cauldron, partly on the usual spit, and furnished the travellers with an excellent meal, the flesh being found excellent and tasting better than veal; the grease obtained from the tails (one of which was as large as a good-sized melon and weighed from 7 to 8 kilogram,) doing duty for butter. The return journey to Kapal began at 4 P. M. They reached that place in the morning, and at the noise made by their arrival Waller put his head out of the wagon in which he had been sleeping and was highly delighted, as, Adamoli not having returned at the time agreed upon, he was about to request the commandant of the district to despatch fifty Kozaks in search

of the bodies of his lost companions, whom he believed to have been robbed or perhaps even murdered.

Kapal was a citadel with large deserted spaces, extremely long streets, little wooden or mud-brick houses, a garden, a library, a school and a modest bazar. The stanitza, or Kozzak town, is on the other side of the little river which intersects the place.

Having refreshed and rested themselves after their excursion on horseback, our travellers left Kapal at noon on the 22nd, to continue their journey to Verno. They skirted the Alatan mountains for a time, and then crossed the last spur of them. They had scarcely arrived again in the level country, when they saw a Kirghiz *haul*, and around it green fields of corn, millet and panic, irrigated by little water-channels formed with some skill. The cattle were browsing around in the uncultivated steppe. They travelled for a while along the rocky banks of the Karatan which they crossed in the evening on a bridge, and reached an elegant station provided with everything, including *quass*, of which they drank with the greatest pleasure after several days of abstinence. This was a station belonging to a village containing forty houses of Russian emigrants, to which the *beau monde* of Kapal resorted occasionally to enjoy the vegetables brought there by the civilisation of the European peasants. During the night a rugged and nearly mountainous tract was traversed. In the morning, however, the travellers arrived in a most extensive plain which appeared unlimited; but after a time they saw on the horizon the snowy tops of another Alatan, that of Verno, likewise forming spurs of the great Tian-Shan chain. During the passage through this great plain hawks, partridges and other birds were again seen in great numbers, two extremely large species of black cranes, and lastly, at sunset, two troops of gazelles skipping lightly, dallying, running after each other, and fleeing only when the travellers approached them too closely and were getting ready to shoot.

In the evening the travellers reached the station of Tehinghiljaski, where a rivulet was seen losing itself in a hole of more than three metres in diameter, but containing not more than a few inches of water, in which a number of little fish were sporting themselves. The sand at the bottom of this hole is, however, so loose, that it allows anything thrown into it to sink in it, and the Kozak of the stanitza assured Adamoli that he had dropped into it a stone with fifty arsheens of string attached to it, but could find no bottom. This station the travellers left at 3 A. M., and soon reached the marshy, sandy banks of the Ili, along which they skirted with great fatigue. On reaching the ferry, some hundreds of carts laden with lead, belonging to the Government,

were seen waiting to be ferried over. The carters stated that they were travelling from Omsk to Verno, that they paid one rouble per pood, and that each carried 40 poods. Here the travellers saw bands of Kirghizes whose complexions were so black, that they appeared to be real negroes; then they passed through a village, consisting of a few huts, and the remnants of a fort, and entered the steppe which terminates at Verno, reaching that town after having travelled 371 versts from Kapal, and hoping to arrive after five or six days more in Tashkend, the terminus of their journey.

A great box of apricots exposed for sale just at the entrance of the town of Verno (in Russian Vyernoyeh) so enticed Adamoli, that his craving for the fruit almost induced him to leap from his carriage and take possession of it, but the dignity of being a European restrained him. The gardens around the houses were full of apricot trees loaded with fruit. Besides this species of tree, there were in the gardens also wild-apples, nuts, and imported vines; as well as some willows and poplars.

Till 1854 Verno had been nothing more than a stanitza of Kozzaks; gradually, however, its geographical position and the vicinity of Kulja induced Tartar merchants to settle around it, but afterwards the fertility of the soil attracted Russian colonists also. Then a fort was built and garrisoned to resist the inroads of the Kirghizes from the adjoining Khanate of Kokand, which was at that time independent. With the enlargement of the conquests, Verno became the centre of the administration for the surrounding country, and lastly, when the Government of Turkestan was established, it was made the capital of the province of Semiretchenski (seven rivers) and severed from the administration of Siberia, to be incorporated with the new territory. It gradually flourished more and more, not indeed through commerce, which has been reduced to almost nothing and confined to the retail trade with the Kirghizes, but owing to the concourse of emigrants, who find the climate much more temperate there than in Siberia. When Adamoli was there, he saw in every direction new houses being erected by these industrious peasants, many of whom had been enterprising enough to undertake a journey of four thousand versts with their wives, utensils and cattle in order to better their circumstances. Men capable of taking such a resolution can accomplish great things, and prove that they possess a stock of energy and intelligence, which, when properly developed, must produce surprising results. A peasant who thus emigrates, not only imparts to the natives the elements of good agriculture, but engages in the planting and conservation of trees, which is a very important matter in such a bare country, but especially in Verno.

and on the banks of the Ili, as well as on the other now desolate little rivers, where the improvident Kozzaks (the first colonists thrown out, according to the Russian system, into newly conquered territories) had destroyed them. They not only wasted wood in building, but also burnt much of it without at all thinking of the future. Whilst the Kozzaks were alone, the soil was not ameliorated and not even ploughed by them, so easy was the life they led, and they obtained everything they needed without trouble. For a very small remuneration they hired Kirghizes and Kalmucks to take care of their cattle and cultivate their fields, for these poor people were but too glad to hire themselves out even as day-labourers and to work like condemned prisoners; in order to hoard a little money for buying a *yurt* and some cattle. But when a Kirghiz has succeeded, after thus labouring three or four years, in accumulating the required sum of money, no one can detain him in service for all the gold in the world; he takes to the mountains and is seen no more. Adamoli met working Kirghizes, everywhere in the stanitzas and among the Russians, but when one of them becomes rich, he makes it a point of honour to possess many horses, they being the standard of wealth among the Kirghizes. Some possess hundreds of horses, but will not sell one of them, thinking it dishonourable, and would rather submit to the greatest misery than to do so.

Kalmucks and Chinese were not very numerous in Verno, and had settled there only after the troubles of Kulja, which town they abandoned, but there are also a few Sarts. The town of Verno still presented the aspect of a large Russian village, with its extremely broad roads, slanting roofs, and as much wood-work about the houses as could be obtained in so woodless a country. The streets were intersected by numerous little channels for the irrigation of the gardens, one of which was also maintained by the Government at a short distance from the town for the acclimatization of European fruits and trees, all of which already existed here in great abundance, but in a wild state. Everything prospers well in this garden; peaches, apricots, plums, pears, and European flowers, and mulberry trees and vines imported from Tashkend. Unfortunately the place was badly kept, the gardener taking no interest in it.

On the leaves of the mulberry trees the Government had caused silkworms to be fed, and they produced cocoons which Adamoli saw, and at which he expressed his astonishment. Considering that nobody knew anything about the treatment of silkworms, he wondered how they could form such cocoons. In the garden Kozzak music is played on Sundays, and the ladies dance under a

roof embellished with trellis-work. The beauties were of the same kind as at Omsk, or nearly such, but the men wore coats of every possible hue, with turbans, kalpaks or skullcaps, and commingled fraternally with the white uniforms of the Russian officers and soldiers. Some natives on whom the Russians had from political motives conferred certain grades on first setting foot in the country, stalked about proudly to display their distinctive marks sewn on their gowns, presenting a grotesque mixture of European and Asiatic costume. On the day Adamoli paid his visit to this garden, a great assemblage of people happened to be there, it being the time when the Kirghizes of Takmak come to Verno for the purpose of adjusting their disputes. Long discussions were taking place, and a great deal of business had to be transacted, two years having elapsed since they had last assembled in Verno. The Russians allow these meetings to continue, in which the Kirghizes settle their affairs by means of their own *Bii*, or judges, whilst the Russian chief of the district is present, but without interfering, or arrogating to himself a deliberative vote; he only gives advice and nothing more. The principal subjects were horse-thieving and cattle-lifting.

In this Government, which was originally dependent upon Siberia, where the Kirghizes had been intimately known a long time, great freedom was also allowed in the distribution of the taxes when the districts were established, and these wise principles were the cause of the change of Government taking place so quietly, without the Kirghizes themselves perceiving it. The district contained, at its establishment about two thousand *yurts*, which had to pay among themselves about six thousand roubles of taxes. Officially the *haul* no longer exists, but practically it does, and their Sultans, or ancients, are allowed to assemble for the purpose of allotting to each yurt its share of the tax of the district, in conformity with the wealth of each. On the first occasion the chief of the district was present at this distribution, but the people soon became so accustomed to it, that they now always arrange it without any superintendence. For some years the Russians allowed them so much liberty, that they took no notice of their continual intestine wars and habitual raids; and these contests were, indeed, but little homicidal in reality; the people of one *haul* lifted the cattle of another, and the latter made reprisals, which, however, did not terminate the contests, but only gave occasion for new ones. In all these skirmishes the arms used were only the *nagaika*, or wooden club, two spans long, a hatchet with a long handle but dexterously managed; a hooked stick, and a pole tied to the saddle. When these disturbances happened to be protracted and disturbed

the country, and the Russians wished to make an end of them, they had only to send an energetic message to the Sultans, and to show a Kozzak here and there, whereon all hostilities ceased, and the people became quiet. In the Government of Oremburg, where the authorities did not know the nature of the Nomads, and used force, deplorable consequences ensued. A commission of unpractical men had been appointed, who imagined they could effect everything by violence, burnt down many *hauks*, imposed taxes arbitrarily without consulting the people, and did many other things of the same kind, whereon the Kirghizes got frightened, fled into the interior of the steppes, made raids whenever they obtained a chance, stole the horses of the post-stations, and murdered here and there a lone traveller on the road.

E. REHATSEK.

(To be continued.)

ART. VII.—THE PROPOSED NEW RENT LAW FOR
BENGAL AND BEHAR.*

SECOND ARTICLE.

1.—*The Report of the Rent Law Commission, with the Draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant within the Territories under the Administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal: and an Appendix containing the Proceedings of the Commission and the Papers considered and referred to in the Report and Proceedings.—The Calcutta Gazette Special, July 21st, 1880.*

2.—*A Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in the Provinces subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by C.D. Field, M.A., LL.D., Member of the Rent Commission, Calcutta, 1879.*

3.—*The Policy of the New Rent Law for Bengal and Behar, by A District Officer. The Calcutta Review, No. CXLIII. Jan'y. 1881.*

4.—*A Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant within the Territories under the Administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.*

5.—*Minute upon the proposed Rent Law for Bengal, by Sir Richard Garth. Dated London, 6th September 1882.*

6.—*Minute on the Bengal Rent Bill, by the 'Hon'ble Mr. Justice Cunningham. Reprinted in the "Englishman" for 24th January 1883.*

THE Chief Justice of Bengal has rendered a signal service to the cause of justice, security, and order, by his timely protest against the policy of expropriation of zemindars in the professed interest of ryots, which prevailed in the Bengal Rent Law Commission, and which, to judge from Mr. Reynolds' Bill, has found favour with the Government of Bengal. The project submitted by the Bengal Government for revolutionising the land system of the Bengal Provinces,—a system which, with all its shortcomings, has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting in the hour of famine and of rebellion,—is characterised by Sir Richard Garth, as alike unnecessary and unjust. "The re-adjustment which is proposed by the present Bill," observes Sir Richard Garth, "is, I gather, scarcely sufficient to satisfy the extreme views of certain members of the Rent Commission. But as even this re-adjustment is calculated to deprive

* This Article was in type before the publication of the New Draft Bill of the Government of India.—ED. C. R.

the landlords, *unjustly* and *unnecessarily* in my opinion, of rights which the Courts of Law have always considered to be their due, it seems to me that I should not be doing my duty towards that section of the community, if I refrained, upon mere personal grounds, from expressing my views upon the subject." This expression of opinion, which, be it remembered, had been repeatedly solicited by the Government of Bengal, has called forth, from one of the members of the Rent Commission, alluded to by Sir Richard Garth, a note of which sufficient has been published in the newspapers to justify us in saying that, whatever may be its author's attainments and achievements in Anglo-Indian "State-Literature," he has the rudiments of polemical decency to learn. Mr. Mackenzie, however, is to be congratulated upon having found for many of his original views upon the Bengal Rent question such an able and accomplished advocate as Mr. Justice Cunningham. Mr. Justice Cunningham, founding himself in the main upon Mr. Mackenzie's minutes, pleads the necessity of a reconstruction of the zemindari system upon the principles of Mr. Reynolds' Bill. But, whilst giving his general support to the Bill, Mr. Justice Cunningham is troubled by old-fashioned scruples about "disturbance of existing relations" and "hardship to individuals and classes," which the exalted personages, under whose instructions the Bill has been framed, apparently deem unworthy of their regard.

In one important particular, Mr. Justice Cunningham is of opinion that Mr. Reynolds' Bill does not go far enough. The majority of the Rent Commission had recommended the total abolition of the law of distraint, pronouncing it to be an "offset of English Law" which was "originally introduced in this country by Regulation XVII of 1793" (Report, para 4,) and Mr. Justice Cunningham concludes his observations on the subject with an expression of regret that this exotic branch of the Law (which he administers to such general satisfaction), though doomed to death, is yet fated not to die.

"On the whole, it is perhaps to be regretted, that the recommendation of the Commission has not been accepted. *Distraint is no part of the native law of landlord and tenant; it was imported for the first time by Regulation XVII of 1790*" (? 1793), &c.

That the majority of the Rent Commission should have committed themselves to the statement that distraint is no part of the native law, was not matter for wonder, seeing that the most distinguished members of the Commission, as their professions and performances testify, do not acknowledge the authority of Literature in any other shape than that of "State-

Literature." What surprises us is, that a learned judge of the High Court, so well versed alike in the Literature of Knowledge and in the Literature of Power, as Mr. Justice Cunningham, should permit himself to repeat a statement which is not only not true, but which happens to be the exact reverse of the truth, the true origin of the law of distraint, thanks to Sir Henry Maine, having become a commonplace of historical jurisprudence. In his *Early History of Institutions*, Sir Henry Maine has very clearly shown that the remedy of distress is a bequest of the Aryan Hindus to the communities of the west, that the distraint of cattle, which is enumerated in the Vyavahara Mayukha as one of the lawful modes of compelling the payment of a debt, connects the English law of distress with the Hindu law, and that the curious rule of the Brehon law of distress, that a creditor who required payment from a debtor of higher rank than himself should "fast upon him," may be identified with the practice of "sitting Dharna," which prevailed in British India within the memory of men yet living, and which is still common in the Native Indian States. So much for the law of distraint being an "offset of English law."

We purpose in this article to examine shortly the plea of necessity which is urged by the authors and supporters of Mr. Reynolds' Bill, and to demonstrate the injustice of the proposed new rent law by a fresh examination of the conditions of the Permanent Settlement, re-inforcing the position taken up in a former article on the subject, which appeared in this *Review* for October 1880, by additional arguments and authorities, and taking occasion to notice certain arguments which were adduced against us in an able and ingeniously—reasoned article on the Policy of the New Rent Law for Bengal and Behar, by a *District Officer*, which appeared in this *Review* for January 1881.

I.—The Plea of Necessity.

That in a case of real emergency, to adopt Sir Richard Garth's phrase, and for a great imperial purpose, the sovereign power is justified in interfering with vested rights of private property it would be idle to deny. But many persons who have written about and about the ryot appear to have no notion of the measure, of this emergency. The recent condition of Ireland exemplifies the situation which warrants, in the view of the reigning party of English statesmen, recourse to such an extreme remedy for the convulsions of the Commonwealth. Bengal and Behar bear the same resemblance to Ireland as Macedon to Mounmouth; and, unless we are greatly mistaken, the condition of this part of Her Majesty's Eastern dominions is far, as are the poles

asunder, from that "measurable distance from civil war," which was pleaded by Her Majesty's Prime Minister in justification of a much more limited interference with vested rights than that proposed by Mr. Reynolds' Bill. Not but that we would undertake to say, in the face of the recent memorial of the landholders of Mymensingh, that the experiment of reproducing the case of Ireland, with its specialities of omission and commission, may not be tried with varying success in various districts of Bengal, and especially Behar, if the Rent-Gospel according to Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy be skilfully preached to the credulous ryots, by village Parnells guiltless of their country's laws. But our trust is that the Government of India will approach the Bengal Rent question with a better conception of the method and magnitude of the business, than to encourage any wild expectation of a wholesale confiscation of zemindars' rights in indiscriminate favour of ryots.

Mr. Justice Cunningham, like a skilful advocate, as he is, contrives to couch an insidious argument against the zemindars, in the statement of fact with which he introduces the case of necessity for the proposed new rent law. "There are 130,000 revenue-payers," observes Mr. Justice Cunningham, "who pay to Government a land-revenue of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, and enjoying a rental officially returned at something over 13 millions sterling. This $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of revenue is only half a million larger than that fixed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, viz., 3 millions. It is reckoned that, as the zemindar's share was fixed at one-tenth of the gross rent, "the net rental" (i. e., share available for the proprietors after the payment of revenue) at that time must have been between £300,000 and £400,000. While the Government revenue, accordingly, has increased only by half-a-million, the landlord's share has risen from, say, £350,000 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. But this rental of 13 millions is only an official return for Road-cess purposes, and is believed by many good judges to represent very inadequately the whole amount which in one way or another the proprietors receive. One writer reckons the entire amount paid annually by the occupants of the soil at between 25 and 30 millions sterling." This statement* is apparently designed to suggest

* This statement is calculated to convey very erroneous notions regarding the wealth of the landholders. Paradoxical as it may look at the first blush, Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee, one of the native members of the Bengal Rent Law Commission, and whose Minutes by the way show *inter alia* that State-Literature is by no means a monopoly of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, has clearly and conclusively demonstrated from the facts and figures furnished by the Bengal Administration Report for 1879, that the average profit per annum of each landholder

the famous argument respecting the so-called *unearned increment*. But that argument no longer imposes upon any

amounts to the grand total of Rs. 62, which is, we believe, something less than the average yearly wages of an agricultural labourer in Bengal and Behar. In his Minute, dated 18th May 1880, which will be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Rent Law Commission, Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee observes :—"The land-revenue is Rs. 3,69,94,283 and the entire valuation of estates as ascertained by Road-cess returns is Rs. 13,11,68,432. It has been contended that the whole of the difference (more than nine crores of Rupees) is enjoyed by the zemindars "who still cry for more" It should be borne in mind, however, that Road-cess valuations include the assets of revenue-free and rent-free lands, and also the assets of a large number of ryots 'being all ryots who pay a yearly rent of Rs. 100 and upwards, and whose number is estimated by Mr. Justice Cunningham at 25,000) in excess of rent. If these large items be excluded, if a proper allowance be made for collection and inevitable law charges, and if the number of landholders and middlemen of different grades be taken into calculation, the landholder's share of the profits will be found to be not enormous. It is, however, necessary, that we should have some idea of the reputed wealth of landholders, and I shall try to give it by the following figures taken from the last Administration Report :—

			Rs.
Total annual value of Estates	...	...	13,11,68,432
Deduct Revenue	...	...	3,69,94,283
			9,41,74,149
Deduct Road and Public Work-cess	...	...	58,85,884
			8,82,88,265
Deduct collection charges at 6 per cent.	...	...	78,70,105
			8,04,18,160

The assets of revenue-free, and rent-free holdings should be deducted from this sum; but even without making these deductions, and without taking into account inevitable law charges (and, it may be added, without taking into account inevitable calamities of season,) the above sum when distributed over 242,246 estates, and 1,099,642 tenures, gives an average profit of less than Rs. 62 per annum to each holder of an estate or tenure." Mr. O'Kinealy, who had tried to make out, in his 'historical' Minute which will be likewise found in the Appendix referred to above, that "we (meaning the British Government) have deprived the cultivators of the enormous sum of 165 millions sterling and given it to the zemindars, who still cry for more,"—Mr. O'Kinealy, we say, in an *addendum* to his 'historical' Minute which professes to be a reply to Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee's, very characteristically shifts his ground and observes :—"Nor can I attach any weight to the argument advanced by him (meaning Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee) that after all the average profit obtained by each landholder is only Rs. 62. The question is whether the ryots have been improperly deprived of their rights or not. If they have been wronged, who gained, or how the gain has been divided, is to my mind of little importance, and affords no justification for the wrong committed," which, it will be remarked, is sheer *ignoratio elenchi*.

instructed person, and, in order to be consistent, requires to be complemented by an offer of compensation for the *unearned decrement*. The conclusive answer to this argument is, that the chances of increase or decrease of value formed part of the consideration for the original contract. Besides, even if it were to be assumed, that no part of the increase in their rental since the time of the Permanent Settlement has been *earned* by the zemindars by industry, good management, and the expenditure of capital in the reclamation of the soil from jungle and its protection from inundations, the majority of the present revenue-payers of Bengal and Behar hold their estates under titles too recent to afford any appreciable foundation of fact for the application of this specious sophism. Mr. Justice Cunningham next proceeds to array some figures respecting the accuracy of which he does not give any data for forming an opinion, and upon which he comments in the following strain :—

"The first fact that strikes one in these figures is the extremely small fraction of the community in whom proprietary rights have been concentrated. They are as 132,000 to more than 10 millions. This disproportion of numbers cannot be left out of sight in any modifications of the existing law which the State may deem necessary, in the general interests of the community. Were it necessary—which happily it is not—to subvert existing interests for the purpose of moving otherwise irremovable grievances or remedying otherwise irremediable evils, there is abundant precedent for the principle that where the two interests conflict, the interests of the vastly preponderating number must carry the day. As a matter of fact, there is scarcely a continental nation in which it has not been found necessary for the landed aristocracy to surrender a material portion of their rights with a view to the general well-being of other classes."

It is obvious to remark, on the one hand, that in computing the fraction of the community in whom proprietary rights have been concentrated, Mr. Justice Cunningham does not either take into the account putnidars, and other dependent talukdars to all practical intents and purposes, as much proprietors of the soil as zemindars, or any other description of 'tenure-holders' whose number he estimates at 750,000 and who all enjoy considerable proprietary rights; and, on the other hand, that Mr. Justice Cunningham does not state what proportion of the ten millions of ryots consists of cultivators to whom a good slice of the Zemindar's property in the soil was transferred in the shape of a right of occupancy by Act X. of 1859. But admitting that the proprietors of the soil are to the occupants upon it as 132,000 to 10,000,000, which is to say, very nearly as 1 to 75 persons, we do not acknowledge the authority of 'the abundant precedent' to which Mr. Justice Cunningham refers. This *precedent* will be found, upon examination,

to consist of cases of robbery, piracy, and other offences against property, with the reports of which our ancient historical books actually teem, but which have been too often and too deliberately discredited in our modern books to be entitled to any respect in this year of grace 1883. And as regards the *principle* implicated in Mr. Justice Cunningham's statistical statement, we are no admirers of a communism which is so absurdly self-contradictory as to acquiesce in the glaring inequalities in the distribution of every other species of private property, except landed property. Then, as to the *Continental* precedent alluded to by Mr. Justice Cunningham, it does not, so far as we are aware, lend any sort of countenance to the policy of confiscation embodied in Mr. Reynolds' Bill, and of which Mr. Justice Cunningham might be easily mistaken to be an apologist. In Prussia, the land-legislation of 1811 distinguished broadly between hereditary peasant-holdings; and peasant-holdings-at-will or for a term of years or for life, and provided for the commutation of the services and dues, to which the landlords were entitled, upon the basis of "a fair indemnity"; and the same preference for compensation, rather than confiscation, is evinced in the more revolutionary Prussian land-legislation of 1850, as the detailed provisions of the Law for the Redemption of Services and Dues, and the Law for the Establishment of Rent Banks abundantly testify. And even in the autocracy of Russia of which the native zemindars have such a wholesome horror, the Ukase of 1861, which gave the Russian resident ryot the right of purchasing his holding, fixed the price payable to the landlord at $16\frac{2}{3}$ fold the amount of the "obrok," or the money-rent for which the customary labour-rent was commuted upon certain equitable principles. (See Cobden Club Essays, pp. 312, 324-401, 403, &c.) Mr. Justice Cunningham is too well acquainted with the course of land legislation on the Continent of Europe not to be struck by the singular contempt for vested rights manifested in the proposed new rent law for Bengal and Behar; and accordingly, towards the end of his valuable Minute, he expresses a hope that every thing which is amiss in this regard will be set right in the Legislative Department of the Government of India. For his own part, Mr. Justice Cunningham would recommend a solution of the Bengal Rent question by the method of "the purchase of the landlord's rights by the tenants,"—a simple and a satisfactory method, which the Famine Commission had specially recommended. But Mr. Justice Cunningham is aware that this method is not self-working; and perceives its mal-adaptation to "the impoverished ryot who cannot pay his way as he is, far less buy out of his landlord."

In another part of his valuable Minute, Mr. Justice Cunningham observes that, "action of some sort accordingly cannot be with safety delayed." But the true question is, whether what is wanted; just now is action of the revolutionary sort recommended by the Government of Bengal. "The Bengal Government," continues Mr. Justice Cunningham, "adopts the view (and with Mr. Mackenzie's Minute it could scarcely do otherwise), that the evidence produced establishes satisfactorily that since 1863 the necessity for radical revision of Act X. of 1859 has been recognised by the Government, the Courts, and the public; that since the Pubna riots in 1873 this necessity has been generally recognised as *urgent* in the interests as well of the landlords as of tenants; and Sir Ashley Eden concurs in thinking that the true reason why the rent disputes, which culminated in open-violence in 1873, have of late years quieted down, is because both parties have been awaiting the action of Government in connection with the substantive amendment of the law." The evidence produced before the Bengal Government will probably be published, when it is expected that some exceedingly relevant evidence will be brought forward on the part of the Bengal zemindars to explain the proximate causes of the Pubna riots. But in the meantime, however true it may be that Sir Ashley Eden always recognised the necessity of a *radical* revision of Act X. in the sense of Mr. Reynolds' Bill, if not in a stronger sense of the term, we cannot help remarking that to represent the *Courts* as sharing in any such sentiments, is very like another famous representation in which no notice was taken of the speeches of the Prince. And it is very worthy of note that between 5th January 1877, when "Sir R. Temple, in view of the objections raised to his Bill, advised that only the procedure portions (those for the more effective realisation of rents) should be proceeded with," and the date of *Bengal to India*, 27th July 1881, nothing new of any especial importance, is stated, in Mr. Justice Cunningham's Minute, to have occurred in favour of the proposed so-called "*substantive* amendment of the law," except the production of the "interesting papers," concerning the merits of which the Chief Justice so widely differs from Mr. Justice Cunningham.

"A more valuable collection of papers has, I believe," says Mr. Justice Cunningham in the beginning of his Minute, "never been got together in India, nor a great subject been discussed with research and ability more worthy of its transcendent importance." And in the middle of his Minute, Mr. Justice Cunningham singles out for special praise a Minute by Mr. Mackenzie for the service it has rendered to the public by opening its eyes to the hidden meaning and mutilated beauties of that most egregiously

misunderstood piece of Imperial legislation,—Act X of 1859 :—
 “No Act was more egregiously misunderstood, and Mr. Mackenzie has rendered a valuable service in drawing up an account of the way in which it came to be passed, and of the subsequent history of the rent question in Bengal.” Our own humble opinion touching the merits of the published performances of the Rent Commissioners has been already recorded in these pages, but we should not omit in this place to cap the climax of adulation with the praise awarded to the Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission by a contemporary critic, who credited its learned author with the style of John Stuart Mill,—a criticism, which, whatever may be the weight to which it is entitled in the process of forming the public judgment upon the Bengal rent question, affords a curious incidental indication of the critic’s idea of the style of John Stuart Mill.*

But to return to Sir Richard Garth’s Minute. “For my own part,” observes Sir Richard Garth, “I take it to be clear that any Government, *in a case of real emergency*, has a right, so far as it is necessary, to interfere with vested rights, to whomsoever they may belong, or howsoever they may have been created. But then I take it to be equally clear, that *without some such actual necessity*, no Government is justified in interfering with the vested interests of any class of its subjects; more especially when those interests have been created and defined, after due consideration by the State’s own legislative enactments, I should have thought that these propositions would hardly have been disputed by the majority of reasonable men. The true question, as it seems to me, for our present purpose is, whether there does or does not exist at the present time any such necessity as justifies the Government of Bengal in depriving the landlords in Bengal of their rights and privileges in the manner proposed by the new Rent Bill. For myself, I see no such necessity; and I am bound to say that amongst the many complaints on behalf of the ryots, which have been published by the Government in connection with this subject, I have been unable to find a single statement that the ryots themselves desired any thing of the kind.”

Mr. Justice Cunningham brings into a focus all the good points of the proposal for the new rent law, and gives what appears to be a very carefully prepared resumé of every relevant statement obtainable from the “interesting papers,” which he so highly praises, and which we take leave to add, he has studied with so much care. But Mr. Justice Cunningham, writing a good while after Sir Richard Garth, does not cite a single official

* The critic alluded to is the eloquent writer of a panegyric on the Bengal Rent Law Commission in the journal of the well-known mutual laudation society, of which the majority of the Commissioners were *ex-officio* members. The exact words of the *Pioneer* newspaper

for January 6th, 1881, were—“At times, as in the discussion of the true principles of Indian Rent it (meaning the style of the Bengal Rent Report) rises to a philosophic breadth of luminous statement which is almost worthy of John Stuart Mill.”

statement to the effect that the ryots ever demanded anything like the rights proposed to be conferred upon them at the expense of the zemindars.

II.—The conditions of the Permanent Settlement.

The authority* upon which this proposal is based is the concurrent opinion of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy to the effect that the ryots have been deprived by judge-made law of the rights secured to them by the conditions of the Permanent Settlement. This opinion is endeavoured to be supported by citations from "State-Literature," and by an argument founded upon a colon. The great Permanent Settlement Regulation VIII. of 1793 provides, as is well known, that—

LII. *The Zemindar or other actual proprietor of land is to let the remaining lands of his Zemindari or Estate, under the prescribed restrictions, in whatever manner he may think proper; but every engagement contracted with under-farmers, shall be specific as to the amount and conditions of it; and all sums received by any actual proprietor of land, or any farmer of land, of whatever description over and above what is specified in the engagements of the persons paying the same, shall be considered as extorted, and be repaid with a penalty of double the amount. The restrictions prescribed and referred to in this section, are the following:—The restrictions material to be stated in the present connection being—*

LX. *First.*—All leases to under-farmers and ryots made previous to the conclusion of the settlement, and not contrary to any regulations, are to remain in force until the period of their expiration, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion, or from persons not authorised to grant them.

Second.—No actual proprietor of land or farmer, or persons acting under their authority, shall cancel the pottahs of the *Khod-Kasht* ryots, except upon proof that they have been

* Referring to the authority upon which this proposal is based. Sir Richard Garth observes:—"The public may be surprised to learn that as to some of the proposed changes, they are based upon no authority at all; as to others, that the views of these gentlemen (referring to Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy) are founded upon their own construction of the Regulations of 1793 and the Act of

1859,—entirely without regard to the construction which has been put upon those enactments by the Courts of Law and the Legislature; and as to all, that their views are not only inconsistent with the opinions and the policy of the last three generations, but with the laws and usages which have prevailed in Bengal since the time of the Permanent Settlement."

obtained by collusion; or that the rents paid by them within the last three years, have been reduced below the rate of the Nirkbundy of the pergannah; or that they have obtained collusive deductions; or upon a general measurement of the pergannah for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment. The rule contained in this clause is not to be considered applicable to Behar.

Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy are apparently struck by the argument that if, under section 52, the Zemindar is at liberty to let the lands of his estate (not occupied by the tenure-holders mentioned in sections 48 to 51) *in whatever manner he may think proper*, subject only to the restrictions prescribed in the series of sections beginning with section 53 and extending to section 60, the consequence cannot be evaded that the only right in the nature of a *right of occupancy* secured to the ryot by the conditions of the Permanent Settlement is the right of the *then* resident (*Khod-Kasht*) ryot in Bengal to occupy his holding at the full pergannah rate. Accordingly Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy set themselves to prove that the power to let at the proprietor's will and pleasure, which is mentioned in section 52, has nothing whatever to do with the ryots mentioned in section 60, and Mr. O'Kinealy produces for this purpose a lengthy argument which the admitted* importance of the question is our apology for submitting in this place to the public eye.

"Mr. Field," observes Mr. O'Kinealy on page 449 of the Appendix to the Report of the Rent Commission, "gives an accurate and elaborate analysis of Regulation VIII. of 1793 in his note on enhancement. In it I concur, except in so far as he concludes that sections 53 and 54 of the Regulation referred to ryots." We are bound to intercalate the brief remark, that we cannot find in Mr. Field's note anything to suggest the conclusion that section 53 relates to ryots. "He frankly admits, as might be expected, that he comes to this conclusion with reluctance, and that it is difficult to accept it if the legislators of that period could be considered to be conversant with the use of legal terms or knew the proper meanings of such words as "letting" and "demise," in a word if they could be called lawyers, and his conviction is that they could not in fairness be so described. I, on the other hand,

* Our *District Officer* concludes his own lengthy dissertation upon this question with the observation:—
"If we have wearied our readers with this discussion, our plea is that the matter has a most important bearing on the subject of enhancement."

am inclined to believe that the illustrious framers of the settlement possessed an adequate share of legal as well as economic knowledge, and that Mr. Field has himself fallen into error from not considering the previous decisions arrived at by Government." Mr. O'Kinealy then quotes section 52 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, which is set out above, and to which he subjoins section 53:—

LIII.—No person contracting with a zemindar, independent talukdar, or other actual proprietor, or employed by him in the management of the collections, shall be authorised to take charge of the lands or collections without an amulnamah or written commission signed by such zemindar or other actual proprietor.

"Mr. Field," continues Mr. O'Kinealy, "considers that *section 52 refers to and includes the letting, or rather re-letting of lands to ryots already in possession*—an opinion which I have seen stated somewhere to have been advanced by Mr. Justice Phear. I am, I regret to say, of a different opinion." Mr. O'Kinealy then proceeds to confute the conclusion imputed by him to Mr. Field, and himself concludes with the following observations relating to the real, and the true, conclusion to which Mr. Field reluctantly comes in his note on enhancement on page 195 of his Digest, and which is very accurately cited in the words we have italicised: "Mr. Field appears to have been led into his, as I hold, erroneous construction by taking a wrong view of the words 'prescribed restrictions,' mentioned in section 52. He looks upon them as extending over a series of section; but unless the printing of every authorised copy of the regulations I have ever seen is wrong, they are included in, and cease at the end of section 53, and I would press upon the members the necessity of referring to the text. It is clear, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Mackenzie, that Mr. Field, in his edition of the regulations" in which he puts a full stop in lieu of a colon at the end of section 52, has followed a mode of punctuation not justified by the authorised text, *which completely changes the sense of the sections*, and gives a colour of validity to his theory of enhancement. It would seem, therefore, that a strong, if not the strongest, support for the theory he has advanced rests solely on a printer's error." *They* laugh who win. Mr. O'Kinealy's argument, which cannot dispense with a colon, can ill afford to laugh at any theory resting on a printer's point. It remains to say that our *District Officer*, as in duty bound, contributes his tale of bricks towards fortifying the structure of Mr. O'Kinealy's argument, and widens its basis by the addition of the marginal abstract of

section 53—"restrictions alluded to in section 52"—* in Clarke's edition of the Regulations, published in 1852.

Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy lay much of the blame of the bad condition of the ryot, at the doors of the old Sudder Dewanny Adawlut; and the new High Court, and refuse to acknowledge the authority of the decisions pronounced in those Courts. But we may be permitted to hope that neither Mr. Mackenzie nor Mr. O'Kinealy will question the authority of an interpretation of the regulations given in the true translations of them, made by a person expressly appointed for that purpose by the Governor-General in Council under Regulation XLI. of 1793, and the 2nd edition of which was published in 1826 under the orders of the Government of India. Strange as it will doubtless seem to Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, it is nevertheless true that Mr. Forster's authorised and contemporaneous exposition of the "prescribed restrictions" in section 52 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, is in exact unison with the received construction, for which our *District Officer* regrets that we should be able to quote the high authority of Mr. Field, though for his part he has the satisfaction of knowing that Mr. O'Kinealy and Mr. Mackenzie are with him. Mr. Forster's translation runs as follows:—

৫২ ধারা

জমীদার প্রভৃতি ভাষাধিকারি দিগের সাধ্য আছে যে আপনারদিগের অবশিষ্ট ভূমির বন্দোবস্ত যে সকল হুকুম নির্দিষ্ট আছে তদ্বিধে যে রূপ উচিত জানে করে কিন্তু কর্তব্য যে আপনারদিগের তাবের ইজারদারদিগের সহিত যে করারদাদ করে তাহাতে মালগুজারীর তায় দাদ এবং করারের নির্দিষ্টাও হয় অর্থাৎ যবস্থবে না থাকে যদি

* This side-note is accounted for by considerations of typographical arrangement, which will readily occur to the reader. Our *District Officer* very candidly admits that there is something in Mr. Field's argument that section 52 speaks of the "prescribed restrictions," whereas section 53 apparently includes only *one* restriction, but he actually argues that the plural may be justified, since, in the latter section, (1) the agent; and (2) the farmer were severally forbidden to take charge without written authority; and "even if this view be incorrect,

it is quite possible," says our *District Officer*, "that the plural termination may be a mere accident, such as has happened in other cases. In the old edition of the Regulations now before us, we see, in the very beginning of Regulation I. of 1793 'The following *Articles* of the Proclamation . . . is hereby enacted into a Regulation'; such a slip may have occurred in this instance also; and any rate, we think the objection is of no weight whatever, compared with the arguments, drawn from the plain meaning of the words."

কোন ভূমির অধিকারী কিম্বা ইজারদার কাহারো স্থানে কিছু করারদাদ হইতে অধিক লয় তবে সেই অধিক টাকা অসঙ্গতের ন্যায় বোধ হইয়া তাহার স্থান হইতে তাহার দ্বিগুণ দণ্ড দেওয়ান যাইবেক আর যে সকল নিষেধ জুকনের প্রস্তাব এই ধারায় হইল তাহার বেওরা নীচের কএক ধারায় লেখা আছে ইতি।

Here is an authoritative rendering of the much discussed 52nd section of Regulation VIII. of 1793, which says in so many terms that the "prescribed restrictions" referred to in that section "extend over a series of section," and which disposes at once and for ever of the *colon*-argument of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy.

The other support for the concurrent opinion of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, in favour of the proposed legislation, is "State-Literature." Now it so happens that the conditions of the Permanent Settlement are nowhere more accurately described than in an approved work of "State-Literature" published in 1832 with the permission of the Governor-General of India, and entitled "A Memoir on the Land Tenure and Principles of Taxation in Bengal, by a Civilian." But before proceeding further with the discussion of the *conditions* of the Permanent Settlement, it is needful that we should clear the ground by vindicating its contractual *character* against the ingenious reasoning of our *District Officer*. "The truth is," observes our *District Officer*, "that the Permanent Settlement was not a contract, but an act of State performed by the local Government, and approved by the Court of Directors under the general directions of an Act of Parliament (meaning, we presume, the Act 24, Geo. III., Chap. XXV., by the 39th section of which the Court of Directors were required to give orders 'for settling and establishing, upon principles of moderation and justice according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which the tributes, rents, and services of the rajahs, zemindars, polygars, talukdars, and other native land-holders, should be in future rendered and paid to the United Company.')

There is no sort of analogy between it and a promissory note; *the zemindars were not free to contract, and they were not asked to contract.* The recusancy of the whole body would not have prevented it, as the recusancy of a few did not prevent its application to their estates. On the contract theory, it is impossible to account for the treatment by the Government of disqualified and recusant proprietors; the former could not, and the latter would not, contract; and yet we see that the Government made allowances for both. This becomes intelligible,

if the true nature of the transaction be understood; the State said, in effect to the proprietors:—We have determined to make a permanent settlement; you may manage your estates if you can, and will; if you cannot or will not, we will make other arrangements for the management; but as we acknowledge you to possess proprietary rights, we will provide for your support from the profits." Granted that the Permanent Settlement was "an Act of State;" but the State may enter into contracts with its subjects, and acquire rights and incur obligations thereunder, though it has the physical power to disregard the latter. As Mr. Pollock very neatly puts it in his *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics*, page 12, "the State's being the fountain of legal right does not prevent the State from having rights as well as any other artificial person, or even from having duties such as it prescribes to itself, in so far as it submits to the jurisdiction and the decisions of its own Courts." It may be likewise granted that if the whole body of zemindars, talukdars, and chowdhries had declined to engage for the revenue finally assessed upon their estates, the Government of India, after making due provision for their *malikana*, or the allowance in consideration of their proprietary rights, might have made a permanent settlement of their lands with such other persons as might have been willing to engage for the revenue demanded by Government. But we are entirely at a loss to conceive how the Permanent Settlement could have been effected unless some persons or other had *agreed* to pay the revenue assessed by Government. Then, again, it is quite true that proprietors labouring under the disqualification of minority or of lunacy could not contract, but neither was the settlement concluded with such proprietors, their lands being excluded for a time from the general settlement and directed by Section 21 of Regulation VIII. of 1793 to be managed for their benefit by persons appointed to the trust by Government. The truth is, we repeat, that the Permanent Settlement was an express contract of the proposal and acceptance type analysed and illustrated in Chapter I. of the Indian Contract Act. Thus section 43 of Regulation VIII. of 1793 provides that "in the event of any proprietor *declining* to engage for the settlement of his lands at the jumma *proposed* to him, the Collector is to communicate the objections offered, with his opinion respecting them, to the Board of Revenue. That Board is to determine the proper assessment, after making such further enquiries as they may think necessary; and the objecting proprietor is to be required to engage for such assessment without further delay; and in the event of his refusal, which is to be given in writing, his lands are to be let in farm

or held *Khas*, as the Board of Revenue may in each instance think most expedient." And we are really astonished that our *District Officer* should, in the teeth of Regulation VIII. of 1793, assert that "the zemindars were not free to contract and they were not asked to contract." Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy have said many novel things about the Permanent Settlement, but to the best of our remembrance they have not categorically denied its contractual character. However that may be, we are happily relieved from the task of labouring the point which our *District Officer* has mooted, by a standard work of "State-Literature" largely drawn upon, as well by our *District Officer* as by Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy,—we mean the classical treatise on the Land Revenue of Bengal, by Professor Harington, of the State-College of Fort William. "In countries where private and public rights have been accurately defined, and established upon just principles," observes Professor Harington, "where taxes are considered to be 'a portion which each subject contributes of his property in order to secure the remainder,' and where the land-tax is so moderate as to make it impossible that the proprietor of the land should desire to relinquish the management of his estate, with a view to be exonerated from responsibility for the tax imposed upon it, there can be no occasion for any personal assent or engagement on the part of individuals, to pay their portion of the general assessment; which is levied, when due, from the actual possessor of the land. But in India where "the land-revenue has borne a proportion, so large as nine-tenths, to the computed net receipts of the Zemindar or other superior landholder, and where consequently drought, inundation, or other calamity of season, might deprive him of the means of payment from the yearly neat produce of his estate, it has been customary to give the landholders an OPTION of engaging for the assessment of their lands, or to receive a subsistence in land or money, and leave their estates to the management of a public officer, or be let in farm, at the discretion of Government. This usage commenced before the Company's administration: and had been since continued to the period of forming the Decennial Settlement." (*Harington's Analysis*, Vol. 11., pp. 236-7).

To return to our *Civilian* and his Memoir. "The whole work," we are informed in the preface, "is but an abstract of the result of some years of official labour and correspondence, which had been submitted to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, who was pleased to permit the author to publish it in Europe, whither the original had been forwarded with that intent;"—the copy before us being one of a few struck-off in Calcutta for private circulation among the author's friends. Our *Civilian*, like Mr. Mackenzie,

was an ardent champion of the ryots ; he, like Mr. Mackenzie, was clad in complete armour—as a State-Litterateur, and like Mr. Mackenzie, he hated native zemindars and English lawyers with an impartial hatred. But, unlike Mr. Mackenzie, he never suffers his Memoir to degenerate into a personal—*mémoire* ; and unlike both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. O’Kinealy he reasons upon the Regulations with an utter indifference to their punctuation.* This last mentioned circumstance, however, may be the result of pure accidents of the press, without implying any acknowledgment of the canon of English law, that the punctuation is no part of the Statute. We have carefully brought out these *pros* and *cons*, in order to enable Mr. Mackenzie to decide whether or not our *Civilian* is fit to enter the arena of the Bengal Rent Controversy, on which *he* is now a conspicuous figure and from which he has essayed to peremptorily exclude Mr. Justice Steer. (App. p. 419). But Lord William Bentinck’s assent to the publication of the Memoir in Europe, with a view to influence the opinion of the British public and Parliament upon the Bengal Rent Question ; the intrinsic excellencies of the Memoir ; the consummate Oriental scholarship exhibited in the translations of texts of Hindu and Mahomedan law, which give a permanent value to the first part of the Memoir, and which our *Civilian* made for himself from many carefully collated Sanskrit and Arabic manuscripts ; the systematic and accurate knowledge of the contents of the Cornwallis’ Code displayed in every part of the Memoir ; and last, not least, the thorough practical knowledge of the minutiae of settlement operations shown in the tables of rent-rates inserted in the Memoir,—will, in the estimation of the public, fix our *Civilian*’s rank as the official protagonist on that great arena.

The immediate incentive for putting forth this memoir was the arrival in Calcutta of the minutes of evidence given by Ram Mohun Roy and James Mill before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, which sat in 1831. “ If the evasive replies and defective information supplied by the first named individual,” says our *Civilian*, “ have astonished those who had over-appreciated his talents and merits, the errors into which the celebrated historian of India has, in some measure, fallen, have called forth the regrets of those who admire the brilliancy of style, and depth of judgment which so strongly mark his literary productions.” By the way, the family Gûrû of the Mills, Jeremy Bentham, professed to like the English style of the ‘ first

* The work is full of printing mistakes, but this we are told, is more owing to the author’s own imperfect hand-writing than to any fault of the *Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle Press*.

named individual' better than the style of 'the celebrated historian of India,' as the reader will find to his surprise in Dr. Bowring's biographical memoirs. "Ram Mohun Roy," continues our *Civilian*, "has fulfilled the expectations of those who were best acquainted with his former conduct and character. But it could not have been anticipated, that Mr. Mill, to whom all papers and documents connected with Indian affairs were available would have so far departed from historical fact, as to assert that 'the preceding Governments (Hindu and Musulman) in India, possessed exclusive proprietary rights in the soil, and levied the whole rent of it without any other limit, than a customary maximum, to what might be exacted from the cultivator, and that no individual proprietary right existed.' Nor, that he would, in the face of the records of proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, attribute the permanent settlement to the Company's servants."

The first part of the Memoir is devoted to a discussion of the legal position of the cultivating classes under the Hindu and Mahomedan governments. We do not propose in this place to enter into that large question; suffice it to say, that our author gives it as his opinion against that of James Mill, that "both Hindoo and Mahomedan rulers recognized the proprietary rights of the cultivators, and claimed an interest in the portion of the crop representing the tax—not in the soil." Nor are we here concerned with the part which the East India Company's civil servants took with reference to the Permanent Settlement. "So far from the permanent settlement being the work of the Company's officers, it is well known," observes our author, "that it originated with certain members of the administration in England: the code prescribing the course of fiscal management to be adopted, *was drafted in England*, and was brought out by Lord Cornwallis to Bengal:" and in another place, our author speaks of the professional prejudices of "*the English Lawyers, employed to compile the Regulations of Lord Cornwallis's Code.*" But we request the readers' particular attention to the fact that the Permanent Settlement Regulations were drafted by English Lawyers. Notwithstanding their vaunted knowledge of "State-Literature," this fact could scarcely have been known to the Rent Commissioners; or they would not have made bold to doubt if the authors of the Permanent Settlement Regulations were aware of the legal meaning of such words as "proprietor" and "letting."

The second part of the Memoir is devoted to an elaborate examination of the Cornwallis' Code, and this is how our author describes the operation of the code as it affected the ryots.

"The proprietors, though authorised to let the lands of their estates, or zemindaries, in whatever manner they thought proper, their estates, in the first instance, being declared responsible to Government for the due

payment of the revenue assessed thereupon, and their personal property, and their persons, in case the sale price of the estate would not cover the outstanding arrear, were prohibited from imposing arbitrary and oppressive cesses upon the ryots and were required to grant leases to them, according to a prescribed form, in which the quantity of land, and amount of consolidated rent, in money or in kind, were to be inserted; this was done, under the notion of securing the ryots against the consequences of evasion, on the part of the zemindars, who were required to prepare and deliver the pottahs, or leases, in question, within two years, from the date of the Regulation (No. VIII of 1793.) and to prepare a register of the pottahs, and file it in the Collector's Office; they were prohibited from "cancelling the pottahs of khod-kasht, (i. e., resident cultivating,) ryots, except upon proof that the same had been obtained by collusion, or that the rents, paid for the last three years, had been reduced below the standard rate, for similar lands, prevailing in the pergunnah; or that the cultivators had obtained collusive deduction, or upon a general measurement of the pergunnah, for the purpose of equalising or correcting the assessments." The zemindars were also required "to grant receipts for all sums paid by the ryots, and receipts in full on the discharge of every obligation; and were restricted from demanding the rents of absconded ryots, in case of any lands being inundated or affected by any other calamity, from those who might remain; they were also forbidden to inflict corporal punishments on their ryots and under-farmers, to enforce payment of arrears—penalties for infractions of these rules were, indeed, prescribed, but could only be enforced by a suit at law, which the ryots could not possibly bear the expense of maintaining." We may remark, by way of parenthesis, that there is now no pretence whatever for saying that these rules are broken by the zemindars with impunity. "The repugnance to the interchange of pottahs and kubuleuts, drawn out in conformity with the new Code, evinced by the ryots throughout the country, was met, five years after the original enactment (in 1789), by a law (Regulation IV. of 1794), which declared 'the notification that pottahs would be granted to ryots who would apply for them, to be a legal tender of such pottah, entitling such Zemindar to recover the amount specified in such pottah, so tendered, from the ryot.' The ryots, from henceforward, were, by the law, degraded from the rank of actual proprietors to that of tenants on sufferance. It had been, in the first instance, declared (section 8 of Regulation I. of 1793) that regulations for the protection and welfare of the ryots and other cultivators would be enacted, but none have ever been effectually passed, restoring them to any of 'their rights; even the single stipulation most in their favour, which was intended to prevent the zemindars from raising the rents of Khod-kasht ryots was so worded; that it gave every zemindar the means of enhancing his demands at pleasure; since, to entitle the ryot to the benefits of the clause in question (clause 2, s. 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793), it was necessary, in the first place, that he should have accepted a lease or pottah, and, as in so doing, he would have acknowledged a feudal over lord, in the person of the zemindar, he was naturally averse to become a party to the annihilation of his rights. 2ndly. In the pottah prescribed by the code, the abwab, or illegal cesses, were consolidated with the *usul*, or authorised and prescriptive rates; the ryots did not acknowledge the existence of a right to levy any thing in addition to the regular established rate, the abwabs were exactions which were submitted to of necessity, but which, as they were not sanctioned by the law, as it formerly stood, could not, according to their notions, be enforced by legal means, unless they acquiesced in the demand. 3rdly. Supposing the ryot to have subscribed to the record of his future vassalage, he obtained no permanent benefit by his submission; the rate of *nirkbundy*, or average standard of rents

paid in the *pergannah*, might, at any time, be easily raised, by compelling several of the inferior cultivators to take *khamar*, or wasteland, at enhanced rates, (this was, and is, the common practice of the *zemindar* in Bengal) and after the expiration of three years, the oldest *ryot* might be compelled, by an action at law, to pay the same. *4thly.* Proof of collusion would be assumed, from an excess of land above the quantity specified in the *pottah*, or from the insertion of lower rates than are usually levied from lands capable of bearing the superior species of agricultural produce, though the one might have resulted from careless measurement, and the latter from the improvement of inferior land originally incapable of producing the more valuable descriptions of produce, by the more assiduous, or a more scientific, cultivation of the occupant: it has been said, that many *zemindars* purposely inserted low rates and smaller quantities of land than were actually held, in order to forward their own views, a procedure which is not improbable. *5thly.* The lease afforded no protection against the consequences of a general *pergannah* measurement, when, by any manœuvres of the description given, a real or fictitious enhancement of rates had been established, or after a public sale of the grantor's interest and title, in satisfaction of arrears of revenue. *6thly.* A *zemindar* could only be compelled to abide by the tenor of the *pottah*, by a civil action, which might be kept pending, by the usual course of legal artifice for a period co-extensive with the unexpired term of the lease itself, and the *ryot* would, in the meantime starve for his presumption in venturing to assert, what even the code admits to be his just rights and privileges. In point of law and fact, the *ryot* can claim, under the provisions of Lord Cornwallis' Code, no rights at all; for the few privileges he may enjoy, he is indebted entirely to the forbearance, or to the fears of his taskmaster, the *Zemindar*."

Our author, as beseems an advocate pleading before the British public and Parliament, has made his peroration a little too rhetorical, the exact truth being, as no one has more accurately stated, or more lucidly explained than himself, that the only right in the nature of a right of occupancy secured to the *ryots* under the conditions of the Permanent Settlement, was the right of the then resident (*Khod-kasht*) *ryots* to hold their lands subject to certain specified provisions at the *pergannah* rates.*

* We do not intend, in this part of our article, to rely on any decisions of the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut* or the High Court; *they*, it is admitted, are in our favour. But we cannot help remarking in a footnote upon the entire and exact coincidence of our *Civilian's* construction of the conditions of the Permanent Settlement, with the opinion of Sir Richard Garth as expressed in his Minute, dated 8th January 1880, and which is published in the Appendix to the Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission.

"By the Permanent Settlement," observes Sir Richard Garth. "*zemindars* were (subject to certain restrictions immaterial to our present purpose) left free by the Legislature to let their unoccupied land to *ryots* upon whatever terms they thought proper. They had almost as much freedom in that respect as landlords have in England. The terms upon which they let the land were a matter of contract; and the principle of demand and supply (whether of *ryots* or land) usually regulated these terms. Mr. Field expresses

III.—The power reserved by the Governor-General in Council.

But it is contended that whatever may be the actual conditions of the Permanent Settlement, the Governor-General in Council by virtue of the power expressly reserved to him in clause 1, section 8, Regulation I of 1793, may well confer upon the great mass of the cultivating classes the proposed right of occupancy, without giving rise to any claim for compensation on the part of the actual proprietors of the soil. The clause in question runs as follows:—

“It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people and more particularly, those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talukdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil: and no zemindar, independent talukdar, or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.”

And the contention is that, whatever may be the proprietary rights of the landholders under the Settlement Regulation, No. VIII of 1793, the Governor-General in Council is authorised to deprive them of those rights in the interests of the ryots as if the landholders were not most indubitably one of the various “classes of people”* all of whom, it is declared, to be the duty of the ruling power to protect.

Without dwelling upon the absurd incongruity of this contention, with the solemn assurance given to the landholders in the preamble of Regulation II of 1793—the assurance, namely, that no power would thereafter exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the Regulations could be infringed or the value of landed property affected: we present to lay before the reader the construction put upon this

some doubt whether a *Khod-kasht* ryot, as long as he paid his rent, could be turned out of his holding by his landlord. But, however this may be, it is certain, that before the passing of the Rent-law in 1859, a landlord could, and did almost at pleasure, rid himself of objectionable ryots.” Our Civilian admits that the words of clause 2, s. 60 of Reg. VIII of 1793, “gave every zemindar the means of enhancing his demands at pleasure,” and it will be seen that independently of the exceptionable manœuvres suggested by him with

the permissible latitude of an advocate, he enumerates quite sufficient legal means within the zemindar’s power to enable the latter to get rid almost at his pleasure of objectionable *Khod-kasht* ryots.

* The landholders have been variously designated as ‘hereditary tax-gatherers,’ ‘revenue-payers,’ ‘creatures of the Cornwallis’ Code,’ and what not; but up to this present writing no one has had the hardihood to deny that they constitute a class—and a most loyal class—of people.

more than sixty years ago by no less an authority than the Court of Directors. The expediency of making the Putwarries or village accountants dependent upon the Collectors being under discussion, the Court of Directors, in a Revenue Letter, dated 12th July 1820, addressed to their Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, observe:—"That it is contrary to the spirit of the Permanent Settlement to make the Putwarries dependent upon the Collectors, or to take any other measures that may be necessary for protecting the Government from the frauds, and the ryots from the oppressions of the zemindars, we cannot possibly admit. We cannot indeed forbear expressing a considerable degree of surprise, that you should have entertained such an opinion. You know that, *in enacting the perpetual settlement, Government reserves to itself (that of which no Government can lawfully divest itself) all the powers necessary for maintaining justice between one class of its subjects and another.*" (East India Selections, Vol. III., p. 22.) The power reserved by Government is the power of maintaining justice between the ryots and the zemindars—not the power of decreeing injustice by a law. Let every possible precaution be taken, for protecting the ryots from the "oppressions" of the zemindars, but let not the latter be deprived of the rights vested in them by the Regulations, in the sacred name of "the duty of the ruling power to protect ALL classes of people."

The observations of our *Civilian* upon this subject deserve to be quoted.

"Although the Legislature," says our author, "by declaring the proprietary rights in the soil vested in the zemindars throughout the territory subject to the Bengal Presidency, have annihilated the allodial claims of the ryots (meaning the claims the existence of which was denied by James Mill in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs), in Bengal and Behar, at least,—the privilege of enacting such regulations as may be found necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talukdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil, was reserved to the local Government. The late Mr. Harrington did propose, when a member of the Supreme Council, the draft of a regulation for the protection of the ryots, but its enforcement was, in the opinion of many of the most experienced of the Hon'ble Company's judicial officers, incompatible with the conditions under which the Permanent Settlement was effected; indeed, considering that the Government had, by a solemn act, confirmed by the legislative authorities of Great Britain, declared the revenue contractors, in the permanently assessed provinces, paying directly to its treasury, *proprietors of the soil*, and had sanctioned their 'letting,' in that capacity, 'under the prescribed restrictions,' lands in their estates not occupied by talukdars, "in whatever manner they may think proper" (Sec. 52, Reg. VIII. of 1793), it seems difficult, if not altogether impossible, to devise a remedial expedient, which, while it affords relief to the former, that is, the ryot, to the full extent required, will not

involve a breach of the contract into which the Government have entered with the latter."

And the only remedy which our *Civilian* can suggest is that—

"The British Houses of Parliament must be appealed to for a modification of the rules of the Permanent Settlement."

Our *Civilian*, it will be observed, raises a grave constitutional question—the question, namely, how far the Indian legislature (the powers of which are now defined by the Statute 24 and 25 Vict., C. 67) is competent to make any laws affecting the "permanent rules" by which the position of the native landholders of Bengal and Behar was settled and established by the Court of Directors in conformity with the directions in that behalf contained in the Statute 24, Geo. III., C. 25. That is an exceedingly difficult question upon which we shall not take upon ourselves to offer an opinion in this place. Our *District Officer* decides the question in the negative, holding that "Lord Cornwallis, acting under the orders of the Court of Directors, had evidently power to bind his successors, though he had not power to bind the Court, and still less to bind Parliament." Our *District Officer*, however proceeds to observe:—

"And here we may remark that, even if it (meaning the Permanent Settlement) had been an act done by the supreme power itself, it would not have been irrevocable. 'The laws' (says Austin) 'which sovereigns affect to impose upon themselves, or the laws which sovereigns affect to impose upon their followers, are merely principles or maxims which they adopt as guides to their successors in sovereign power. A departure by a sovereign or state from a law of the kind in question is not illegal. If a law, which it sets to its subjects, conflict with a law of the kind, the former is legally valid, or legally binding.'"

That the sovereign power for the time being cannot bind its successors is a truth which it was not left for Mr. Austin to discover, the whole *rationale* of the matter having been condensed by Lord Bacon into one short parenthetical sentence in his *History of King Henry VII*: "For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will it should be void." But when it is argued that the sovereign power would act *legally* in laying hands on property which its predecessor had parted with to any class of its subjects for a good and valuable consideration, it requires to be very distinctly pointed out that the act would be legal in the same sense in which any conceivable enormity perpetrated by the sovereign power would be legal,—in the same sense in which it would be legal for the Queen and Parliament of Great

Britain,—to borrow an illustration from Sir Henry Maine,—to direct that all weakly children should be put to death. The truth is, that the Austinian conception of sovereign power is simply that of a group of persons, who, thanks to the superior physical strength and the superior armament at their command, have the power of applying irresistible pressure to the people who happen to be their subjects. But by a piece of good fortune, of which analytical jurisprudence is precluded by the peculiarity of its method from taking any notice; but which is nevertheless duly appreciated by the landholders of Bengal and Behar, they happen to be the loyal subjects of a group of persons, who, besides possessing the Austinian attribute of irresistible physical force, have likewise that innate respect for the institution of property which has made England the Savings Bank of the civilised world.

ASHUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

ART. VIII.—RESULTS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN
THE NORTH-WEST AND OUDH.

No. I.

THE principal object of the enquiry, which the Educational Commission appointed in February 1882 was directed to make, was "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved." * Accordingly the first 14 questions prepared by the Commission have this and no other object in view. The first in the series runs thus :—

"Is primary education in your province placed on a sound basis, and capable of development up to the requirements of the community?" And the last is worded as follows :—Will you favor the commission with your views, first, as to how the number of primary schools can be increased, and second, how they can be gradually rendered more efficient?"

But among all the questions which have been asked on the subject of primary schools, no enquiry has been made as to the results of what has been done already. Elementary schools (maintained by the state) have been at work in the North-West for the last 32 years, and in Oudh for the last 17 years. At the present time there are 4,920 Government primary schools, (exclusive of Municipal, aided, and indigenous ones), in these united provinces; and the constant tendency of the administration has been to increase rather than diminish their numbers. It would have been interesting to enquire what impression all this primary instruction has made or is making on the people; of what practical use, if any, it has been to them; whether a demand for more has been expressed; whether the economic condition of the masses is such as to admit of the proposed extension; what effect it has had, if any, in raising the tone of current Vernacular literature, and so forth.

The present and following articles are an attempt, (a very imperfect one, I fear,) to describe what the results of primary education in these provinces have been. The present is little more than a reprint (with certain modifications and additions) of the evidence which I gave before the Commission in reply to their first question. This evidence simply records such general

* See para 8 of Resolution by the Department, (Education) No. 1—60, Government of India in the Home dated 3rd February 1882.

impressions as I had been able to form after several years' residence in Oudh: but no specific facts or figures had been collected to test their correctness. Since then I have made as minute enquiries, and collected as precise particulars, as I could, with this object in view. The ex-students at certain selected villages, where Government schools have existed continuously for the last 15 years or more,—in fact, ever since village schools were established in Oudh,—have been examined in reading, writing, and cyphering, with a view to finding out of what use their education has been to them; the school records for the last 15 years have been scrutinised and compared; and particulars as to the caste, present occupation, and status of each student have been noted down and compared with each other. The results of these investigations,—which may be taken as a type of the results of primary education in Upper India generally,—will be described in the next article.

In reference, then, to the first question put by the Commission, as to whether primary instruction in this province is placed on a sound basis and capable of development up to the requirements of the community, my reply was as follows:—

There are three points of view from which the utility of primary instruction can be tested: (1) its effect on the material conditions of the masses; (2) its adaptation to the requirements of their social life, and (3) its effect on the moral character of the students. If we are to decide the question by these tests, it appears to me that the extent to which primary instruction has already been carried in these provinces is, in excess of the requirements of the native community,—a conclusion to which I have been gradually driven against all my preconceived notions and entirely against my own inclination.

1. I have been more or less connected with the Oudh Province since the beginning of the year 1874. Great exertions were made by my predecessor, and were continued by myself, to extend primary education. In 1871 the number of village schoolboys on the roll was 23,270. In 1881 it was 46,771, or more than double. Much of this increase was made under my auspices. But what is the result? In spite of all this increase the state of the people, so far as my observations go, has been getting worse rather than better. Education has not raised their condition in any respect or degree, or given them the means of raising it. Field labourers and village artisans are paid in kind, not in cash, and a man can barter his labour quite as easily without arithmetic as with it. Even in towns where labourers and artisans are for the most part paid in cash, the amount that a man can earn seldom equals

or exceeds Rs. 4 a month, and a man who is thus living from hand to mouth does not need an elaborate system of arithmetic for keeping his accounts, or checking his expenditure. Education is little or no protection to the working man against the money-lender: for if he is compelled to borrow, however illiterate he may be, he knows what the extent of his liabilities is. If he borrows grain, he knows that he must repay in grain, as soon as the crop is cut, an amount equivalent to that borrowed, and pay half as much again for interest.* If he borrows money, he knows that interest is usually charged at from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 anna per Rupee; and it needs no elaborate system of arithmetic to shew him that on a debt of 5 Rupees he would have to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 annas a month. Every native, whether educated at school or not, knows this much and a good deal more, by natural instinct and by tradition. However perfect a man's knowledge of arithmetic may be, the amount of interest which he can be made to pay does not depend upon the correctness of his calculation, but upon the extent of his necessities and the value of the security that he can give; and so the arithmetic is not of much protection to him in any case. More than half the natives of this province live in a state of semi-starvation during the greater part of the year. Even in ordinary years, when there has been no unusual scarcity, they have not always so much as one meal a day;† and the one meal which they get (if they get it at all) contains a smaller proportion of grain than of mahwa flower, mango seed, gram leaf, mustard-leaf, bathwa leaf, simal bud, water nut, or whatever else in the way of seed, berry, pulp, or leaf, they can manage to pick up out of the fields or forest in the different seasons. The grain which they get, small as the proportion is, is only of the coarsest and least nourishing kind. The wheat and fine rice, which are

* In Oudh the interest claimed is usually one-half the amount of grain borrowed. In the North-West Provinces it is usually one-quarter. This disparity appears to imply that the position of the peasant in Oudh is more precarious than that of the peasant in the North-West Provinces, and hence a higher interest is charged. It remains to be seen how long this disparity will continue.

† In the Government report on the report for 1874, on the condition and management of Jails in the Province of Oudh, the following remarks occur

in para 18:—"With reference to your remark that according to the returns the proportion of prisoners who gained weight has been less than during the two years since the dieting has been improved, I am to suggest that possibly two good meals a day may not always agree with men who have never been accustomed to more than one, and that often but a poor one." The condition of the people must be bad indeed, when it is found that a jail diet is too generous for their constitutions.

produced by their toil, seldom or never pass their lips, but are sold for payment of rent or debt, and the only grains that they can retain for themselves are kodo, makara, bajra, juwar, urdi, sánwan, and sáti, or the coarse red rice. It is only a very small percentage of the population (probably less than 10 per cent) that ever taste the milk of cow or buffalo;—this, in a country where milk diet is prescribed by religion and universally valued by the people, and would be very largely consumed, if they had the means of procuring it. The liability to disease appears to be on the increase. For several years past an autumnal fever has raged with virulence in every district in Oudh. Most of the natives have not even a coarse blanket with which to cover their bodies in the cold nights of autumn and winter. The want of warm clothing and of wholesome and sufficient food sometimes prolongs the autumnal fever into February or March. By this time cholera and small-pox begin to set in. The first heavy fall of rain in June leads to a fresh outbreak of fever and ague. It is evident that the growth of mental culture among such a people must be preceded by an improvement in their physical condition. Given a sufficient degree of material prosperity, the advancement of knowledge will no doubt react as a secondary cause in the advancement of wealth. But where no such prosperity exists, education is powerless to create it. It was not education, but the abolition of the corn-laws, the development of new forms of industry and trade, the rise of wages, the fall in the price of food, and emigration to new countries, which raised the condition of the working classes in England; and this improvement had taken place before any attention was paid by statesmen to the extension of elementary schools, or before any demand for the increase of such schools was expressed by the people. Even now the Act for compulsory attendance presses very hard upon that class which is too poor to dispense with the small earnings of child labour, and exemptions have to be made by the local boards.

One is apt to talk of education as if it worked with the certainty and precision of a law of nature, and possessed an absolute intrinsic power of its own (independently of all physical conditions and social surroundings) of raising the status of a nation. This appears to me to be a profound fallacy. If the multiplication of elementary schools in India can do any real good, or open out to the people any new opportunities of raising themselves above the miserable state in which they are, by all means let the multiplication be made. Such a result would be worth almost any sacrifice. But my own conviction is that the proposed extension would leave the masses exactly

where it found them, even if an elementary school were established within a mile of every hut in India.*

2. The next point of view from which it was proposed to test the uses of primary education in this country, was by reference to the social and private life of the native community. The best way of applying this test is to compare the daily life of a working man in England with that of the labouring classes in India, who constitute something like 90 per cent. of the entire population of towns and villages. We shall then be in a position to decide whether, on the results of this comparison, the same social conditions, or anything at all resembling them, hold good in both countries.

First, then, every working man in England or Scotland lives

* I had expressed these views, as to the widespread poverty of the people and the uselessness, or rather impossibility, of extending education amongst them many years ago; and the above remarks are little more than an expansion of what I wrote in 1874 in my annual report on Public Instruction for that year: (See para 14 of Report for 1874-75.) Since then the subject has been treated more fully, and by a much more competent hand, in a work published in 1880, from which the following extracts are taken amongst many more that might be quoted to the same effect:—

"The great evil of rural Oudh is the insufficiency of the produce of the soil to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying their rent and the cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to any thing but direct action on the sources of the evil? While the millions suffer from chronic hunger, it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation, or by any thing but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want. * * *

"At least fifty per cent., probably far more, of the population of Oudh are too poor to be able to send

"their children to school or have any desire to do so. Their life is a narrow round of small but grinding vicissitudes, the pressure of which is not to be relieved by such instruction as our schools can impart. 'Education (to quote Mr. Mill) is not compatible with extreme poverty. It is impossible effectually to teach an indigent population.' Population and subsistence are always running an endless race, and the material well-being of any community depends *ceteris paribus*, on the extent to which it can succeed in handicapping population. It is of course a physical impossibility for population actually to outrun subsistence; but it may press on it so closely as to leave no margin in which men may pause a breathing while, no interval of ease which they can devote to any higher aim than the provision for merely physical needs. Human welfare is mainly dependent on the possession and good use of such a margin. To use it well is as important as to possess it; but it must be possessed before it can be used at all."—Quoted from chapter VIII, pp. 321-2, of the *Garden of India*, or chapters on Oudh History and Affairs, by H. C. Irwin, C. S., published in London, 1880.

in the neighbourhood of some church or chapel which he attends or is expected to attend at stated hours every Sunday. If he is not educated in at least the rudiments of knowledge, he is not able to take part in public worship, and his neighbours would look upon him either with pity or scorn. Almost every working man has his own Bible, and frequently some secular book or books in addition, which he can read on week days at his own house, whenever he may have the leisure. Then, there is the club or reading-room with the daily newspapers, &c., and he can join this by paying about three-pence a week; or if he is rather better off than the majority, he can have a daily newspaper to himself at the cost of six-pence a week. Every shop window in his village or town has the name of the owner painted above it; and price lists and advertisements are exhibited on the walls and on the glass panes. Placards relating to sales, lectures, preachers, &c., are not unfrequently to be seen at the street corners and other places of common resort. In large towns a workman frequently has occasion to travel short distances by rail or omnibus; and if he is not able to read the directions, he runs a good chance of losing his way. Wherever he goes, something readable meets his eye, and not a week or even a day passes, but he finds an opportunity, if he chooses to use it, of utilising the knowledge he acquired at school. When electioneering time comes round, his vote is canvassed, and he has to read and compare the political programmes and professions put forth by the rival candidates. Very often he has friends, or relatives, or children, who are employed in some other part of the country more or less distant, or in the colonies; and letters occasionally pass between them. He generally pays his grocer on Saturday evening, the wage day, and it is useful to him to be able to read the bill before he pays it. In short, to the English working man education (as most persons now admit) has become of late years both a private and a public necessity,—a private necessity, because without it he is utterly helpless as a member of society and becomes the laughing-stock of his neighbours,—a public necessity, because without it he cannot discharge his duties as an English citizen. The Government in England has lately recognised this necessity by making attendance at school compulsory on every child of a school-going age; or, in other words, it has resolved to protect its people against ignorance in the same way as it protects them against injury to person, property, or reputation. Does it follow, that because education has happened of late years to become a necessity in England, the same necessity has simultaneously sprung up in India? This is the opinion

that seems to be generally entertained. It appears to be assumed as an axiom, that education of an elementary kind is a necessity to the working classes in the one country as much as the other, quite irrespectively of any differences that may exist in the national character, the national religion, the social customs, and the grade of civilisation peculiar to the two countries. The following extract from the leading newspaper of Upper India shews that this opinion is not uncommonly held :—

"That ardent educationalist, the Maharajah of Travancore, has addressed a long letter to the Governor of Madras on the subject of higher education, which, like all he says, is marked by learning and good sense. The Maharajah states the case for higher education generally, and especially in the Madras Presidency, in a way that few of his countrymen would be capable of doing. It is a pity, then, that he should have founded his argument upon a manifestly unsound premise. 'The argument,' he says, 'that the higher classes are able to look after themselves, but that the lower classes are not, is a false one; for the difference in wealth between the higher and lower classes is not greater than the difference of cost between higher and lower education. The lower classes do eat cheaper food and wear cheaper clothing than the upper classes. Why they should not find it within their means to provide themselves with cheaper education is not clear.' This is rather an inverted way of putting it, but still the meaning is plain; the writer says in effect that if you consider it a duty to educate the lower classes on a certain scale, it becomes equally a duty to educate the upper on a certain other scale. Here the Maharajah has evidently missed the way. The State provides education for its subjects, as it provides them with protection from violence or starvation, because some education has come to be considered a necessity. Anything above that standard is a matter for private option. The upper classes can no more claim a different education from Government theoretically than they can ask for expensive food, because starving labourers are granted a subsistence. If, as a matter of fact, the Government has done a good deal in the way of education for the higher classes, that is a matter of expediency, not of political ethics."*

* Extract from *Pioneer*, dated, 18th May 1882. The same paper, however, has not uniformly expressed this view; for, after the publication of Dr. French's evidence given at Lahore, the *Pioneer*, in its issue of 11th July 1882, published a leading article headed *the Bishop pricks the bladder*. In this article the editor agrees with the Bishop that the proposed extension of mass education will be premature and useless.

There seems to be a perpetual tendency in India to judge of the wants of the people by comparison with some English standard, and to suppose that these alleged wants have been well or ill-supplied in proportion as that standard has or has not been approximately reached. It would be well if those who believe that education is necessary to a working man in India, as it is admitted to be to one in England, would point out by a simple reference to *facts*, and not to platitudes, in what this alleged necessity consists, and what are the benefits of which he is deprived by remaining illiterate. It is well known to every one, who has studied native life, that many of the social customs of the country are still in the barbarous stage: and the intellectual wants of a nation can no more outstrip its social customs than a shadow can separate itself from its substance. The religious observances of a native of India consist in bathing in a river, or in making offerings of ghee and flowers to a stone, or in going a pilgrimage to some shrine or idol, or in presenting gifts to a Brahmin, or in dedicating a funeral feast to the souls of dead ancestors. An illiterate man can discharge these duties quite as easily as a learned one. There is a class of men, whose business it is to read or recite extracts from the Puránas in public; but the audience are not allowed on these occasions to do any thing but listen, and a man who cannot read makes as good a listener as a man who can. Probably there is no literary religion in the world, which (if we make an exception of its own teachers and expounders, the Brahmins,) can so entirely dispense with education among its adherents as Hinduism; and in this respect it stands in marked contrast to the more developed forms of Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity. In Indian shops there is nothing readable, that ever meets the eye: the shopkeeper's name and his prices can only be learnt by asking. There are very few house-holders in India who can afford to buy a newspaper: in towns (as I have been informed by persons who are likely to know) the number is less than 5 per cent.; and in villages nothing like a newspaper is ever seen. But even if the number of readers were a good deal larger than it is, it is admitted on all hands that the cheap Vernacular press of upper India is for the most part of questionable utility, and that the less the people allow themselves to be guided by it, the better. Surely it is somewhat premature to propose elaborate schemes for educating the masses of this country, until it has been ascertained that there is something for them to read. Such is the dearth of readers in this part of India, that even the best Vernacular newspapers, like the *Oudh Akhbár* (Urdu), or the *Kashi Patriká*

(Nagri) do not pay their own way, but are subsidized by Government. In point of fact the only readable matter, that meets the villager's eye, is an occasional court notice pasted on the trunk of a tree respecting some auction sale, or distraint of property for arrears of rent ; and it is only the Zemindars, Lambardars, Pattidars, and the better class of assámis, who are concerned in such matters. In towns there are a few, but only a few men (and most of these few are the domestic servants attached to Europeans' houses,) who have occasion to write letters to friends or relatives at a distance. In villages such occasions are so extremely rare, as to be not worth considering. The uselessness of education to such people is proved by the fact, of which there is overwhelming evidence in every town or village where a school has been established, that the great majority of our ex-students, in less than 10 years after leaving school, can neither read, nor write, nor cipher, and that the sharpest-witted amongst them are not able to do more than compose a very simple letter, or decipher some 50 words out of a 100 in a few lines of print.* From seeing nothing to read, having no occasion to write, and no accounts to keep, they gradually forget whatever they learnt, and are as ignorant as if they had never been at school. The task of combating ignorance in this country is, therefore, like that of Sisyphus rolling the stone up the mountain. No sooner has the stone been laboriously pushed up to the top, than it immediately begins to descend till it regains the bottom, when the labour has to be commenced anew. No sooner has the son of the soil reached the summit of knowledge which a primary school can give him, than he immediately begins to relapse into ignorance, and the work and money spent on his education have been wasted. No real progress in the spread of knowledge is possible, because whatever has once been gained cannot be retained, but is being perpetually lost. There is no hope that "knowledge will grow "from more to more" (to use Tennyson's phrase), so long as the daily life of the masses remains destitute of every thing which can afford scope to the utilisation of knowledge, or engage the attention of an educated man.

3. The third point of view, from which the use of primary education can be examined, is by looking to its effects on the characters of the students: These effects are partly good, and partly evil :

* This is of course on the assumption that the ex-student is not engaged in some literary kind of occupation, which keeps him in constant practice. Village or pri-

mary schools were not intended to train men for clerkships or to seduce them from their hereditary callings in the fields or workshops.

but the evil, I fear, predominates. The education that we give makes the boys a little less clownish in their manners, and more intelligent when spoken to by strangers. On the other hand, it has produced two evils: (a) it has made them more litigious, that is, less inclined to settle their disputes privately, and more prone to waste their time and money in the atmosphere of the Government courts; and (b) it has made them less contented with their lot in life, and less willing to work with their hands. It might be said, with truth, that discontent with one's present lot is the first necessary inducement to improving it. But the form which discontent takes in this country is not of a healthy kind; for the natives of India consider that the only occupation worthy of an educated man is that of a writership in some office, and especially in a Government office. The village schoolboy goes back to the plough with the greatest reluctance; and the town school boy carries the same discontent and inefficiency into his father's workshop. Sometimes these ex-students positively refuse at first to work; and more than once parents have openly expressed their regret that they ever allowed their sons to be inveigled to school. It is not generally known that the education given at our Vernacular schools has this effect on the student's character; but it is true, and there is overwhelming evidence to prove it in any village or town where schools have existed. Even the sons of grain-dealers (baniyas), if they attend our schools (which is not often), become sometimes so demoralised as to despise the paternal trade, and consider that the education which they have received is too good to be thrown away on keeping an account-book in bad Kaithi or Mahajani penmanship. I append a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Pioneer* in 1881 respecting the "Results of Education at Talimabad," (apparently a village in the N-W. Provinces), which entirely bears out my own experience as to the doubtful utility of primary schools in this country:—

"Several eminent authorities have recently insisted upon the importance of education for the masses in India, and it is in this way alone, in Dr. Hunter's opinion, that the people can be brought to understand the necessity of prudential restraints upon marriage. There are, no doubt, many plausible and some sound arguments for the maintenance of national schools; but as it seems to me, hitherto there has been very little attempt to weigh the results of experience. An Education Department has been in full swing for a quarter of a century. What is the value of its work? There are many sides to the question, and the answer cannot be given in a single sentence. Education, may include professional training, useful knowledge, mental

"culture, and} moral discipline. My object at the present moment is merely to suggest reflections upon one of its many aspects. The other day I visited a very satisfactory (?) specimen of a village school at Talimabad, a prosperous place, containing some five hundred families, half agricultural and the rest mostly small shopkeepers and artizans. There were a hundred boys in the school, and their progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic was all that could be desired. I asked the school-master what became of the boys after leaving school. He mentioned half-a-dozen who had got employment as mohurrirs or otherwise. In the past year twenty had completed their education. Of these, four or five were helping their fathers in business, and the rest were living at home in idleness, waiting for something to turn up. Soon afterwards the Tahsildar came to call upon me. I described what I had heard at Talimabad and asked his opinion. He was quite sure that boys who had been through the school course would not condescend to get their living by manual labour, and also that only a few could expect to get employment in which their literary acquirements might be turned to account: 'and what becomes of the rest?' Tahsildar (*airily*) — 'Bas kharab ko jate hain.' 'Surely,' I said, 'this is a very disappointing and unhappy result of education, if three-fourths of the 'scholars are ruined by it?' The Tahsildar shrugged his shoulders and remained silent. As an official, he was bound to promote education. He was not responsible for the consequences, and did not care much what they might be. However, there is reason to hope that most of these unfortunate youths get upon their legs again. The chief cause for regret in their case is the little good they seem to get from their education. In after life they make no more use of their literary attainments than, among ourselves, a busy doctor or lawyer does of such an accomplishment as playing the piano. Still the Tahsildar's view of the matter is one that should not be overlooked, and, in this connection, I think some of your readers may find the following passage worth perusal. It is from a letter addressed by the great Lord Bacon to James I. respecting the proposed foundation of a school and hospital at Charterhouse:—

"'Concerning the advancement of learning, I do subscribe to the opinion of one of the wisest and the greatest men, of your kingdom, that for grammar schools there are already too many, and, therefore, no providence to add where there is excess. For the great number of schools which are in your Highness's realm doth cause a want and likewise an overthrow, both of them inconvenient and one of them dangerous ;

“for by means thereof they find want in the country and
 “towns both of servants for husbandry and apprentices for
 “trade; and on the other side, there being more scholars
 “bred than the State can prefer and employ, and the active
 “part of that life not bearing a proportion to the preparation,
 “it must needs fall out that many persons will be bred unfit
 “for other vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they
 “were born,—which fills the realm full of indigent, idle, and
 “wanton people, which are but *materia rerum novarum*.”

The extension of education in this country, in excess of the requirements of the people, is producing results not dissimilar to those which it was producing in England in the sixteenth century, and which struck the observing eye of Lord Bacon. Labour had not at that time acquired in our own country the dignified position which it now holds; and perhaps it was then almost as much despised as it still is and always has been in India: hence the temper of mind produced in both countries by the education of the working classes was and is much the same. It would, of course, be absurd to look upon the helpless, poverty-stricken students who attend on village and town schools as *materia rerum novarum*. But there is no doubt that education indisposes them to become “servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade.” It weakens the industrial instinct, without supplying any useful motive in its place.

Major Grigg, once Assistant Commissioner in the Rai Bareli district, Oudh, and now Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Partabgarh, has favoured me with the following account of a case which came within his own experience. I quote his letter No. 1072, dated 25th May *in extenso* :—

“I have much pleasure in (so far as I can recall the circumstances you allude to) complying with the request contained in your letter No. 416, dated 20th May.

2. “In August 1878 I was deputed to report on the state of the rice cultivation in the Rai Bareli district. A copious downpour had led to the closing of the famine relief works; and it was deemed necessary to ascertain how far the cultivators had taken advantage of the rains to sow their lands.

3. “Buchráwan being one of the largest rice-producing tracts in the district, my enquiry commenced there. The cultivators are principally Kunbis, and when the seasons are favourable, some of the finest crops in the district are to be met with in its neighbourhood. It was at a village not far from Buchráwan that the circumstances you allude to occurred.

4. “When examining the area under rice, I noticed that some fields favourably circumstanced for being planted were

"lying fallow, and, on enquiring to whom they belonged, "I was informed, to a petty Kunbi proprietor. A few "minutes afterwards the owner (a young man of 20 or 21) of "these fields appeared, and at once commenced enquiring when "the railway (at that time projected between Rai Bareli and "Lucknow) would be commenced, that he was desirous of an "appointment as Muharrir of coolies, having been employed in "that capacity in the famine relief work near his village. On "my telling him that there was not much prospect of the rail- "way being constructed now, and that he had much better turn "his hand to tilling his own lands, he replied: 'Oh no: I am "educated, I can read and write Urdu: I cannot plough now.' "After a few questions I ascertained that this young man's father "and his ancestors had been cultivators and well to do, but that, "after succeeding to the property, this youth had been obliged "to mortgage it to obtain the wherewithal to pay the labourers "employed to till the ancestral lands.

"It struck me at the time that it had been far better, had the "youth never seen the inside of the Buchráwan Vernacular "School, where I think he told me he had been educated."

In Bahraich I was once present at a large gathering of students from primary schools, and I heard the address made to them by the Deputy Commissioner. He commenced his speech by asking them why they came to school at all. Fifty voices answered at once, *naukari ke wasté*. He then asked, what *naukari*? and the answer immediately was *Sarkári*. He then made a speech in which he tried to convince them that the main end of education was not to train them for Government or any other service, but to make them better men and more fitted for the work of life in the lot in which they were born. The desire to obtain *naukari*, and thus to escape from the paternal plough or workshop, is almost universal among our Vernacular students. If a proclamation were issued by Government, and a copy sent to every village or vernacular school, impressing upon the students the fact that the primary schools established for their benefit are not intended to provide them with *naukari*, and that those who aspire to it are almost certain to be disappointed, our school houses would be depleted within a month of a considerable proportion of students. The people cannot be brought to see that education will make them better men and more fitted for the pursuit of their hereditary callings; and I am compelled to admit that, considering the depressed and miserable condition in which they live, and the almost total absence of opportunities for utilising the knowledge they might acquire, I think that they are right.

Our Vernacular education has totally failed to make the students more truthful than their uneducated neighbours; and I almost fear, that it has made them more cunning and deceitful. I think every one must have observed that, in these parts of India at least, a simple untaught rustic is generally a more honest and truthful man than one who has finished the course of a Vernacular school. The Readers that we teach abound in moral and prudential maxims; but in the absence of a strong public opinion condemnatory of falsehood, such maxims pass through their ears like water through a sieve; and the example of teachers, who can scarcely be prevented from keeping fictitious registers of attendance, is not edifying to the pupils about whose attendance so many falsehoods are being perpetually told.

The study of the Vernacular literature, (and this, next to the hope of obtaining some literary appointment, is the chief ambition of every student who remains at school long enough to complete the series of primers and text-books), tends to pervert and weaken, rather than to clear and strengthen, the moral judgment. The foundation of all morality is the sense of truth; and this is what the Vernacular literature altogether fails to impress. The far-fetched metaphors, high sounding phrases that mean next to nothing, exaggerated descriptions of simple matters of fact, the vagueness of many of the terms, the want of point and precision in the structure of sentences, all tend to destroy the sense of truth and sap the foundations of morality; and this effect is heightened by the absurd fictions which are told as serious realities. An equivocating language cannot but produce an equivocating mind; for language is the medium not only of communicating, but also of forming, thoughts. Whatever a man reads in the Vernacular literature, he reads through a distorted medium; and his sense of truth is blunted accordingly.

School discipline produces, or is intended to produce, habits of punctuality, discipline and regular attention to work. This is one of the best effects which primary instruction, as given in England, produces on the characters of students. But no such discipline can be enforced in elementary schools in India. There are no clocks and no bells. The school houses are seldom any thing better than mud-huts, a little larger in size but of the same description as those occupied by separate families. No such thing as a clock or gong is to be seen any where but at the Government Tahsil buildings, of which there may be from three to five in the whole district. A student drops in whenever he can or whenever it suits him. His house may be at a distance of two or three miles; and in the afternoon he may be required at home, and so leave school long before the day's work is finished. A

teacher knows that regular or punctual attendance cannot be enforced, and it is not every teacher who has the courage to be as strict as he might wish to be; for the loss of students would endanger his own salary, and the students at Vernacular schools are not so keenly sensitive of the benefits to be derived from them that they will submit to rough usage.

Attempts are now being made to instil sounder notions of sanitation into the minds of the people by having a sanitary primer taught in the curriculum. This is of course an excellent object; but though I would continue to persevere in the plan, I am not hopeful of its success. As moral precepts have failed to produce a stronger sense of truth, so it is not likely that sanitary precepts will be more effective in producing healthier habits of living.

It has been urged by one or two writers of eminence on Anglo-Indian affairs that our primary schools might be made the medium of teaching the theory of population and subsistence, with a view to impressing upon the masses the necessity of putting prudential restraints on marriage and on the multiplication of offspring.* The theory of population might no doubt be taught in an elementary form quite as easily as the principles of morals or of sanitation. But hopes of a Malthusian reform being effected by such means appear to me Utopian in the last degree. Prudence, in the matter of marriage and the consequences which almost invariably follow, implies a very high degree of cultivation and philosophy. In England prudence of this sort has not yet taken practical effect among the working classes. In India it has not yet come home to the mind of the enlightened B. A. graduate. What hope, then, is there of its finding its way into the heart or brain of a man who is educated at a cost of about four rupees a year? I believe it is universally true that innovations in social custom and sentiment have taken their first rise in the upper ranks of the community, and not in the lower, and that if they spread gradually among the lower classes at all, this result is produced more by the imperceptible influence of example than by inculcation or direct precept at elementary schools. In India there seem to be special reasons, why a reform of the nature contemplated could not be brought into existence through the agency

* This view was expressed by Dr. Hunter, the President of the Educational Commission, in one of his public addresses. It also occurs in the *Garden of India*, by Mr. H. C. Irwin, Chapter VIII., p. 343—5; but the suggestion is made conditional upon *certain economic reforms to be effected first*. "If extreme poverty

could be extinguished in Oudh for one whole generation," as was the case in France after the Revolution (see p. 343.) an effective national education of the children of the labouring class might, as Mr. Irwin remarks, help to produce the result desired.

of primary schools. Every native child, whether male or female, is married, *nolens volens*, before it is of an age to think for itself. And further, the poorer classes, amongst whom prudential restraints are most needed, constitute a very small proportion of the students by whom our schools are attended; and hence the education that we wish to impart is never likely to reach them.

In the cross-examination on my evidence, which took place at Agra, one of the members, adverting to my statement that "the improvement in the condition of the people in England took place before the introduction of elementary schools," asked me whether I would not admit "that the contrary was the case in Scotland;" and he referred me especially to the speech delivered by Macaulay in the House of Commons on the Duty of the State with regard to Education,* where it is shewn that the education of the people did not follow, but precede and produce, the prosperity of Scotland. As Scotland is the country, which almost every one quotes in proof of the benefits of mass education, it will be worth while to devote a few pages to considering what the history of education in that country really was.

In this speech Macaulay does, it is true, take up the line of argument ascribed to him. He speaks of education, as if its effects were absolute, and not conditional or relative,—as if primary instruction possessed a kind of subtle or metaphysical force, which will infallibly work its way to the benefit of present and future generations, whatever may be the temper of the times, the genius of the nation, the distribution of wealth, or the stage of civilisation which the community may have reached. If this absolute doctrine is to be believed, there is no reason to despair of seeing Upper India regenerated by primary schools at no very distant date.

But let us look for a moment at the arguments and illustrations which he uses in support of this thesis. Speaking first of England he draws attention to the senseless and violent character of the No Popery riots of 1780, and then asks:—

"Now, what was the cause of this calamity, which in the history of London ranks with the great plague and the great fire? The cause was the ignorance of a population which had been suffered, in the neighbourhood of palaces, theatres, and temples, to grow up as rude and stupid as any tribe of tattooed cannibals

* The speech was delivered in the education of the people. The 1847, when the Government asked application was approved by 372 from the House of Commons a grant votes to 47. of one hundred thousand pounds for

"of New Zealand, I might say of any drove of beasts in Smith's field market." But this is not the light in which other writers have seen the events of that time. Dickens, for example, in his *Barnaby Rudge*, Chapter 49, ascribes the violence of the outbreak to the discontent and demoralisation that had been produced over a long series of years by "bad criminal laws, bad prison regulations, and the worst conceivable police." If such was the case, the disturbance was due, not to the ignorance of the people, as Macaulay alleges, but to the incapacity of the educated ruling classes, whose misgovernment had made them what they were. Macaulay's next illustrations are the following:—

"The instance of the No Popery riots is striking: but it is not solitary. To the same cause, (the ignorance of the people), are to be ascribed the riots of Nottingham, the sack of Bristol, all the outrages of Ludd, and Swing, and Rebecca, beautiful and costly machinery broken to pieces in Yorkshire, barns and haystacks blazing in Kent, fences and buildings pulled down in Wales." His editor (Mr. Trevelyan) explains in a foot-note that the Nottingham and Bristol disturbances "occurred in the latter part of 1831, in consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords;" not perceiving apparently that the words quoted in italics strike at the root of Macaulay's argument. The editor might have added, that the other riots referred to in the speech were due to the block of trade and the high price of food caused, not by the ignorance of the people as Macaulay alleges, but by the obstructiveness of a highly educated Government, which refused to set trade free, or to abolish the corn-laws, or to allow the nation to be properly represented in the House of Commons, until it was at last frightened into conceding these necessary reforms by the growing discontent and clamour of a starving population.

No writer has advocated (in his other speeches and essays) the necessity of these reforms more ardently than Macaulay himself;—which is tantamount to an admission on his part that the illiterate masses, notwithstanding their ignorance, had a better appreciation of their own interests, and of the interests of the nation generally, than the educated but short-sighted men who misrepresented them in Parliament.

The illustrations, which he gives from Scotch history, are equally inapposite and untrue. "Scotland, 150 years ago, was perhaps the rudest and poorest country that could lay a claim to civilization. The name of Scotland was uttered in this part of the island with contempt," and so on. But a change was about to take place. "The Parliament which sat at Edinburgh passed an Act for the establishment of

parochial schools. What followed? An improvement, such as the world had never seen, took place in the moral and intellectual character of the people. Soon, in spite of the rigor of the climate, in spite of the sterility of the earth, Scotland became a country, which had no reason to envy the fairest portions of the globe," and so on. Now the Act to which Macaulay is here alluding, is that of 1695, the statute of William and Mary, which was passed a few years after the Revolution. It suits Macaulay's argument to ignore the fact that the subject of education had engaged the attention of the Scotch Parliament so early as the year 1494, and that this very statute was merely a re-enactment of one which had been passed in 1616, or about 80 years previously. The statute of 1616 runs thus:—"In every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same upon the expense of the parishioners, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." But why was this Act so barren of results, while its successor, that of 1695, was followed by a marked improvement in the state of the people? The reason is obvious. Prior to the Revolution, which placed William and Mary on the throne, Scotland was the constant prey to anarchy, misrule, and oppression, and all industrial and commercial activity was paralyzed; while after the Revolution all these conditions were radically changed. Whatever Macaulay may say to the contrary, it was this change of conditions, and not the educational Act itself, working independently of that change, which brought about such a vast improvement in the state of Scotland. No one has contributed so much to prove this fact as Macaulay himself: for the purport of all that he has written in his "History of England from the Accession of James II.," is to justify the Revolution, and show what blessings it conferred on the two kingdoms, which from that time became inseparably one.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that all measures calculated to improve the condition of a people will be more effective when they come into force simultaneously, than when they come successively. In this respect the Scotch were extremely fortunate. The Educational Act of 1616 produced no effect, because the country for the next eighty years was not in a fit state to receive it. The Act of 1695 came into force simultaneously with the union of the two kingdoms and the substitution (in Scotland) of good government and contentment for anarchy, misrule and oppression. A vast improvement in the material condition of the people was the result. The salmon fisheries increased

ten-fold. Previous to the union, the Scotch had scarcely any manufactures, or any trade, or shipping of their own. Between 1707 and 1850 the number of yards of linen produced in the Scotch looms rose from 1,500,000 to 36,000,000; the value of the exports rose from a mere nothing to over £17,000,000, and the number of sea-going vessels from 215, having an aggregate burden of 14,485 tons, to 3,543 having an aggregate burden of 652,675 tons.* With all this increase of trade and manufacture, there was a corresponding increase in the area of land brought under the plough and in the profits reaped by the farmer. There is no reason to doubt that the increased intelligence of the people, caused by the fortunate coincidence of the establishment of parochial schools with the restoration of peace, order and contentment, was an important factor in the production of the above results; for under favourable conditions the education of the people, (especially when it is closely allied, as it was in Scotland, with the inculcation of the national creed), will always aid indirectly in the furtherance of material progress, as it does directly in that of intellectual progress. But we may be sure, that, if Scotland had continued as poor, discontented and oppressed as it was before the Revolution, her Educational Act of 1695 would have produced no better effects than that of 1616. Education may accompany and assist, but it cannot precede or produce, material prosperity; and this is the most that can be said for it.

Can it be maintained that the economic condition of India at the present time, so far at least as the masses are concerned, presents any parallel to that which commenced in Scotland with the Revolution and took a new departure in England with the abolition of the corn laws and the invention of steam machinery? Have there been any signs within the last 50 years of a similar development of any form of industry except agricultural? It is well known to every one that the opposite has been the case. Most of the indigenous arts and manufactures have declined, and are still declining, owing to their inability to cope with the cheaper goods imported from abroad. Almost every new industry that has been introduced is managed by English firms, or is controlled in the interests of English capitalists. Almost the whole of the sea-borne trade is in the hands of English merchants, and it is not the native cultivator or the field labourer, but the Baniya who reaps the chief benefit. It was pointed out

* These figures are taken from the article on Scotland in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eighth edition, 1859. The Educational Act of 1695 is quoted from the same article.

Major Baring in the financial statement which he delivered in the spring of 1882, that the wage-earning power of the community in the North-West and Oudh had seriously declined within the last decade. This as to the upper classes. As regards the lower classes, it is well known that the prices of the necessities of life are more than double what they were 50 years ago, that the wages of labour have increased in a much smaller proportion, and that food is much less plentiful than it was in proportion to the increased population. The working classes in this country are too poor to dispense with the small earnings of child labour; whereas in England and Scotland such cases of extreme poverty are rare. How is it, then, to be expected that, under such a total diversity of conditions, a similar extension of elementary schools would confer a similar benefit? Until wealth has become more evenly distributed than it is, and the condition of the masses has been so far improved as to give rise to new tastes and new capacities for appreciating the benefits of mental culture and turning its advantages to some practical account, we might as well expect to change the colour of the ocean by a bottle of ink, as to raise the status of the people, in this part of India at least, by teaching them to write.

The dictum of the late Mr. Mill, that "it is impossible effectually to teach an indigent population," holds good in more senses than one. In the first place, it is impossible for the people to feel any desire for instruction, or to turn such instruction to any practical account, until they are raised above the dead level of widespread physical want. And, in the second place, it is impossible for the Government to raise the funds necessary for maintaining schools on an efficient scale and in sufficient number, out of an impoverished and backward community. The great problem which the Commission appears to be attempting to solve in regard to primary schools, is how to find the means necessary for their extension and improvement. If additional schools were really wanted, no such difficulty would exist: for I believe it to be impossible that the wants of a community can outgrow its capacity for supplying them. The wants are the natural criterion of the means, and the means of the wants. Schools are wanted universally in England; and hence, as a natural consequence, there is no lack of funds to supply them. The same cannot be said of India.*

* To shew that I do not stand alone in thinking that there is no scope in Upper India for the extension of primary schools at the present time, I append an extract

from Frichard's *Administration of India*, Vol. II., Chap. XVI., page 81; Edition, 1869.

"In the extension of educational efforts, no less than in that of

Macaulay himself could write in a very different style about education when his judgment was not blinded by the zeal of a special pleader. In his essay on Samuel Johnson he quotes the saying addressed by that gentleman to Mrs. Thrale:—"The Athenians of the age of Demosthenes were a people of brutes, a barbarous people;" and another saying addressed to Sir Adam Ferguson:—"The boasted Athenians were barbarians. The mass of every people must be barbarous, where there is no printing." On these sayings Macaulay has recorded the following comment:—"An Athenian citizen might possess very few volumes; and the largest library to which he might have had access might be much less valuable than Johnson's Bookcase in Bolt Court. But the Athenian might pass every morning in conversations with Socrates, and might hear Pericles speak four or five times every month. He saw the plays of Sophocles and Aristophanes; he walked amid the friezes of Phidias and the paintings of Xeuxis; he knew by heart the choruses of Æschylus; he heard the rhapsodist at the corner of the street reciting the shield of Achilles or the death of Argus; he was a legislator conversant with high questions of alliance, revenue, and war; he was a soldier trained under a liberal and generous discipline; he was a judge compelled every day to weigh the effect of opposite arguments. These things were in themselves an education,—an education eminently fitted, not indeed, to form exact or profound thinkers, but to give quickness to the perceptions, delicacy to the taste, fluency to the expression, and politeness to the manner. All this was overlooked by Samuel Johnson. An Athenian, who did not improve his mind by reading, was in Johnson's opinion much such a person as Black-Frank before he went to school, and far inferior to a parish clerk or a printer's devil." Education, then, on Macaulay's own showing, does not consist merely, or even chiefly

"irrigation and other useful public works, it is of course necessary to provide against a lavish expenditure which will only waste the resources of the country without producing any adequate fruits." "We have seen that the late Viceroy was fully alive to the necessity of not undertaking larger irrigation works than there was a fair prospect of carrying out to completion, and the sound principle that when working with borrowed money we ought to be especially careful of extravagance. And it is doubtful whether in some parts of India, if more money was placed at the disposal of the Directors of Education, it could be usefully employed. At least, in the North-West Provinces, I am assured by the energetic Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Kempson, that if Government were to place funds at his disposal, it is doubtful if he could find a useful and profitable field for their expenditure."

in reading books. The art of reading is at best only the instrument of knowledge, not knowledge itself; and if there is nothing for a man to read, (as is the case with almost all the students from our primary schools), it is useless to put such an instrument into his hands. In a country like India, where a heap of refuse, a stagnant tank, a bullock cart or plough, a mud wall, a herd of lean pigs or lean cattle, are almost the only objects which a villager can see outside the precincts of his own hut, the want of books is not compensated, as it was in Athens, by the instructive or mind-expanding character of the scenes and events by which he is surrounded. His daily life consists of "a narrow round of small but grinding vicissitudes," which leave no margin for intellectual culture, or even for the conception of what such culture means.

One circumstance which contributed very materially to the success of primary instruction in Scotland was, (as we have already hinted), the close connection which existed from the very first between the elementary schools and the parochial system. In no country in Europe, so far as I know, was the parochial system brought to such perfection as in Scotland. Every parish is like a small republic. It takes care of its own church or chapel, guards its own morals, manages its own education, appoints its own officers, and settles its own internal disputes. In such a community a man is practically disqualified for membership, if he remains illiterate; and hence a very great importance was attached to education by the Scotch Parliament. One of the doctrines of the Reformation was that every man should be able to read his own Bible and be his own priest; and in no country did protestantism in this extreme form take such deep and lasting root as in Scotland. In estimating the effects wrought by elementary schools in Scotland, it would not be doing justice to history or common sense to ignore the peculiar combination of religious and social conditions which directed its progress and gave life to its operations. Can we point to any institution in India at the present time, which is analogous to the parochial system of Scotland? We cannot; and in the absence of such an analogy, we are not entitled to argue from what primary education has done in Scotland to what it might do in India, if it received a similar extension. Perhaps the nearest parallel that India was once able to present to the Scotch parish, was the Hindu township, or, as it is sometimes called, the village community. In these communities, (which the Greeks, when they invaded

India, very naturally identified with their own petty republics),* not only the municipal, but also the revenue and judicial; administrations were left to the leading men of the settlement; the indigenous education imparted to those castes, with whom such functions were hereditary, rested on the sanction of the Shastras, and elevated many of the transactions of private and public life into religious duties; the arts and manufactures entered into a contract with husbandry, the one supplying the grain, and the other the implements in return. But the Hindu township, with the indigenous education that flourished as part of it, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The religious sanction is growing weak, the old contrast between the artizan and the husbandman is dying out, some townships have expanded into great cities, others have dwindled into petty hamlets, native manufactures are everywhere declining, taxation is falling more and more heavily upon the land, and a foreign language is becoming more and more the language of law, manufacture, and commerce:

"The old order changeth, yielding to the new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Vernacular education, so long as it rested on the old indigenous basis, and as part of the structure of the Hindu township, was a healthy and vigorous plant; and the indigenous schools, which have survived thus far, will continue to survive so long as native society requires them, without aid or support

* Arrian's *Indica*, Chap. X: Diodorus Siculus Lib. II; quoted by Elphinstone in *History of India*, Appendix III, p. 261. Cowell's edition, 1866. The connexion of the Indian arts and manufactures with the system of village communities is well described in Dr. Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, Part II, p. 137. The account given in the text of the functions of an Indian township is an adaptation from a paragraph in page 54 of a learned and interesting report by Babu Bhudeb Mookerjee, Inspector of Schools, Behar, on the village schools of Upper India, published in Calcutta, 1868. I do not agree with him, however, when he says that the self-governing functions

assigned to village communities "helped greatly to spread education among all the different members of the community." I believe that the indigenous education was confined to those castes or classes with whom the said functions, religious or secular, were hereditary. The writer points to "the numberless patshalas, chatsals, and Tols still surviving as proofs of the strong stamina they acquired at their birth." But where are there any traces of a low caste element in these still surviving schools, such as would show that the indigenous education of ancient days permeated "all the different members of the community?"

from Government. The Government or Halquabandi schools, as they are called, are mere exotics, and would die out to-morrow, if the local fund,—the sole basis of their existence,—were withdrawn.

Lastly, it seems not a little strange that the shade of Macaulay, the ardent champion of English schools, should have been thus invoked in favour of vernacular ones. The only literature open to a student at the close of his vernacular training is that of the Purans and epics with their fictitious science, fictitious geography, fictitious history, and obsolete views of life. It was against the teaching of such literature that Macaulay so strongly and effectually protested.

J. C. NESFIELD.

ART. IX.—THEOSOPHY, EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC.

Hints on Esoteric Theosophy, No. 1, issued under the authority of the Theosophical Society: Calcutta, 1882.

2. *The Theosophical Society and its Founders. An honest enquiry into their aims and proceedings: Bombay, 1882.*

THEOSOPHY or occultism, of which we hear so much at the present day, is only a revival of a philosophy which, under the same name, sprang up in the second century at Alexandria, as an off-shoot of Neo-Platonism. In certain respects we may, indeed, discover traces of the same belief in the earlier ages of the world's history and catch glimpses, nay, more than glimpses, of some of its most cherished positions, in the Mythologies of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia, and Germany in the West; and of China and India in the East. And if we go back still further, we shall discover in the myths and mysteries of pre-historic periods, beliefs and practices which have percolated through the ages down to the present time. Thus, we find that Theosophy is a tree of ancient growth, which has spread forth its attenuated boughs over many lands and struck its roots deep down into the palpitating heart of humanity, drawing its nourishment and deriving its strength from ignorance and superstition, but which, like the fig tree in the Gospel, has borne nothing but leaves.

Now our modern theosophists boast that there is a society of men—a brotherhood—which has existed from remote antiquity and still exists, having its head-quarters in Thibet; who know thoroughly all that modern physical science and modern metaphysics have been groping after for centuries. They have (1) a control over various forces in Nature which ordinary science knows nothing about, and by means of which an adept can hold converse with any other adept, whatever intervals on the earth's surface may lie between them. They hold (2) that by contemplation, by deep abstraction and by fasting, they fall into an ecstatic state in which they can transport themselves in spirit from one place to another, immediately perceive the moral condition of men and penetrate into the most occult and secret things in nature. They also (3) profess to work miracles similar to those performed by Christ, who, say they, performed them by His knowledge of the occult operations and properties of Nature.

If we go back to the ancient mythologies, as well as the ancient myths and mysteries, to which we have referred, we shall see that they were all founded more or less on natural science. According

to Ennemoser * "the most ancient Monuments of the East and of the Greeks point to deeper contemplations of nature than we moderns give them credit for." The Samothracian, Eleusinian and other mysteries of the ancient world were all believed to be nothing but secret doctrines of natural philosophy, interwoven with religion. Indeed, natural philosophy, poetry and religion were closely united in the primeval ages, and the most ancient historical accounts shew them still maintaining the same alliance; and especially was the science of medicine united with poetry and theology in the strictest connexion, in Egypt, in the East and in Greece. The earliest Grecian philosophers believed in prognostications through natural philosophy, and the doctrine of the gods was established as a part of physiology by Pythagoras, Plato and the Stoics.

Thus arose the secret knowledge and power of the Magician who, by acquaintance with the occult laws and processes of nature, was able to accomplish what to the ignorant and uninitiated appeared miraculous. Strabo alleges that the ancients concealed their views of nature in enigmas, and wrapped their scientific observations in converted myths. They were generally priests who kept the secret in their own possession, and produced effects which to the popular mind appeared marvellous, nay, supernatural. Among other things the properties of the loadstone or magnet were pretty well known to the ancients, who were thus able to clothe their religious rites and ceremonies with mystery. Indeed, the magnet itself formed a great part of ancient worship, and to it was ascribed certain wonderful qualities, such as the driving away of hypochondriasis, and the curing of diseases like gout, convulsions, nervous affections, &c. Hercules was said to have been represented under the image of a rough stone in a Temple at Hyettos where the sick came to be healed. The worship of rough stones and the acquaintance of the ancients with the magnet, especially in Egypt, show plainly that not a blind superstition, an adoration of the stone, was meant, but a secret truth of nature, the knowledge of which was lost for ages, but has been revived in modern times by discoveries which have thrown light, through electro-magnetism, on the ancient mysteries. The Vestal fire was really an electric flame, and was hence described as fire fetched from heaven. The iron cupid in the Temple of Diana hung suspended in the air by the power of a great magnet fixed in the roof, and a magnetic stone in the form of Venus is represented as holding, as by a living embrace, a statue of Mars. The magnet was also known in ancient Egypt, while in China it receives, at the

* *History of Magic.*

present day, divine honours. Now these secrets were known only to the *initiated few*. By the *many* they were regarded as supernatural phenomena, dependent more on the will of the adepts than on the secret powers of nature. That the ancients understood magnetising by the hands, is confirmed by the account regarding Circe and other enchanters, all of whom are represented in attitudes having reference to magnetic manipulation.

Many of the uses to which magnetism was put in those early ages, modern investigation has proved correct and legitimate; but, generally speaking, properties were attributed to it that it did not possess, which gave rise to a multitude of superstitious beliefs. Hence, men began to believe in the power of charms and talismans, and also in the power of healing by words, which were employed in the early ages not only against the Devil, but also against all diseases. And when these medical and philosophical secrets were embodied in books, and symbols, these were held secret in their totality as well as in their fragments, as is still the case in India with astronomical science particularly. Hence arose this evil, that not only was no progress made through experimental research, but error became stereotyped, and in course of time mistakes multiplied indefinitely. For example, the laws of healing disease were strictly prescribed in the ancient sacred books, and any physician who departed from them in practice was liable to be arraigned on a capital charge. Hence science necessarily remained stationary, and in course of time retrograded.

"A purer and more scientific treatment," says Ennemoser, "commenced in the 16th century; and the clear declaration of magnetism as a peculiar power of nature which might be systematically applied to the cure of disease, was first made by Fredic Anton Mesmer, so that he really is the discoverer, and the central point in the history of magnetism, between the old centuries slumbering on in a shadowy dream life, and the new ages still in twilight, not having as yet advanced to perfect day." Ennemoser thinks that, if the knowledge of the laws of nature was, in the olden time, of an imaginative character, producing fantastic results, the knowledge of modern times is of a hard and dry intellectual character, all higher life being beyond its perception; and that the ancients had too much, while the moderns have too little, of a steadfast religious sentiment. They want the artistic imaginative power of the middle ages, and, beyond every thing else, a firm belief in the immediate operation of God in nature.

We must now go back chronologically to the times of the Neo-Platonists. How did Neo-Platonism arise? The Jews who

had returned from Asia with Zoroastrian ideas, met certain Greek philosophers and Egyptian mystics at Alexandria, in the third century, and formed that remarkable school in which, at once, all the tendencies of the Greek philosophy amalgamated with the doctrines of the Oriental philosophy, and of the Jewish Cabbalah. Neo-Platonism thus sought to present the elements of theosophy and philosophy, according to the primeval doctrines of the Oriental prophets, in combination with the poetical Platonism, and the Aristotelian philosophy in the form of Grecian dialectics. Plotinus was the most intellectual of its founders, and it is said of him, that he lived in the deepest abstraction, often fasted and fell into ecstasy, in which he immediately perceived the moral condition of every man, and penetrated into the most concealed things. He also held that by spiritual illumination he arrived at a direct view of God; that God is not without, but within us; not in a place, but in the spirit; that in the highest state of contemplation the soul is at perfect rest, and has visions, and yet the vision is perhaps not a vision, but another kind of seeing,—a stepping out of one's self. From this the Neo-Platonists went to the investigation of the properties of matter. Secret properties of birds were discovered, potent to produce idiocy or arrest diseases; minerals too were studied with a like result. Pharmacy, almost in a night, shot up into the dimensions of a science. They believed that it was within the competency of mortals not only to find out the latent properties of every substance, but even to create it, either by discovering the chemical affluities involved in its production, or by wringing the dread secret from the spirits who presided over the act.

In reality this new aspect which mysticism assumed, was the old machinery of Jamblichus newly decorated, and turned from the discovery of spiritual mysteries to the analysis of matter. The cultivators of this lore did not care much about laws; they wanted to unveil the essences of matter, and possess the secret of reproduction. Their impoverished turrets were to become mines as rich in gold and silver as those of Peru. They sought from their lofty solitudes to display to the actual world the secret agencies for ever absorbing and reproducing its material forms.

These facts go to shew that the Theosophists of those early ages were only the victims of their own prepossessions, for it is a mental law that when the thoughts run in one direction without being controlled by the will, the subject of those thoughts is mistaken for an actual fact, and acquires the consistency of an objective reality. The virgin revealed to St. Bridget the dogma of the immaculate conception. But the

Saint had passed her days in a convent of Dominican nuns, who were the foremost champions of that belief. St. Catherine of Sienna, on the other hand, was reared by the Franciscans, who pertinaciously maintained the contrary, and she had a vision of the virgin to refute the revelation of St. Bridget. The same phenomena are manifest among the spiritualists of the present day, as well as among mystics like Babu Keshub Chunder Sen. The Babu, brooding over the objects of his own imagination, has come at last to believe that he is now under Divine inspiration, and that a "new gospel," agreeing with his own peculiar views, has been divinely revealed to him. And so the person who receives a revelation from spirits through the medium of a table or a planchette finds the answers accord with his own prepossessions. "Mr. Gibson, an evangelical clergyman, was assured by the spirits whom he consulted that the Pope was Antichrist. Mr. Eversley, a gentleman of an entirely opposite school, had a vision in which the Pope was confirmed in all the honours accorded him by the ultramontane world." The parson and the young lady, who were both trying through telescopes to discover inhabitants in the moon, are good illustrations of this mental bias. "If I am not mistaken," says the lady, "I perceive two shadows; they bend towards each other, and I have no doubt, are two happy lovers." "Lovers, Madam," says the Divine, "Oh fie! the two shadows you see are the two steeples of a cathedral." "This story," says Sir Wm. Hamilton, "is the history of man. In general, we perceive only in things what we are desirous of finding: on the earth, as in the moon, various prepossessions make us always recognise either lovers or cathedrals."* Or, as Lord Bacon said before, "The human intellect is not of the nature of a pure light, but it receives a tinge from the will and the affections, which give rise to *ad quod vult* sciences; for what a man wishes to be true he is easily induced to believe."†

But the mysticism of the school of Alexandria had also a religious aim. The heart of its philosophy was a Theodicea, which tinged its psychology. "Plato," says Cousin, "had profoundly said that man must resemble God, and that he resembles Him in the utmost degree, by ideas, by thought, and by virtuous action, conformed to the idea of good . . . but instead of the god of Plato, the school of Alexandria sets forth a God, whose type is absolute unity, hence a morality and a religion entirely different, a morality and a religion both ascetic."‡ At this

* Hamilton's *metaphysics*, Vol. 1, 49.

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‡ *Course of the History of Modern*

† *Novum Organum*, Book 1., App. *Phil.*, by V. Cousin.

time Jamblichus, the chief of the disciples of Plotinus, professed to be a conjuror and a worker of miracles, and under him "the school of Alexandria plunged into divination, into asceticism and into acts of theurgy, that is, mysterious ceremonies agreeable to God, by virtue of which one obtains power over nature." With Proclus, who reckoned himself a sort of universal priest, the school of Alexandria came to a close. But mysticism revived again in the scholastic theology of the 14th century in the person of Gerson! *Doctor Christianissimus*, who taught what was called the *mystic theology*, based not on reason or faith, but on intuition. According to him "we have, without the aid of the senses, or of reason, the consciousness of certain sentiments and phenomena arising in the inmost recesses of the soul. "Let a man possess this immediate intuition and he has true science; and were such a man otherwise ignorant of either physics or metaphysics, or of all other-worldly and profane sciences, were he of feeble mind, or even an idiot, he would still be a true philosopher."

At this stage mysticism passed into ecstasy. But the mysticism of Gerson stopped at ecstasy. It did not run into the excesses and follies into which the Neo-Platonic idealism, and the Vedan idealism fell. We have seen what Neo-Platonism led to; let us now see what the Vedan philosophy is, since theosophy professes to draw much of its teachings from this fountain-head of wisdom. It is the idealistic philosophy of India. M. Cousin quoting from Colebrooke's *Miscellanies* says, "The Vedan philosophy is nothing else than a system of psychology and subtle metaphysics which even denies the existence of matter. This conclusion proves it to be foolishly idealistic, but from it sprang two opposite schools of philosophy, the *Nyaya* and the *Vaisesika*, the former being a system of dialectics, and the latter of physics, resembling closely the atomical and corpuscular physics of Epicurus." After that rose two Sankhya philosophies, one by Kapila, and the other by Patanjali. The former is a system entirely the opposite of the Vedantic. It is an avowed system of materialism and atheism, whereas the Sankhya of Patanjali, while it professes to be theistic, really its theism develops into an absurd fanaticism, as will be seen from the titles of the four books of which it consists, *viz* : (1) *Contemplation*; (2) *On the means of succeeding in it*; (3) *On the exercise of the higher powers*; (4) *On ecstasy*. This clearly shews it to be nothing but mysticism which runs into the extravagance of substituting ecstasy for processes of reasoning, and of assuming the possession of *higher powers*. The Bhagvad-gita belongs to this mystic philosophy; and the peculiarity of all

mysticism is to separate itself from science, to turn aside from all regular study and to indulge in contemplation." *

There is thus clearly a connexion, between the mysticism of Alexandria and the middle ages, and the mysticism of India. The former, of which the mysticism of India is a counterpart, has passed away, leaving nothing but rubbish behind, and now the mysticism of India, too, is fast declining before the light of Christianity. The ancient fires, however, still smoulder; there are still to be found blind ascetics who can see nothing in life so well fitted to prepare them for absorption into the Deity as retirement, penance, and contemplation. There are still, among the ignorant, men who believe that the *Shastras* are the fountains of all knowledge, secular as well as sacred; that science can say nothing new. They are believers in charms and talismans, in the power of an evil eye, in the potency of magical incantations, in the divine power of the priest, in the influence of the planets, in lucky and unlucky days, in omens and signs and portents, in sacred places, in holy waters, in the efficacy of pilgrimage to the shrines of saints, and in a number of other things round which ignorance and superstition have thrown a halo of wonder and mystery. There are some, enlightened by western science, who have cast off the superstitions of their forefathers; but others, in spite of their higher knowledge, cling to them with all the tenacity of an early and an ingrained faith. Still, on the whole, the mysticism of India is on the wane; but Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky have come over to this country to stir the dying embers and revive the old flame. If it were only to teach the people to dive into the mysteries of nature by studying the occult laws, to acquire power over certain natural processes, by acquiring a knowledge of their hidden properties and causes, to produce phenomena by the aid of magnetism, or to evolve marvellous effects from the operation of secret affinities revealed by chemistry and other sciences, there would be no objection to the teachings of theosophy, for Bacon himself has affirmed that "human science and human power tend to the same end;" that "nature can only be conquered by obeying her," and that "for the production of any work all that man can do is to move bodies backward and forward, the rest is accomplished by the internal operations of nature." But Theosophy discards this dictum of science. It professes to know the occult laws of nature and to arrive at results not inductively, through observation and experiment

* Cousin's history of Modern Phil.

but intuitively, and by the mere exercise of the human will. While science feels its way and examines each process by rigid scrutiny, theosophy knows every thing, or proposes to know every thing, by intuition, or by the power of some faculty which had lain dormant in the soul until developed by rigid abstinence, chastity, and abstract meditation. Paracelsus, the celebrated Swiss empiric and alchymist, who flourished at the end of the fifteenth century, pretended that he possessed this power to an extraordinary degree by means of the Philosopher's stone and elixir of life. He thought it possible for him, without the help of the body and without a weapon, but through a *fiery will*, alone, to stab and wound others. Nay, he went further: "It is possible," he said, "that I can bring the spirit of my adversary into an image, by the power of my imagination, and then double him up or lame him according to pleasure." The absurdities of Paracelsus have found their counterparts in the grotesque fooleries of the Theosophists of the nineteenth century, and, indeed, there seems to be every probability of our falling back into the puerilities of witchcraft and sorcery, which held spell-bound the whole Christian world from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, when,

"Man's highest strength, his noblest parts
His learning, science, and his arts
Now gave themselves to sorceries
And to the Father of all Lies."

Let us now turn to the pamphlets lying before us. The first, entitled *Hints on Esoteric Theosophy*, proposes to furnish answers to two important questions:—

- (1.) Is Theosophy a delusion?
- (2.) Do the Brothers exist?

This pamphlet, edited by "H. X.," consists of certain letters, a memorandum by Colonel Olcott, and several testimonials attesting the truth of some wonderful phenomena which are said to have taken place at Bombay and elsewhere. The first letter in the collection is signed "G. Y.," the second "H. X.," and yet we understand that they were written by one and the same person. In the first, the writer takes the sceptical side and argues, as an objector, against the truth of theosophy; but in the second, the same person after gaining, as it were, more knowledge and experience, comes forward as its defender and champion, and enthusiastically answers all his own doubts and objections.

Now this mode of defence against an imaginary antagonist may be quite legitimate for the sake of argument, but we hardly think it justifiable, in this imaginary contest, to make use of

illustrations and call them "concrete examples," when they are at best mere fictions of fancy. For example, the supposed objector is represented as considering the idea of "Universal Brotherhood" to be "Utopian" and unattainable in practice and the self-constituted champion as replying to him thus:—"The society is but a thing of a day and yet see how many thousands have already learnt to know more of and think better of each other?" He then goes on to say, "Take a concrete example. You and I belong to totally different grades of society, different races, different religions, have we not become true friends?" The "You" in this case, being a pure myth—the creature of his own creating—can hardly be considered a logical factor in an argument which professes to proceed on an indisputable *fact*. If this is not "building a world on *hypothesis*," it is something very like it. To us it appears that if a "concrete example" were needed, it should have been drawn not from the region of *fiction*, but from the region of *fact* and *reality*. But we may let this pass, as being more an indication of weakness than of chicanery.

In considering the first of the two questions stated above, we must examine the objects of Theosophy. These are said to be these:—

1. The formation of a Universal Brotherhood.
2. The encouragement of the study of ancient languages, sciences and religions.
3. The investigation of the hidden mysteries of nature and of the psychical powers latent in men.

The first two of these objects belong to *Exoteric Theosophy* into which "any kindly natured, even though worldly-minded, man living an outwardly respectable life and wishing well to his fellows may enter; but the third belongs to *Esoteric Theosophy*, that "innermost circle into which none can enter without most strict and long continued preparation, without very real and weighty sacrifices, and without a complete change of life, mind and heart. Let us consider each of these objects in detail.

The first object, *viz.*, the formation of a Universal Brotherhood, we regard as utterly Utopian and unattainable according to Theosophical principles. Now at the outset we find that the idea of Brotherhood implies Fatherhood, *i. e.*, a common origin and homogeneity with that common original. The Biblical idea is intelligible and consistent. The Bible teaches the personality of God and the creation of man in God's image. As a Being, God is the Father of *beings* possessing intellectual and moral natures. But Theosophy denies the existence of a *Personal God*, and aims at the "institution of a Brotherhood of Humanity, wherein all good and pure men of every race shall recognise each other

as the equal effects (upon this planet) of one uncreate, universal, infinite and everlasting cause." One Theosophist is, however, reported to have said at an anniversary meeting that "Theosophists offer to accept without reservation the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man," while another speaker, at the same meeting in referring to God, used the neuter pronoun "It." Now, if God is merely a "cause," and not a "Being," as Theosophy holds, then God is a mere *abstraction*, and if this *abstraction* is the creator of all things, animate or inanimate, and men are the "equal effects" of this cause, then men are degraded to the level of the brutes, not to speak of things without life. There is, therefore, in this view, no truer Brotherhood between man and man than between man and the lower animals. All are brethren equally, and if Theosophy rejoices in this sort of universal Brotherhood, it is welcome to it, though it is not a "Brotherhood of Humanity" all the same.

It is said, that "this universal Brotherhood was equally a cardinal doctrine of the Founder of Christianity, with what results, in practice, the history of that religion throughout the world only too sadly shews." This may be; Christians may not have carried out the principles of Brotherhood laid down by the Founder of Christianity. They may not have succeeded in establishing a perfect Brotherhood, and the discussions existing between the various sects and denominations of Christians, are no doubt a proof that the union which the Founder desired to see among his followers does not exist. But this is not owing to any defect of system or of principle, but to the imperfection of the instruments that are to carry that principle into practice. The Founder of Christianity, taught the great truth that God was our *Father*, and that we are *brethren*, and, knowing the frailty of our nature and recognising the necessity of arriving at the highest possible standard, he bade us "be perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," In doing this, Christ set before us the character of a *Person*, as an example which we were to imitate; not a mere intangible *abstraction* or *irrational force* whose attributes were incommunicable and inimitable. No doubt God as cause, as creator, as Omnipotent, as Omniscient, as infinite, is removed far beyond our comprehension; his attributes are incommunicable, his character inimitable. But he is "the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ," who Himself was "God manifest in the flesh," "and in and through him we become "the children of God." Hence we can understand the apostle's exhortation: "Be ye followers of Christ as dear children." We are thus taught to look up to a *personal* God as our Father, and not, as taught by Theosophy, to a mere *abstraction*. The founder of Christianity, in thus revealing to us God's Fatherhood, has by implication established our Brotherhood, a Brotherhood more real than

that created by Theosophy. St. Paul, too, does the same. In his address to the "Men of Athens" on Mars Hill, he spoke thus of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man. "God that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood all nations of men...for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said: For we are also His *offspring*. For as much then as we are the *offspring* of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." This being so, I say, much less is the Godhead a mere abstraction. Here the heathen Athenians and the Christian apostles were entirely in accord, and so are they with the writer of Genesis, who thus explains the origin of man:—"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; man and female created he them." Or, as he puts it in the 2nd chapter, "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." It is as a being, as a living soul that the offspring resembles the parent, for "the very existence of the human soul as a created object implies an intelligent soul as its creator."* Now the Theosophist, in his philosophic moods, speaks of the *psychical* nature of man. If man has a *psyche*, it must have a resemblance to its creator. It cannot surely be the *offspring* of an abstraction, for "from personality at one end, I infer personality at the other, and I cannot suppose that the existence which is contrived should be intelligent and moral, and the contriver of it a blind irrational force.†"

But even granting that theosophy succeeds in establishing a brotherhood; we deny that on theosophical principles that brotherhood can be universal. For, according to theosophy, no one can claim the right of brotherhood who is not initiated into its mysteries and admitted by preparation of life and heart into the innermost circle, and this is the inheritance of only a privileged few. It is not every one that can be so far prepared. A peculiar mental and physical organization is required to make men fit to receive impressions from the adepts. How then can this brotherhood be universal? Again, theosophy admits within its pale men of all creeds, the Buddhist with his atheism, the Hindu with his idolatry, the Zoroastrian with his fireworship, in fact, any thing and every thing except Christianity. How can these discordant elements be united into a harmonious whole? There is much reason, therefore, to believe that the sceptic is right after all, and that the idea is wholly Utopian.

* McCosh's *Method of the Divine Government*.

† Mozley's *Bampton Lectures On Miracles*, p. 1865.

We now come to the second object of the Theosophical Society, *viz.*, the study of the ancient languages, sciences and religions. There cannot be any objection to this from a Christian or any point of view, and no Christian would, or does, condemn it. Indeed, Christian scholars, be they laymen, or missionaries, or clergymen, have not only encouraged the study of the ancient books of the heathen, but have themselves studied them and given to the world the results of their learned labours. Such were eminently Dr. Marshman, Dr. Carey, Henry Martin and Professors Max Müller and Monier Williams. But when Theosophists affirm that this ancient literature will be found to contain many valuable truths which are not found elsewhere and which men need now, and Colonel Olcott affirms that he and others have come "to preach the majesty and glory of all the ancient religions and to warn the Hindu, the Singhalese and the Parsi, to beware how they depart from the teachings of the *Vedas*, *Tripiticas* and the *Zendavesta* for any *newer faith*, (by which he means Christianity) they betray a lamentable ignorance of the fact that the so-called "*newer faith*" is founded in reality on writings more ancient than any of the books named by him and contained in a language the oldest in the world. Surely they ought to know that the Jewish Scriptures—the Old Testament—contain more valuable truths than all the ancient books of the heathen taken together, as well as truths not found elsewhere. To ignore these writings is like shutting one's eyes and fancying that by that process the sun is blotted out of the heavens. These writings contain a living germ which has been developed in the New Testament as the Christian system. And this system possesses a vitality that has not only kept it alive during the past nineteen centuries, but enables it to spread and vanquish all other systems. Before its light the light of other systems has paled. Colonel Olcott might as well try and re-vivify a Mummy as resuscitate religions which have already grown effete. To study these ancient books, therefore, with a view to increase one's knowledge of God and his works is simple folly, because the few who have cared to ransack their dusty pages have done so and given to the world the result of their labours, which is *nil* as far as any new light is concerned. They have been sucked dry, and no amount of squeezing can extract fresh juice from them. But Colonel Olcott, if he likes to suck, might try.

The third object, *viz.*, the investigation of the hidden mysteries of nature and of the psychical powers in man, is quite as unobjectionable as the second object, and Christianity (to quote from the second pamphlet) "has no interest in the question whether any ancient books do or do not teach so-called, 'occult sciences,' or whether there is or is not anything in the matter," *i. e.*, whether

there is any such thing as occult science or not. That there is such a thing every body admits, but it is equally true that, as the pamphleteer puts it, any occult science which cannot bear the light and be tested is probably humbug. Now we cannot even in this nineteenth century presume to say that we possess a complete and exhaustive knowledge of the laws of Nature. We know certain fundamental laws; we can accurately calculate the effect of these laws, though they may be variously applied; but as science advances, she discloses traces of other laws which are out of sight and which, if known, might create a revolution in science. But no scientist hides his knowledge under a bushel, especially if, by publishing his discovery, he can in any way benefit the human race. Laws, like those of gravitation, and of the earth's diurnal motion, were "occult" until discovered, but when discovered, they were published to the world and not kept locked up as a profound mystery in the breast of a few adepts. Kepler's laws of the movements of the heavenly bodies were valuable discoveries, but they became a mere statement of an observed order of facts, when the "higher law discovered by Newton revealed their connexion and their cause." * Nevertheless what do we know even of this higher law, more than that it is the cause of certain observed phenomena? *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*; and so, when we have ascertained the cause of any thing, we want to carry the enquiry further and find out the cause of this cause. When a phenomenon presents itself to me, I try to ascertain its cause or causes. If I succeed, I say of the phenomenon that it is natural, that is, according to the course of nature. But if not, I would be justified in calling it *supernatural*, although I know that it is difficult to draw the line between what is *natural* and what is *supernatural*. Yet, for all this, it would not be right to disbelieve in the *supernatural* as theosophists do according to Madame Blavatsky's shewing. "*Pukka* theosophy," she says: "believes in no miracle, whether divine or devilish; recognises nothing as 'supernatural'; believes only in facts and science; studies the laws of nature, both occult and patent, and gives attention particularly to the former, just because exact science will have nothing to do with them." Now, no one would think of accusing the great John Locke of disbelieving the miracle of Scripture. The fact is, that he laid great stress on the Christian miracles as attesting the authority of those who wrought them; and yet he denies the truth of the ordinary definition that a miracle is a suspension or violation of the established laws of Nature. "A miracle," he says, "I take to be a sensible operation

* *The Reign of Law* by the Duke of Argyll.

which being above the comprehension of the spectator and in his opinion contrary to the established course of nature, is taken by him to be divine." In this passage, as the Duke of Argyll has pointed out, "Locke recognises the great truth, that we can never know what is above nature unless we know all that is within nature. But he misses another truth, quite as important, that a miracle could be a miracle, even though we did know the laws through which it was accomplished, provided those laws, though not beyond human knowledge were beyond human control. We might know the conditions necessary to the performance of a miracle, although utterly unable to bring those conditions about. Yet a work performed by the bringing about of conditions which are out of human reach would certainly be a work attesting superhuman power."* In this sense, "a miracle is not an anomaly or irregularity, but part of the system of the Universe."† Hence a miracle is not "against nature," but is produced by laws out of human reach, and no one will have the hardihood to assert that we have an exhaustive knowledge of the laws of the Universe, or that there are no laws beyond our control. But the Theosophist not only professes to know the secret laws of nature, but to have over them a control which science knows nothing about. If so, where is the need of mystery and secrecy? Why cannot a knowledge of these laws be communicated to mankind, whose good the Theosophist professes to promote? And why, again, should it be urged that occult phenomena cannot be manifested without the place of exhibition being previously prepared for that purpose, just as any conjuror would do before exhibiting his feats of *legerdemain*? Colonel Olcott would, however, make a difference between the Theosophist and the conjuror, inasmuch as the former has his house prepared by the brothers "not with machinery, but with a special magnetism." So it is clear that the Theosophist is unable to produce occult phenomena without the aid of a magnetised house or locality. And yet he presumes to compare himself to Christ, who according to theosophy was the prince of theosophists. We do not, however, read of Christ preparing or having prepared any house or place wherein to work his wonders. If he worked them by this knowledge of occult laws, he showed that he had power over them, for he worked them openly; not in the presence of friends or of the initiated only, but in the presence of their fiercest enemies; not at night but in broad daylight. The remarkable thing about Christ is, that his miracles wrought with a view to elicit the praise and admiration

* Law, p. 25.

† Mozley's Bampton Lectures, p. 1865.

of the world, but to do good to men, and all who witnessed them were in a position to expose anything like fraud. Take, for example, the miracle of raising the dead. There were three such cases. The only doubt that could arise in such cases would be from uncertainty as to the reality of the death. Renan asserted that, if such a wonderful thing had happened in modern times, a commission would be appointed of *experts*, who would have to be satisfied that it was actually a case of death and not merely one of swooning. But Renan overlooked the fact that in the cases recorded in the gospels, the evidence of death came from the opposite side, *viz.*, his enemies. The people who did not believe in his power of raising the dead persisted in asserting the reality of the death, although Christ himself alleged that the persons said to be dead were merely asleep. Had the people believed that the parties were actually not dead, they would no doubt have put Christ down as an impostor, but, instead of this, it is said, "that in one case the people were astonished with a great astonishment." (Mark V.—42) and in another case "many believed on Him:" (John XI.—45) and in a third case "there came a fear on all, and they glorified God saying, that a great prophet is risen among us, and that God hath visited His people" (Luke VII.—16). The evidence of death in these three cases was of different degrees of cogency. In the one case, the people "laughed him to scorn, *knowing that she was dead*:" (Luke VIII.—53); in the second case, "the dead man" was being "carried out" on a "bier" (Luke VII.—12, 14); in the third case, the dead man actually had been *buried* "four days." (John XI.—39.)

But by their own admission the theosophists are not able, not even the adepts among them, the famous brothers, to do every thing they please; much less to work miracles. "It is absurd," says Colonel Olcott, "to suppose that they can do every thing they please, at any time, just when they like. If they *could*, then they would be able to work *miracles*. But there neither are, never were and never will be (*sic*) any real miracles, although what they do may *seem* miraculous to those less cognizant of natural laws than are the adepts. No, they are just as much tied by natural laws as any one else; they are conditioned by all the forces of the Universe, and it is only when certain conditions exist spontaneously, or have been about by them, that they can perform phenomena, often existing conditions are such that they cannot replace them on the spur of the moment by favour. This admission is important, though it is in direct with the statements made elsewhere as to the perfe

possessed by the adepts over the occult forces of nature. The admission, too, involves a belief in the possibility of there being such a thing as a *miracle*, and also a confession that the brothers cannot work them. By conditions that "exist spontaneously". Colonel Olcott must mean "conditions that come into existence spontaneously." If so, we stand at this point, face to face, with the *law of causality*.

It has been admitted by every scientific writer of any reputation, that we are utterly unable to discover anything in the material universe like an *efficient cause*. All that the most careful scrutiny into the secrets of nature has discovered is only an invariable "succession," an invariable "antecedence," and "consequence," and nothing more, and these are discovered without discovering the *connexion* between them. Cause implies *power* or *force*, which is never directly perceived; but we *infer* that it exists, because the event happens or the effect is produced. Hence the scientific and philosophic portions of our race, with some few exceptions, are agreed in the conclusion, that there is no such power or inherent *force in matter*, and that efficient causation lies only in *mind*. We are conscious of power dependent on our *will*, and so when we look at our brother man we infer that the actions of his body are produced by a *will* likewise. We cannot imagine that his limbs move themselves, but that *he* moves them. In like manner, when we see changes in the external world of matter, we cannot suppose that brute and senseless matter causes all this by its inherent person, but that the spirit, the person within, controls, vivifies and produces all. This conclusion is founded on the most accurate researches of science, namely, that we know not of any direct agency: we find no proof of any active power, but that which is the attribute of personality, which is directed by will, and witnessed by consciousness, and is confirmed by the opinion expressed by Sir Isaac Newton in respect to the law of gravitation. "That gravity," says this distinguished philosopher, "should be innate, inherent and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance, through a vacuum without the mediation of any thing else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophic matters a competent faculty of thinking can ever fall into it. *Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws* : in its spirit, this dogma of science harmonises wonderfully with the teachings of scripture: 'The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of glory thundereth, the voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars—Yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon, the voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness,

the Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadish." (Ps. XXIX) Thus is it that an intelligent science is seen to be the handmaid of revelation and reason not to contradict the utterances of a simple faith.

Of this, however, Theosophy knows nothing. She can make nothing of "conditions that arise spontaneously." She cannot explain how or whence they came, simply because she knows not of a Personal Deity—the Infinite mind, the spirit, the person within that controls, verifies and produces all: yea that—

"Living will that shall endure
When all that seems shall suffer shock."

Of him who is the only *efficient cause* in the Universe, Theosophy knows nothing.

We must now turn to the consideration of the second of the two great questions referred to above, *viz.* :—"Do the Brothers exist"? What is the evidence brought forward in proof of their existence? It has been alleged that their houses are in the wilds of Thibet, and that they have the power of transporting themselves at will, whether in the body or out of the body we cannot tell, from Thibet to any part of this globe. But in the "*Hints on esoteric Theosophy*," we have the supposed objector questioning his Theosophic "guide, philosopher and friend," thus :—

"How do you know that the Brothers exist at all? Have you ever seen or spoken to one of them? Has any cultivated European that you know, except Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, any independent person on whose judgment and good faith you can implicitly rely, ever seen or spoken to one of them? Answer me candidly and truly, and I know you *must* answer in the negative."

To these questions "H. X." replies :—

"Certainly, I have no absolutely conclusive proof of this. I have never seen nor spoken to one, and till lately I myself quite doubted their existence; I know of only one cultivated European, excluding Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, *viz.*, Mr.—who has seen and conversed with one of them, and though to me, who know him and his mental capacity well, his statement carries great weight, as evidence to the outside public it is *nil*, since he was *admittedly at the time in a sort of trance*. Nor can I point to any one on whose judgment and good faith I can implicitly rely, who has seen and conversed with any one of the brothers."

This writer then has recourse to a quibble, as if to take the edge off his admission regarding the trance.

"On whose judgment," he cunningly asks, "can any man implicitly rely? Does any wise man *implicitly* rely on his *own* judgment? *A fortiori* does he *implicitly* rely on any one else's judgment"?

This was no doubt intended to contradict or correct Pope's well known lines—

"Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own."

But if "H. X." is right, there is an end to all testimony. If a man cannot rely on his own judgment, how can he believe what he himself sees, and *à fortiori*, how can he believe in the testimony of others? But although "H. X." cannot implicitly believe the testimony of any one person, he is still willing to admit as true "the hypothesis of the existence of the brothers," on the ground that it "rests partly on a long series of phenomena, several of which are outside all authenticated spiritualistic experiences,"—"partly on communications supposed to have come from them,"—"partly on the statements of Colonel Olcott and others, also natives who have publicly testified to seeing one or other of the brothers." But he has another reason, on which all *ad captandum* arguments are founded, *viz.*, the universal prevalence of such a belief.

"Do you suppose," he asks, "that any such incredible belief could have permeated the minds of 200 millions of people who believe in josis and adepts, and clung securely there for thousands of years, while empires, rose and fell, languages were born and died, and all else, even religions waxed and waned, if it had no substantial basis of fact"?

If this be a valid mode of reasoning, then the Protestant is wrong in not believing in transubstantiation, nay all Christendom is wrong in not believing in the transmigration of souls, in the mythologies of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, or that the thirty-three millions of gods of the Hindu Pantheon are real, living divinities. Indeed, the wildest chimeras ought to become true the moment a belief in them "permeates the minds" of a large number of people. If this be all the evidence forthcoming of the existence of the brothers, then to most people the leaders of Theosophy must appear as myths, and their teachings as moonshine.

But what has Colonel Olcott to say on this point? He says, "I have seen, been taught by, been allowed to visit, and have received visits from the brothers." He thus describes the visit of one of the brothers:—

"One evening at New York, after bidding H. P. B. good-night, I sat in my bed-room, finishing a cigar and thinking, suddenly there stood my *chohan* beside me. The door had made no noise in opening if it had been opened, but at any rate, there he was. He sat down and conversed with me in subdued tones for some time, and as he seemed in an excellent humour towards me, I asked him a favour. I said I wanted some tangible proof that he had actually been there, and that I had not been seeing a mere illusion conjured up by H. P. B. He laughed, unwound the embroidered Indian cotton *fehla* he wore on his head, flung it to me, and—was gone."

The reader is at liberty to take this story for what it is worth. To us it has improbability stamped on its very face, for, as

these brothers are said to possess the power of walking out of their bodies which they leave behind them beneath some bush in Thibet, and wandering about space in a spirit form, we should like to know why the spirit of this particular brother wore a material "Indian cotton *fehla*" on his head. A disembodied spirit is said to appear in the very clothes it wore when it was in the body, but the sameness is only in *appearance*, the fabric of which it is composed is immaterial and intangible. In like manner the spirit which quits its body only temporarily cannot need the material clothing which belongs to the body it has left behind. We very much fear the Colonel has been imposed upon by some other "cute Yankee." We are willing, so as not to impugn the Colonel's veracity, to believe he was deceived by an illusion or image which, by the power of the imagination, had been projected from his own brain. Indeed, he seems to possess this special faculty in a remarkable degree, and it is accounted for by the aphorism he himself lays down; *whatever a man really wills, that he has*—no power in the universe, but one, can prevent our seeing whomsoever we will, or knowing whatsoever we desire, and that power is *self*." This is very true, or rather, as Lord Bacon puts a somewhat similar truth, what a man wishes to be true he is easily induced to believe." The reader will here call to mind the story to which we have already alluded of the lady and the clergyman looking at the moon! Be this, however, as it may, the Olcottian aphorism seems to furnish a key to the marvels and mysteries of theosophy, and the man who uses his will freely and firmly needs not the doubtful aid of spirits from the "vasty deep" or spirits of any kind, except his own indomitable spirit, to call into existence any forms he chooses to summon into his presence, be they Thibetian brothers, or his "sisters and his cousins and his aunts."

So much for Colonel Olcott's testimony. Let us, in conclusion, see if Madame Blavatsky is a more trustworthy witness, and here we shall quote "H. X's" estimate of her ("Hints," pp. 68 and 69).

"Madame Blavatsky's converse," he says, "is by no means confined to yea, yea and nay"; but is, especially when she is in one of her less spiritual and more worldly moods, only too fluent and too often replete with contradictions, inaccuracies, and at times, apparently distinct misstatements. Nothing has staggered all of us more. How, we have felt and said, is such looseness and inaccuracy of speech reconcileable with her being the instrument of such a brotherhood? But gradually we have come to learn that this great defect in her, considered as a leader of such a movement, is the result of two tendencies, inherent in her present mental organization: These tendencies are, *first* inaccuracy. Most women are inaccurate, but she is perhaps more than normally so, instead of, as one might have expected, less so. The fact is Madame

Blavatsky is, alas! no longer what she once was; she has lived a life of considerable hardship; she has undergone a course of training and study that few, if any, minds go through unscarred; her health has been failing for years; she morbidly suffers from the vulgar slander with which she has been assailed on all sides; her memory is undoubtedly impaired, and not unfrequently, I believe she quite *unconsciously*, in the course of conversation, makes incorrect, if not absolutely false statements. But the *second* tendency, a sort of humourous combativeness, leads her at times, especially when she is in high spirits and entirely free from higher influences, to propound absolute fictions of malice-*prepense* . . . This habit is, in her position, perfectly indefensible, the more so that even those who know her best can never be sure at such times whether she is in fun or in earnest, whether she is telling a truth, or simply bamboozling an adversary"

This is very severe as coming from a friend, but as the wise man says: "faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." We leave our readers, however, to decide whether, after reading this apparently faithful analysis of Madame H. P. B's. character, they are willing to accept her testimony as to the existence of the brothers. We fear they must, in reference to such a witness, exclaim "TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting." At all events, they would do well to accept "H. X's." position and say with him, "that either the brothers exist, or Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, to say nothing of Padshab, Damodar, Moorad, Ali Beg, &c., &c., &c., are all impostors"!

W. C. FINK.

THE QUARTER.

THE past three months in India have been more fruitful of excitement and threaten to be more pregnant with the seeds of future calamity than any similar period since the fatal Spring of 1857. They have witnessed an outburst of popular indignation to which the annals of British Indian history probably furnish no parallel, and they close upon a state of relations between the European community and the Government which, if it should continue, must prove a cause of serious administrative embarrassment, if not of political danger.

It is barely seven weeks since one of the speakers at the annual dinner of the Calcutta Trades' Association, responding to the toast of the Bar, pointed to the harmonious relations which had gradually grown up between the non-official Europeans and the Government, as affording a sufficient explanation of the political quietude sometimes charged as a fault against members of his profession. The explanation was probably accepted by most of those present as largely justified by facts. For many years the old antagonism between officials and non-officials had been gradually giving place to mutual sympathy and consideration; and, to persons unacquainted with the secret motives at work, the somewhat ostentatious professions of Lord Ripon's government seemed to promise a bright future for European enterprise. But in less than a fortnight the veil was to be ruthlessly torn away, and the true character of the Government revealed in all its nakedness. To-day the name of Lord Ripon is little better than a reproach in the mouth of every independent European in India, and the community is banded together as one man in a firm determination to resist by every means in its power a policy which threatens its very existence.

The true history of the inception of the humiliating legislative proposal which has brought about this deplorable state of things, will probably never be known. It is sufficiently well known, however, that when the curtain was raised on the drama, it had already advanced beyond its first scene.

On the 30th January, while the new Criminal Procedure Code was under the consideration of the Legislative Council of India Babu Behari Lal Gupta, a Native Covenanted Civilian whose sense of his own dignity would seem to have been inflated by his exercise, as Officiating Presidency Magistrate of the Northern Division of Calcutta, of the power possessed by him in that capacity, under the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872, of trying European defendants, addressed the following letter to Sir Ashley Eden, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, pointing out the invidious position in which he was placed, in not possessing a similar power, as a Mofussil Magistrate, and the inconvenience that might arise under certain hypothetical conditions in the future, unless the same powers for this purpose were conferred on himself and his fellow native civilians, holding the office of District Magistrate or Session's Judge, as were exercised by Europeans in such appointments.

Jurisdiction over European British subjects.

As the law now stands—Chapter VII, Act X of 1873,* no Magistrate or Sessions Judge has jurisdiction to enquire into a complaint or to try a charge against a European British subject, unless he is a Justice of the Peace

and himself a European British subject. An exception to this rule is allowed within the limits of Presidency towns where, under Act IV of 1877, a Presidency Magistrate, whether himself a European or not, has the same jurisdiction over Europeans as over Natives of the country.

Previous to the passing of Act X of 1872 (the present Criminal Procedure Code), no Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, even though a European himself, had jurisdiction (outside the limits of the Presidency towns) to try a charge against any European British subject. But all Magistrates who were also Justices of the Peace had jurisdiction to enquire into charges against Europeans and to commit them to the High Court for trial. (See sections 39, 41 and 41 of Act XXV of 1861, the old Criminal Procedure Code.) And by section 3, Act II of 1869, the Government was empowered to appoint any Covenanted Civil Servant to be a Justice of the Peace. Under Act X of 1872, however, a Covenanted Civil Servant, even though a first-class Magistrate and a Justice of the Peace, would have no jurisdiction over a European British subject unless he himself is a European British subject.

This provision of the law would give rise to an invidious distinction and to many practical inconveniences in the case of those Natives of the country who in the course of time expect to attain to the position of a District Magistrate or of a Sessions Judge. Hence, when the Bill for Act X of 1872 was still before the Council, an amendment to section 72 in favour of the

† See proceedings of the Governor-General's Council on the Criminal Procedure Bill at a meeting held on the 16th April 1872, published in the Supplement to the *India Gazette* of the 4th May 1872, page 572.

Native members of the covenanted Service was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Ellis. The † amendment was put to the vote and lost by a majority of seven against five. But it is remarkable that the minority in that instance comprised the highest officials of the State. The President and Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and his successor in office, all voted for the amendment, and I would

humbly invite attention to the utterances of those dignitaries on that occasion. Nothing can be added to the eloquence or the sound reasoning of those speeches, and I shall content myself with appending a few extracts for ready reference.

The Bill of the new Criminal Procedure Code now before the Council * proposes to perpetuate the distinction noted above, and the disability under which myself and other Indian members of the Service labour. The arguments which were uttered in 1872 for its removal, present themselves with redoubled force after an interval of ten years. They are too obvious to require mention, and they would lose all their grace and much of their force if repeated by one who is personally interested in the matter. My only sentiment on the subject is that if you do entrust us with the responsible office of a District Magistrate or of a Sessions Judge, do not cripple us in our powers. The question affects seriously the efficiency of District administration; and I make bold to trust that the expediency of a change in the law cannot but be recognized if the matter be put before the Council in its present true light.

Since the passing of Act X of 1872, however, the constitution of the Civil Service has undergone an important change, with reference to which a few words need be said. Under a recent measure of Government Natives of India have been appointed to the Covenanted Civil Service under a system of nomination and without the test of any competitive examination or a compulsory journey to England. This fact somewhat alters the aspect of the question discussed in the Council in 1872, and under existing circumstances stronger objections would probably be raised against any proposal to extend generally the criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects to all Native members of the Covenanted Civil Service. I would therefore venture to make a suggestion which would probably meet the urgent requirements of the case, at the same time that it would obviate all reasonable objections, and command a general assent. I would propose that the extension of jurisdiction over European British subjects be limited to Natives of the country holding the office of a Magistrate of the district or of a Sessions Judge.

B. L. GUPTA.

The 30th January 1882.

Were it not known independently that the action of Baba Behari Lal Gupta in the matter had been preceded by certain *pour parlors* with Sir Ashley Eden and others, it would be sufficiently obvious to any one with ordinary insight that he was only nominally the author of the above letter.

Our immediate concern, however, is with the consequences, rather than with the antecedents of the letter. Sir Ashley Eden, ostensibly on the ground that the progress of the new Criminal Procedure Code through the Council had reached too advanced a stage to be interrupted for the purpose of considering Behari Lal Gupta's proposition, but really, there can be little doubt, under the hope that the Government of India would decline, in the absence of any present and urgent necessity, to disturb the new Code after it had once been settled by the Legislature, postponed all action in the matter till after the Code had been passed.

At last, on the 20th March, when he was about to surrender his office, and under circumstances which form part of the secret history of a plot in which he and Babu Behari Lal Gupta were only subordinate actors, he submitted the letter to the Government of India with the following Minute :—

From Horace A. Cockerell, Esq., C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial, Political and Appointment Departments, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to submit, for the consideration of the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a note * by Mr. B. L. Gupta, of the Bengal Civil Service, representing the anomalous position in which the Native members of the Covenanted Civil Service are placed under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which limit the Jurisdiction to be exercised over European British subjects in the interior to judicial officers who are themselves European British subjects. Chapter VII of Act X of 1872, which deals with the subject, has been reproduced in the new Code of Criminal Procedure (vide Chapter XXXIII of Act X. of 1882.)

* Dated the 30th January 1882.

2. The question raised in Mr. Gupta's note is one which requires full consideration; and on which the Government of India will probably deem it desirable to obtain the opinions of all the Local Governments and Administrations, inasmuch as it may not be expedient to apply to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies a rule which may be applicable to Bengal. Mr. Gupta desired that the question of the Jurisdiction to be exercised by covenanted civilians over Europeans in the mofussil might be considered in connection with the Bill to amend Act X. of 1872; but the Lieutenant-Governor felt that a discussion on the subject could not with propriety be raised at the final reading of the bill. Sir Ashley Eden is, however, of opinion that the matter should receive full and careful consideration, whenever on any future occasion a fitting opportunity occurs.

3. As a question of general policy, it seems to the Lieutenant-Governor right that covenanted Native civilians should be empowered to exercise jurisdiction over Europeans as well as over Natives who are brought before them in their capacity as criminal Judges. Now that Native covenanted civilians may shortly be expected to hold the office of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, it is also, as matter of administrative convenience, desirable that they should have the power to try all classes of persons brought before them. Moreover, if this power is not conferred upon Native members of the civil service, the anomaly may be presented of a European Joint Magistrate who is subordinate to a Native District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, being empowered to try cases which his immediate superior cannot try. Native Presidency Magistrates within the Presidency towns exercise the same jurisdiction over Europeans that they do over Natives, and there seems to be no sufficient reason why Covenanted Native Civilians, with the position and training of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, should not exercise the same jurisdiction over Europeans as is exercised by other members of the Service.

4. For these reasons Sir Ashley Eden is of opinion that the time has now arrived when all Native members of the Covenanted Civil Service should be relieved of such restrictions of their powers as are imposed on them by Chapter XXXIII of the new Code of Criminal Procedure, or when at least Native Covenanted Civilians who have attained the position of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge should have entrusted to them full powers over all classes, whether European or Native, within their jurisdictions.

The next we hear of the matter is from the mouth of Mr. Ilbert, who, in the Council of the 2nd February, moved for leave to introduce a Bill for the amendment of the Civil Procedure Code of 1872, as far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects.

After reciting the existing law, as settled in 1872, which provides that "no Magistrate, unless he is a Justice of the Peace, and (except in the case of a Presidency Magistrate) unless he is a Magistrate of the first class and a European British subject, shall enquire into or try any charge against a European British subject," and after giving a most misleading account of the circumstances under which the amendment proposed by Sir Barrow Ellis, with a view of removing the limitation, had been rejected on that occasion by the Council, Mr. Ilbert referred to Mr. Gupta's proposal; to the letter of Sir Ashley Eden, already quoted, and to the circumstances under which he had postponed the submission of that letter till after the passing of the new Code. He then proceeded to state that the result of a reference to the local Governments and administrations had been to elicit an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favor of removing the present absolute bar on the investment of native Magistrates in the interior with jurisdiction over European British subjects, and, after summarising his own view of the arguments for such a course, described the purport of the Bill entrusted to him, in the following terms:

Accordingly we propose to amend the law, first by repealing the words which confine the exercise of jurisdiction over British subjects to persons who are European British subjects themselves; secondly, by declaring that every District Magistrate and Sessions Judge shall be, by virtue of his office, a Justice of the Peace, and as such, capable of exercising jurisdiction over European British subjects; and thirdly, by empowering Local Governments to invest with the office of Justice of the Peace, and consequently with jurisdiction over European British subjects, any person who, being either—

(a) a member of the Covenanted Civil Service.

(b) a member of the Native Civil Service constituted under the statutory rules.

(c) an Assistant Commissioner in a non-Regulation Province; or

(d) a Cantonment Magistrate—

is for the time being invested with the powers of a Magistrate of the first class, and is, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, fit to be entrusted with those further powers.

To the arguments urged by Babu Behari Lal Gupta and Sir Ashley Eden in favour of the change, Mr. Ilbert seems to have found it possible to add only one, *viz*, that the arrangement come to in 1872 was wanting in finality, while that proposed by him, though it could not be pronounced "absolutely final," contained in itself the elements of "stability and durability." How an

arrangement the professed object of which was the removal of an anomaly and an invidious distinction, could possess the elements of "stability and durability," when its effect would be to create a greater anomaly and a more invidious distinction than those which it was intended to remove, he did not explain.

That such is the character of the Government proposal, its most ardent advocates declare as loudly as its most determined opponents. The anomaly which it would remove is a distinction between Magistrates who are, and Magistrates who are not, European British subjects, a distinction which is at least founded upon a difference of race of a very marked character; the anomaly which it would create is a distinction between one Native Magistrate and another, founded on the fact, that one belongs to a favored service, and the other does not. Surely if the one distinction is invidious, the other is doubly so.

In the course of his speech Mr. Ilbert admitted that the class of cases in which the Bill would give jurisdiction to Native Magistrates were exceptionally rare and exceptionally difficult and troublesome. At the same time he declared the object of the Bill to be the effectual and impartial administration of justice. Had he been leading the opposition to the measure, he could not have brought forward more formidable arguments against it. In order that justice may be effectually and impartially administered in exceptionally rare and troublesome cases, it is necessary that the officers to whom their adjudication is entrusted should be specially qualified by knowledge and experience for the task. At present jurisdiction in these exceptionally rare and troublesome cases is confined to officers who, in addition to such training as they possess in common with Native civilians, possess as members of the race to which the parties concerned belong, special knowledge and experience of the habits, customs, feelings and social and domestic circumstances out of which such cases arise. But it is proposed to transfer the jurisdiction to officers who, as members of another race, with widely different habits, customs, feelings, and social and domestic institutions, necessarily lack that knowledge and experience. The effect of the Bill must, therefore, be to render the administration of justice less effectual and impartial than before.

A debate followed, the most conspicuous feature in which was a statement of the Viceroy that the Bill was introduced in fulfilment of a pledge given during the discussion of the Procedure Code Amendment Bill in the previous year. When, however, we come to examine the speeches delivered on that occasion, we find that no pledge that could be in any way interpreted as binding the Government to introduce such a Bill, was given.

What happened was this : One of the Native Members, Baboo Durga Charan Laha, proposed, on the ground of the serious oppression committed from time to time by Executive-Officers of Government in the interior, instances of which were cited, that the right of *habeas corpus*, enjoyed by Europeans, should be extended to natives beyond the limits of the local jurisdiction of the High Courts. A long list of cases of illegal confinement by the executive authorities, including the scandalous one of Ameer Khan, could be given, to show that the extension of this right to natives would be a real and valuable boon, and it is one which every non-official European would gladly see extended to them.

But it did not suit the Government to part with its power of incarcerating natives indefinitely without trial. So, by way of compromise, Major Baring and Lord Ripon ingeniously suggested that Durga Charan Laha's real object was, no doubt, only the sentimental one of putting natives and Europeans on a more equal footing in the eyes of the law, and that this object would be more conveniently effected by degrading the European than by elevating the native. This, then, as far as appears from what passed in the Debate, is the pledge in redemption of which Mr. Ilbert's Bill has been introduced.

The Hon'ble Mr. Evans having urged that time should be given to the non-official European community, scattered through out India, to make their voices heard on the subject of the Bill, His Excellency the Viceroy stated that nobody was in the smallest degree pledged by its introduction ; that the Government had no desire to push the matter forward without giving full time for its consideration, and that the proper occasion for discussing the principle of the Bill would be on its reference to a Select Committee. He concluded by suggesting that leave should now be given to bring in the Bill, which might be done at the meeting of the next Council, and that due time should be given before the motion for reference to a Select Committee, in order to enable members of Council to consider it after receiving it in print, and to be prepared to discuss it fully after acquiring a perfect knowledge of its provisions.

As we just stated, Mr. Ilbert referred, in the course of his speech, to the opinions submitted by the various local Governments consulted. The way in which these opinions were solicited, and the careful selection of the sources from which they were sought, is instructive. In the first place, the officers consulted were given distinctly to understand, in an adroitly worded circular, the nature of the verdict which the Government desired to receive. In the second place, the Government carefully avoided seeking the opinion of either the Government of the

Province which would be most seriously affected by the passing of the Bill, and they showed similar care in omitting to consult a single independent Member of the community whose rights it was proposed to invade.

How far the effect of the opinions thus obtained was correctly described as an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favour of the proposed change, will appear from the fact, that four of the authorities consulted were strongly opposed to any change; three were opposed to conferring the new jurisdiction on any natives other than covenanted civilians trained in England, and only three were in favour of extending it to all the classes of native officers contemplated by the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Carmichael, one of the members of the Madras Council, who strongly opposed any change, observed, after discussing the question in a variety of aspects, that the privilege of which it was proposed to deprive the European was highly valued by those who possessed it, and certainly did no harm to the native population; while its surrender would, in his opinion, cause great exasperation, perhaps accompanied with great political mischief amongst Her Majesty's natural born subjects, their children and grand-children.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hudlestone was "confident it would raise an outcry that would aggravate race friction far more than the removal of the already existing disability attaching to a small number of officials could allay it."

Mr. Sandford, the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, contented himself with expressing his opinion, that the existing law was wise, and for political reasons, should be maintained.

Mr. A. P. Howell, the Commissioner of the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, in a masterly letter, exhibited the practical absurdity of the proposal, by challenging the Government to carry it out to its logical limits, and consider the whole question of personal law together.

How truly Messrs. Carmichael and Hudlestone prognosticated the political effect of the introduction of the Bill, subsequent events have shown. Not only does the excitement and indignation which the Bill has caused in the community threatened by it, far exceed both in volume and intensity anything of the kind that has ever been experienced in India, but it has divided the country into two hostile camps, in one of which are ranged the whole of the non-official, and the great bulk of the official, European, Anglo-Indian and Eurasian communities, and in the other the shrieking section of the natives, headed by a limited clique of high European officials. But the Bill has done more than this: it has created a new political idea destined to germinate rapidly and

produce portentous consequences in the future, and thus prepare the materials for a conflagration which threatens the safety of the empire itself.

The first sound of alarm outside the Council Chamber was raised in the columns of the *Englishman* newspaper, which, true to its traditions, has since preserved its place in the van of the opposition. The cry, once raised, was speedily taken up by every Anglo-Indian journal in the peninsula with the exception of two, one of which is the property of a native, and the other is published in a part of India where the evil consequences of the Bill would be very little felt. The mass of letters, of various degrees of ability, but all inspired by the same feeling of indignation against the Bill and its authors, which have poured in upon the press in an unfailling stream and been published in its columns, has attained to dimensions which would fill several large volumes, and which have never been approached by similar communications on any other question of Indian politics. But the expression of public opinion has not been confined to the columns of the press. In all the presidency towns and in almost every Mofussil station where a dozen independent Europeans could be got together, public meetings have been held, vehement speeches made, and indignant resolutions passed, against the threatened degradation of the status of European British subjects. Foremost among these meetings both in numbers and in the intensity of feeling displayed at it, stands that held in the Town Hall of Calcutta, on the 28th ultimo, when between two and three thousand persons, including foreign Europeans, Armenians and Jews, as well as European British subjects, and many members of the Government services, Civil and Military, joined in loud and unqualified condemnation of the measure, and a strong Committee was appointed to prepare a petition to the Viceroy, and, if necessary, to Parliament, praying for its withdrawal. The tumultuous applause which greeted the fervid denunciations of the Bill embodied in the speeches of Messrs. Keswick and Branson at this meeting was of a kind to which it may be safely said the walls of the Town Hall never resounded before.

So dangerous is the condition of things revealed by the action of the Government, in this and other matters, felt to be, and so general is the alarm created by it among the European population, that the meeting was immediately followed by the formation of a European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association, to act as a standing vigilant Committee for the protection of the rights and privileges of the community. At the first meeting of the Committee of the Association Rs. 13,000 was subscribed in the room, and the amount has since reached over half a lakh; money

is pouring in daily from all parts of the country, and there can be little doubt that the Association will obtain the adherence and support of every independent European in India.

With the exception of one or two extreme party papers, the press of England condemns the Bill as strongly as that in India itself; and if it is passed, it will be in the face of an array of adverse public opinion such as no constitutional Government has ever yet resisted.

On the 9th March the Bill, having in the interim been introduced, but without discussion, was again brought before the Council on the motion of Mr. Ilbert, that it be published in the Gazette, when, contrary to the spirit of the assurance given by the Viceroy in the debate already referred to, a discussion of its principles followed. The debate, which lasted nearly nine hours, was one of the most remarkable that has ever taken place in the Council Chamber. The arguments urged in favour of the Bill at the former debate, were shown to be either based on misrepresentation of facts or self-destructive; while the injustice, and political mischief it would create were most conclusively demonstrated by Messrs. Evans, Thomas and Miller. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal himself declared, in the most emphatic terms, that the administrative inconvenience which it was alleged the present state of the law had either created, or threatened at no distant period to create, had no existence in the present, and could be avoided in future without the proposed amendment. Major General Wilson, the Viceroy's oldest military adviser, condemned the Bill in the strongest terms, and reminded His Excellency that he had condemned it no less strongly from the first, and recorded a written protest against its introduction.

One after another, the supporters of the measure astonished their audience by calmly proceeding to read written speeches in which, instead of attempting to meet the arguments brought against the Bill, they contented themselves with repeating the fallacies and mistatements which its opponents had demolished. A still more marvellous spectacle was the paralysis of nerve by which some of the principal speakers appeared to be smitten. The Viceroy, instead of attempting to defend the Bill on its merits, was fain to repudiate his own responsibility and abuse the public. The member for Bengal was obliged to confess with sorrow that he had neglected his duty of warning the Viceroy of the disastrous political consequences to be anticipated from a measure of which he thus furnished the most crushing condemnation, but which he still had not the independence to oppose. The Commander-in-Chief, alarmed by the state of feeling in the

army, stultified his support of the Bill, by making it plain that, though he considered native Magistrates good enough for the trial of lay Englishmen, he would not be a party to their exercising the same power in the case of British soldiers.

We shall not attempt now to state exhaustively all the manifold objections to the proposed change. Suffice it to say, that it seeks to deprive European British subjects in India of a right which they feel to be indispensable for their protection, which injures no one, and which is the only counterpoise they possess to the immense disadvantage they are placed under, as mere isolated units in the midst of a foreign and unfriendly population, whose favourite weapon of offence is a false case in a Criminal Court, and who regard perjury as a legitimate contrivance for gaining such a case. It seeks to subject English women to the indignity of being tried by men who are polygamists, and who regard the female sex with contempt, as morally inferior to men, and unworthy to be trusted or believed. It seeks to subject English men and women to the injustice of trial by men who, being not only different in race and in all their social and domestic institutions, but equally different in mental and moral constitution from themselves, are *ipso facto* disqualified for the effective performance of the task. It proposes to do this, not on the ground of any emergent necessity of State, but on the pretence of removing an administrative inconvenience which has no existence in fact, and which if it existed in fact, could be obviated in other ways; and in order to make a show of equality which does not exist in fact, and which if it existed, would be incompatible with British domination in India.

The effect which the proposal to pass such a law has had on the minds of Europeans throughout the country, has been sufficiently indicated in what we have already said. We could not depict all the consequences which seem to us likely to follow its enactment without incurring the risk of appearing unpatriotic.

This much, however, we may say:—That its first effect must be to bring home to the European and Anglo-Indian community the fact, that there is no alternative between the arrest of the levelling policy in which the Government is embarked and the gradual extinction of European enterprise in India. That the community in question would not accept the latter of these alternatives without a valiant struggle, is certain; indeed, the struggle has already commenced. He would be a bold man, who should predict on what lines it is destined to proceed, or what will be its ultimate results. Sir James Stephen probably does not overrate the truth, when he says:—

There can, I think, be no doubt that is impossible to imagine any policy more fearfully dangerous and more certain, in case of failure, to lead to results to which the Mutiny would be child's play, than the policy of shifting

the foundations on which the British Government of India rests. It is essentially an absolute Government, founded, not on consent, but on conquest. It does not represent the native principles of life or of government, and it can never do so until it represents heathenism and barbarism. It represents a belligerent civilisation, and no anomaly can be so striking or so dangerous as its administration by men who, being at the head of a Government founded upon conquest, implying at every point the superiority of the conquering race, of their ideas, their institutions, their opinions, and their principles, and having no justification for its existence except that superiority, shrink from the open, uncompromising, straightforward assertion of it, seek to apologise for their own position, and refuse, from whatever cause, to uphold and support it. I should be sorry to say a word which could embarrass any Viceroy in the discharge of the weightiest and most delicate duties which can be imposed on any of Her Majesty's subjects; but much of the language lately held as to local government, education, and some other subjects has filled me, as, to my knowledge, it has filled others who are interested in India, with apprehension, and I do not in the least wonder that the Europeans in India see in the proposed change about criminal procedure a symptom, all the more formidable because in itself it is slight and utterly needless, of a determination to try to govern India upon principles inconsistent with the foundations on which British power rests.

Public attention during the quarter has been engaged by two other topics which in ordinary times would have provoked warm discussion, but which have been completely overshadowed by the great question of the day. These are the introduction of the local self-Government scheme for Bengal in the Lieutenant-Governor's Council, and that of the new Bengal Rent Bill in the Viceroy's Council. Both Bills have been referred to Select Committees after lengthy debates.

In the Bengal Council the local self-Government Bill was opposed in a masterly speech by the Hon'ble Mr. Paul, the Advocate-General, and by the Hon'ble Mr. Caithness. Mr. Paul pointed out with crushing force that, however laudable an object it may be, to educate a people in the principles and methods of self-Government, it cannot justify those responsible for the welfare of the country in making over its administration to novices to manipulate.

The debate on the Bengal Rent Bill occupied two whole days, and disclosed a strong body of opposition to the wholesale invasion of the rights of landlords contemplated by it. But the subject is too vast a one to be considered here and, besides, it is being pretty thoroughly threshed out by other writers in the pages of this Review.

There appears to be every prospect of the Bill being extensively modified in Committee.

The annual Financial Statement of the Government of India was published, as a *Gazette Extraordinary*, on the 15th instant. Its main features, which call for little or no comment, may be summarised as follows:—

No legislation is to be undertaken in connection with the financial arrangements of 1883-84.

"The accounts of 1881-82 show:—Revenue, £73,696,000; Expenditure, £71,113,000; Surplus, £2,583,000.

"There has been a general fall in the retail price of salt in all the provinces since the reduction of the duty, ranging from 12 per cent. in Oudh to 23 per cent. in Bengal. The consumption of salt since March 1st, 1882, has increased by $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. representing a revenue of £320,000 a year, or about £302,000 in excess of the anticipations formed last March. Of this increase, £163,000 falls to the year 1881-82, a very large amount of salt having paid duty in the last three weeks of March 1882; and £139,000 falls to 1882-83.

"Turning to the revised, formerly called the regular, estimates for 1882-83, the net opium revenue is estimated at £7,217,000 being £33,000 less than the Budget estimate, and £588,000 less than the actuals of 1881-82. The charge under exchange is estimated at £341,000 in excess of the Budget estimates. The net cost of the Egyptian Expedition, after deducting the English contribution of £500,000, true sterling, is stated to be £797,000.

"In spite of these additional charges, the revised estimate shows Revenue, £67,914,000; Expenditure, £67,854,000; Surplus, £60,000. This satisfactory result is attributed mainly to two causes—first, that the harvests have been good and the country prosperous; and, secondly, that, in view of the large fiscal reforms undertaken last year, the estimates of revenue and expenditure were framed with more than the usual caution.

"All the main branches of revenue for 1882-83 show an excess over the estimate. A sum of £1,000,000 true sterling will be remitted to England before March 31st, 1883, for the reduction of sterling debt, loss by exchange on the transaction being debited to the account of the Commissioners. This is in addition to the ordinary requirements of the Secretary of State for the year, which have already been remitted home.

"The railway rates on wheat from Northern India to Bombay are to be immediately reduced by $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., equivalent to a reduction of one shilling and six-pence a quarter in the London market. A corresponding reduction will, without doubt, be made on the East Indian line also. The restriction giving lower rates only to large consignments is to be abolished on the Rajputana and Bombay and Baroda and Central India lines.

"Turning to the Budget estimates of 1883-84, the net opium revenue is taken at £7,035,000 being £215,000 less than the budget estimate of 1882-83. The value of the rupee is taken at one shilling and seven-pence half-penny, and the expenditure under the head of exchange at £773,000 more than the budget estimates of 1882-83. The result is: Revenue, £67,274,000; Expenditure £66,81,000; Surplus, £456,000.

"The cash balance in India on March 31st, 1883, after allowing for payment of the Secretary of State's Bills during the year, amounting to £15,042,000, true sterling, is estimated at £13,840,000. The usual 4 per cent. loan for productive public works will be contracted during the coming year. The amount will be £2,500,000. Full details will be notified on or about July 16th.

"The cash balance in India on March 31st, 1884, is estimated at £11,697,000."

March 22nd, 1883.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE agitation against the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill shows no signs of abating, and seems likely to undergo further development, should the Government of India persevere much longer in its present silence.

The European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association held its first meeting on the 29th instant, when the Prospectus and Rules were adopted and the first office-bearers appointed. The Prospectus, which we reprint below, is very moderate in its tone, and the Association should meet with the universal support of the classes whose cause it espouses.

The following is the Prospectus of the Association :—

This Association has been formed to watch over and protect the interests and promote the welfare of the following classes of persons in India, viz:—Europeans of whatever nationality, Anglo-Indians, European British subjects not falling within either of these denominations, Americans, Armenians, Eurasians, and others associated with Europeans by a community of sympathies and interests.

It is felt that the establishment of a body that shall adequately represent the classes thus indicated, and, from the wide basis on which it rests and the solid interests which it promotes, shall contain within itself the elements of strength and permanence, has become an urgent necessity.

The flow of British capital into India for commercial, agricultural and industrial purposes has led, of late years, to a large increase, and, unless checked, promises in the future to lead to a still greater and more rapid increase in the numbers and importance of the European community. Not only have Europeans thus become more generally diffused throughout the country, but the magnitude of the interests committed to their charge exhibits a steady and rapid growth, and, consequently the need of an agency by which their wants and opinions may be effectively brought to the notice of the constituted authorities, whether in India or in England, has made itself strongly felt, and is likely to become more pressing in the future.

Apart from considerations personal to the European community as defined above, there are two reasons why, in the present circumstances of India, that community should make a powerful and united effort to secure for itself an adequate representation. The first of these reasons is, the extraordinary development, amongst the natives, of associations having a political

object. Every year sees the growth of this movement, and it appears necessary, in the interests of the whole country, that a balance of political representation should be established, as far as possible, by supplying the necessity under which the European community, in this regard, undoubtedly labours.

The second reason is to be found in the expressed wishes of the Government in India. The Executive Government finds that what has become a necessity for the European community, has become also a requirement of good government; and it has itself pointedly indicated the extent to which the Government and the European community suffer from the absence of any general association charged with the performance of such duties as would fall naturally within the compass of the operations of the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association.

The necessity for such an Association is illustrated by the tendency of much recent legislation and administrative action to disregard the interests of the European community, as exemplified more particularly by the gradual proscription of Europeans and their descendants from whole departments of the public service, and by the introduction into the Supreme Legislative Council, without reference to them, of a Bill to deprive them of one of their most cherished rights.

The objects which the Association proposes to itself are three-fold in character:—1, Political, 11, Benevolent, and 111, Economic.

1.—POLITICAL.

(a)—To collect and bring to a focus the opinions of the classes whom it represents, or any section of them, on all matters affecting their welfare, and thus endeavour to secure them a more effective voice than they at present possess in the counsels of the country.

(b)—To watch the operation of existing Laws, Rules, and Institutions, in the interests of the communities whom it represents, with a view to detecting any defects in them, or any abuses in their administration: to bring such defects and abuses to the notice of the constituted authorities in India and in England, for the purpose of obtaining appropriate remedies, and to formulate and suggest such remedies.

(c)—To watch the action of the Legislature in India, and of Parliament so far as it affects India, in order to prevent, modify, or promote the same, by its representations, as circumstances may appear to require.

(d)—To discharge the same functions in respect of the administrative action of the Government, whether in India or in England.

(e)—To originate and sustain, by all legitimate and constitutional means, organised action in India and England, in support of the representations which it may be deemed necessary to make for the purposes above described.

(f)—To guard and defend all lawful rights and privileges, and promote the removal of unjust disabilities, of the classes whose interests it is the care of the Association to promote.

II.—BENEVOLENT.

(a)—To aid by its efforts in the development of charitable and educational institutions in the interests of the aforesaid communities.

(b)—In the interests of those communities to watch the allotment, application, and working of charitable and educational grants.

III.—ECONOMIC.

To promote by its efforts and representations, in the interests of the

community at large, European and Anglo-Indian commercial, agricultural and industrial enterprise, and to secure such enterprise from the consequences of injurious legislation or undue executive interference.

In conformity with the objects of the Association, as described above, its first and immediate efforts will be directed to the preservation of the right of European British subjects resident in India, beyond the local jurisdiction of the Presidency High Courts, to be tried only by those who are themselves European British subjects, of which right it is the object of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, introduced into the Legislative Council of India, on February 2nd, 1883, to deprive them.

It is intended to maintain the Association, which has been already formed, on a permanent basis, both in India and in England.

It is estimated that a minimum sum of Rs. 3,00,000, after defraying all preliminary expenses, will be required for this purpose. Donations are therefore earnestly solicited, not only from such persons as may determine to become members of the Association, but from all who, while sympathising with the objects it has in view, may be unable for any reason to join it.

March 31st, 1883.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Kashgaria (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan): Historical and Geographical Sketch of the Country; its Military Strength, Industries and Trade. By A. N. Kuropatkin, Colonel on the General Staff of the Imperial Russian Army, &c. &c. Translated from the Russian, by Walter E. Gowan, Major, H. M.'s Indian Army. Calcutta: Thacker Spink and Co., Bombay: Thacker and Co., Ltd., Madras: Higginbotham and Co., London: W. Thacker and Co.

THOUGH Kashgaria has for the moment lost that lively interest for the English reader with which Yakub Kush Beg's successful assertion of its independence invested it, its potential importance, whether from a commercial or a political point of view, is still as great as ever. Any addition to existing knowledge of the history, geography or resources of the country is therefore valuable; and Kuropatkin's work is, from this point of view, one of considerable importance. The writer was chief of the Embassy despatched by General Kaufmann to the Court of Kashgar in May 1876. The main object of this Embassy was the determination of the border line between the newly conquered Russian territory of Farghana and the dominions of Yakub Beg. It was also commissioned to ascertain on the spot the real value of Yakub's resources and power, which had, according to Kuropatkin's views, been greatly exaggerated, and also to collect particulars regarding the trade, institutions and geography of the country.

"The knowledge of Kashgaria that we possessed at the time," says the author in his introduction, "was not merely incomplete, but it, to a considerable degree, exaggerated the real powers of the ruler of the country and the importance of the State which he had founded. We saw in Kashgaria a powerful Mussulman State, to which, as to a centre, would be drawn the sympathy of the population; not only of the weak Mussulman States which had preserved their independence, but also that of the population of the provinces which we had conquered. The importance of Kashgaria in our eyes was, moreover, increased in consequence of the attempts of

the English to draw this country to their side so as to incorporate it, (1) in a neutral zone of countries, which was to separate Russia from India, and (2) to acquire in Kashgaria a fresh market for the sale of their manufactured goods.

The immense personal successes of Yakoob Bek, who had risen from the profession of a 'batcha,'* and his boundless power over a vast country, had surrounded his person with a halo not wholly undeserved. Suffice it to say, that in him many saw, owing to the number of his successes and the grandeur of his designs, a second Tamerlane. The resources of this ruler were likewise greatly exaggerated. The authentic information regarding the purchase by Yakoob Bek of a large consignment of quick-shooting rifles in Constantinople, as was supposed through the agency of Englishmen, gave a solid basis to these exaggerations.

It was imperative, therefore, to go and ascertain on the spot how far the real resources and power of Yakoob Bek could be dangerous to us."

From both a political and a commercial point of view, the work translated by Major Gowan deserves careful study from Englishmen interested in Central Asian affairs, though the general public will probably find it somewhat dull reading.

The account given by Kuropatkin of the negotiations which ended in Yukub Beg yielding every point, is instructive as an illustration of the difference between English and Russian diplomatic methods.

The subsequent local enquiries of the Embassy were conducted in an open and defiant manner equally remote from British habits of action in such matters. "The collection of these particulars," says Kuropatkin, "could not be concealed from the Kashgarian officials attached to our suite, and therefore we, from the first decided not to hide our intentions of acquainting ourselves in the minutest particular with Kashgaria. At every step we interrogated the people of the country, and then openly jotted down in our notebooks our own observations. On entering the various towns we summoned experienced merchants and agriculturists for the purpose of cross-questioning them. In like manner, along the road we openly inquired the names of the various points of the locality through which we passed. Without venturing to interfere with our collection of information, the Kashgarian officials who accompanied us nevertheless considered it their duty to convey to Yakoob Bek an extremely exaggerated account of our actions, and therefore, at the first interview with Yakoob Bek

* A pretty boy, who dances before the public in female apparel.—*Author.*

after our arrival at the town of Koorlia, I openly told the 'Badaulet' that we were endeavouring to take advantage of the journey which we were making throughout his dominions, to become acquainted both with them and with all the roads leading from Kashgaria into Russian territory. In like manner, during our stay of seven days in the town of Koorlia, I expressed a wish to become acquainted with the town of Kashgar and with lake Bagratch-Kool, and in order that I might do this, I asked YakooB Bek's consent to my sending to these places some members of my Embassy, Captain of Artillery N. Kooropatkin and Mons. Wilkins. After some hesitation this consent was given. During this trip, my brother openly carried out an itinerary survey. Since we had already come through the Terek-Davan pass and possessed a description of the roads into Kashgaria from the Narwin direction by way of the Tooroogart and Terektwee passes and from India by the Karakorum and Kooen-Loon ranges, one route alone remained unknown to us,—*viz.*, that from the town of Aksu (by way of Ootch-Toorfan) and the Badal pass to the town of Karakol.* At our final interview, I obtained consent of the 'Badaulet' to the despatch along this road of a member of the Embassy, *viz.*, Second Captain Soonargooloff, under the pretext of sending thereby to the Governor-General of Turkestan the earliest information regarding the Embassy."

The result is a mass of information which vies in apparent completeness with the most ample statistical account of an Indian district collected by Anglo-Indian officials in the exercise of plenary authority.

Hindu Philosophy. The Bhagavad Gîtâ, or the Sacred Lay, a Sanskrit Philosophical Poem. Translated, with Notes, by John Davies, M. A. (Cantab.) Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1882.

THIS is a most scholarly and careful translation of the great philosophical episode in the Mahabharata, accompanied by an unusually copious collection of foot-notes explanatory of the subject-matter, besides a series of philological notes appended to each chapter. In making it, the translator has consulted every available previous version, including the Greek translation of Galanos, the Italian version of Stanislao Gatti, and the translation recently prepared by K. T. Telang for Max Müller. He has also consulted largely the standard Hindu Commentaries,

* The road from the town of Aksu through Moezart pass to Kuldja is practicable for marching.—*Author.*

while at the same time preserving his own absolute freedom to follow the dictates of his critical judgment.

In an introduction he has given us a very satisfactory sketch of the eclectic system of the author, while an appendix is devoted to a discussion of the date of the work which, while admitting the evidence to be insufficient, he believes to have been written about the time of Kalidas, or the middle of the 3rd Century, A. C.

The Units in Exchange and a Free Currency, being Suggestions for the Employment of a Unit of Value in Political Economy and the Abolition of Legal Tenders in Currency. By G. T. Carruthers, M. A. Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment.

MR. Carruthers has done at once too much and too little in this acute, but, we fear, unpractical brochure. He has done too much in attempting to trace the laws of Political Economy down to physical foundations, a task which cannot be wholly successful, and which, in any case, can have no practical results. He has done too little, in it that the practical remedy he proposes for the financial difficulties with which India is threatened by the depreciation of silver, are vague and inadequate. His general views are, for the most part, thoroughly sound; he describes with force and accuracy the limitations of the functions of Government in economic matters; and he apprehends very clearly the effect of the fall in the value of silver on Indian economic interests as distinguished from the fiscal interests of the Government. But he probably underrates the latter. On this head, he says:—

“The real loss arises from the State having a decreasing annual income, and with it the necessity of making fixed annual purchases in England, so that the State feels the depreciation of silver to an acute extent.

There are also immense losses in the decrease in the value of railway fares, irrigation-rates and postage stamps, and in the loss by increase of wages of those persons who are in such a situation as to command an increase with every decrease in the value of silver.

The principal loss is, however, in the decrease of value in the land-tax. The theory of taxation in Political-economy is that every year the State calculates what its wants for the year will be, and then collects the necessary sum from the people in proportion to the income of each person, (or as some say their expenditure) from poor and rich in exact proportion, as the benefits are proportionately the same.

Depreciation in the value of the currency does not in this way enter into calculation, for any change in the value of the coin would be allowed for in the following year."

In another place he says the loss to government, is not such as to make it worth while to increase its income against the people's interests. In one sense this is a truism, for the interests of the people and of good Government are identical, and, while in any case, there is no justification for levying more taxes than are required for the purposes of good government, it is necessary in the interests of the people that the public revenue should be sufficient for this purpose.

In the first part of his essay, Mr. Carruthers shows very forcibly that it is useless to affix any value to a sovereign in terms of labour or any other commodity, and, therefore, any attempt to bring gold into the country by declaring that it will be received at the mint at any definite price in silver will be a failure, unless the price fixed will bring profit to the trader and loss to the State. But the plan he proposes for bringing gold into the country, and, as we understand, making a gold currency ultimately possible, is altogether unpractical, and, if it could be carried out, would not have the desired effect.

We leave the reader to extract the character of his proposals from the following quotation:—

Until the tender in silver is abolished, it would be useless to issue notes payable in gold. They would only be taken advantage of in exchange by traders sending the notes to London for the purchase of even cheaper silver than could be got in India, and the State would have to pay much of the cost of bringing all the gold to India which would be required in the trade.

The bank (*sic*) notes for silver which are now in circulation are very much used by the European traders, but they have made little entrance into the country trade. The reason may be partly due to the ignorance of the people, but chiefly, because a note is payable, say, at Calcutta, 1,000 miles off, or at Allahabad or Bombay, places which are they hardly know where. The people do not appreciate the advantages of using such a promise to pay, and, therefore, in all villages and bazaars there is a discount charged of six-pence in the pound even to Europeans, while villagers cannot escape with even that loss.

Notes, however, which would take the form of a receipt for five or ten rupees when presented to the Collector on pay-day, would probably have a considerable demand among villages. The custom is to carry the ~~sent~~ when due to the Treasury, and there is a risk of the rupees being lost on the road, and in being kept in their houses till pay-day.

When they have arrived at the Court-house with their money, there is a loss of time in procuring the necessary audience with the Collector, in counting the money and getting receipts, so that a villager is fortunate if he can get off with a loss of three days from the time of his leaving his village till his return.

In favour also of these small notes is the fact that it is very difficult for the people to get their rent together, and it must be done by saving little sums from time to time or going to the money-lender. Whenever, therefore, they sold their hens or grain in the market, they would buy one of these pieces of paper, which to them would have a plain value and meaning, and they would feel a satisfaction that so much of their rent was secure as these pieces of paper represented the receipt of. The notes would save time and risk, and the loss of interest in buying them in advance would not weigh very much with persons who are accustomed to hoard the little money they can save.

The interest thus acquired would be a clear gain to the State.

The danger of anticipating the State income would be small in a respectable country like India, but this could be avoided by giving the money over to the Currency Department to manage on the principles of ordinary paper currency.

It is only in some such form that an increase of taxation, because of depreciation of silver, could be brought about. Let it be supposed to be found necessary to increase the rent in such proportion that for every ten rupees now due, a sum in rupees would require to be paid which would purchase a pound sterling in the market. Let a free currency be introduced at the same time. It would be impossible to obtain gold for at least two or three years, and then only in small quantities. In the meantime it might be ordered that in three years from date the taxes should be paid either in gold or paper to be issued in the place of gold.

This paper would take the form of a receipt for gold taxes on presentation before the Collector. It might at once be issued either at par or at such a rate that its worth through interest should amount to the value of the gold three years after date. The paper would be bought and sold in rupees, and the Collectors would feel it their duty in every possible way to prepare the people for the impending change by urging them to secure the paper in advance. It would of course be issued for only such small amounts of a sovereign or half a sovereign as would be suitable to the people's wants, and which they could employ in currency as bank notes are now used.

Having thus prepared the people for the change, it is not improbable that the notes would so rise in value that in three years their price in silver would slightly exceed the price of gold. They would be more convenient and safer to use, and gold would be much more difficult to get, there would, therefore, arise a gentle demand for gold which would gradually enter the country as soon as it was profitable to bring it. The fundamental points would be, that the paper would be issued in exchange for silver, that it would always continue in the market with a silver value, and would exchange for gold eventually when there was a sufficiency of gold in the country. When that time arrived the Government would only issue these notes for gold or for the silver value of gold in the market of the day.

It would be a very important point not to sell them exclusively for gold, as the State demand is so great an item in the trade of the country, that an exclusive demand for gold would virtually bring about the evils of a legal tender in gold. The time will come when it will be just as easy for the people to pay in gold as silver, a law before that time would be an evil, and after that time would be unnecessary.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Suhásini (Upanyás). By Tárak Náth Biswás. Printed by Adhar Náth Chatterji at the Kar Press, 167, Cornwallis Street, and published by Krishna-dhan Banerji, Calcutta, 1289 B. S.

MANY Bengali authors are now writing novels. It would not be perhaps wrong to say that Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji is their model and also their inspirer. The value of the literary productions of Babu Bankim Chandra should be, therefore, judged not only by their own intrinsic worth, but also by the worth of the productions which we owe to his example and influence. Of these latter productions it may be safely said, that there are many among them that are really good, such as the novels by Mr. R. C. Datta, Babu Pratáp Chandra Ghosh, Babu Tárak Náth Gánguli, Babu Kshetrapál Chakrabarti, Srimati Swarnakumári Debi, and one or two others. Half-a-dozen successful imitators may be regarded as an exceedingly handsome and praiseworthy following for a leading writer in any country during the few short years of his life. In Bengal, such a fact speaks volumes in favor not only of the gifted author who leads but also of the gifted many whom he has inspired. Such a fact, rare in most countries, is one of glorious augury for the future of Bengali literature, for it proves that Bengalis are a gifted people.

Babu Tárak Náth Biswás is a new Bengali novelist, perhaps one of the youngest among Bengali authors. But he seems destined to take a proud rank among Babu Bankim Chandra's followers. He relates a story of love, the chief interest of which centres in a plot made by a young girl to possess a young man by poisoning his mind against the heroine Suhásini, who however deeply loves and trusts her. The plot is not a very complicated one, and the incidents described are, therefore, few. This is the case in most Bengali novels, in which, accordingly, an endeavour is made to compensate want of plot interest by lengthy speeches full of vapid declamation, passionate exclamations, and empty commonplaces. The book under notice is not free from this fault. But it has also some striking merits. It gives evidence of a capacity for character-painting which may be fairly expected to yield hereafter superior and substantial results. *Nirajá* is drawn with great power and skill, and the other characters, though not equal to it in fulness of conception and execution, are promising specimens of literary power. The work also evinces a deep and warm sympathy with the virtuous side of humanity and a desire to see vice reclaimed rather than

eternally reprobated. The dialogue portion of the work, in which, as in all works of fiction, evidence of dramatic power is to be sought, is weak and vapid in many places, but really graphic and spirited in some. The historical views embodied in the work are generally incorrect.

Suhāsini contains, in short, more faults than merits. The faults are those of a young and inexperienced man who has not read and thought much, and may be accordingly expected to disappear with increase of knowledge and years. The merits are those of a man who only wants correct culture to make him an able and impressive writer. Babu Tārak Nāth Biswās holds in his mind a good and promising seed: but he will make a fatal mistake if he makes more effort now to make it germinate than to pluck out the weeds of ignorance and inexperience which surround it so closely on all sides. His *Suhāsini* justifies the hope that his may be a bright literary career, and that to the brilliant list of names, indicating so clearly the literary influence of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the name of Babu Tārak Nāth Biswās may be in no long time added. But everything will depend on the line of action he follows:—no study, early authorship, no fame; or, deep study, late authorship, lasting fame. We sincerely hope Babu Tārak Nāth Biswās will lay aside his pen for a few years, study hard and closely observe, and then take up his pen again to wield it with irresistible power and for the real welfare of his country. We say this in a perfectly friendly spirit.

Kusum-Kānan. By Adharlāl Sen. Second Edition. Printed and published by Jogendranāth Bidyāratna at the Nutan Bān-gālā Press, 15, Gopi Krishna Pāl's Lane, Calcutta, 1883.

THE poetical works of Babu Adharlāl Sen have been very favourably noticed in some of the previous numbers of this Review, and hopes have been always entertained by us that he would continue to delight the public with his tender, elegant and beautiful compositions. But unfortunately we have seen nothing from his pen for some years. The work under notice, though only a second edition of a work written long ago, encourages us, therefore, in the belief that Babu Adharlāl means yet to occupy the field in which he has already gathered laurels, and in which he seems destined to gather brighter laurels in the future. As he has not apparently given up his idea of paying court to the Muses, we hope his next work will be cast in a heroic mould. He has written much that is really gentle, sweet and tender. But the following extract from a poem in *Kusum-Kānan* shows that

he has also a capacity for the representation of height and heroism, of which he has not yet given us an adequate specimen:—

হর! হর! হর! —ডাহীরের জয়!
 বাজাও সমর ভেরী!
 তরবার ল'য়ে এস, বীরগণ,
 বাজাও, বাজাও ভেরী।
 বাজাইয়ে ভেরী কাঁপাও গগন,
 কাঁপাও ভীরুর মন,
 গান্ধার ছাড়িয়া এসেছে যবন,
 এস সবে, বীরগণ।
 এম রথে, রথি, মাতঙ্গে, মাতঙ্গি,
 অশ্বে অশ্বারোহী বীর,
 এস পদচারে, পদাতিক সবে,
 ধালুকী সমরে ধীর!
 এস যেন আসে ভীম প্রভঞ্জন
 যবে দাবানল জ্বলে;
 এস যেন আসে করাল তরঙ্গ
 তরণী গরাসি' জ্বলে।

There is a gentle and measured melody in Babu Adharlál's lines, in spite of occasional discord, which cannot fail to exercise on the reader's mind an influence possessing much æsthetic value.

Trina-punja. By Jnánendra Chandra Ghosh. Printed and published by Dwáráká Náth Bidyáratna at the Nutan Bálgálá Press, 15, Gopi Krishna Pal's Lane, Calcutta, 1289 B.S.

BABU Jnanendra Chandra is a new votary of the Muse of poetry. But though new, he is so pleasant and promising, that we feel sincerely moved to give him a hearty welcome. His *Trina-punja* (bundle of grass), which, by the way, is an exceedingly humble, and therefore charming name, is a collection of poems on a variety of subjects. Love, as might be expected, is the theme of some of these poems; but this love has in most instances a moral attached to it. The moral is not inculcated in the form of a sermon, but is simply indicated poetically by means of poetical imagery. The reader will find a beautiful illustration of this method in the piece entitled *বনে যমুনার তীরে*! The author's conception and ideal of love is of the purest and most delicate kind, and will be found expressed beautifully and

with much art in the pieces entitled 'মালতী কেন?' and 'মোহন-ডালি'। The author considers love of mere physical beauty profoundly hellish, and represents this idea in an allegory, or, rather, imagery, in which beauty and terror are combined with exquisite art (see the piece entitled 'শমনালী'). The author's love of purity is equalled by his love of humility, and, if we might say so, by his love of love. His love of love is expressed in the piece entitled 'বিষয়-মদ', or *Intoxication of Wealth*, in which he rebukes the rich for despising the poor; and his love of humility, which seems to characterize all his thoughts and sentiments, is specially manifest in the piece 'বিক্তের অজ্ঞতা', which concludes with the following sweet and simple lines:—

বিক্ত হতে চাও, মুখ ফিরে হও,
হও রে বাপের অবোধ ছেলে,
জানায় অজ্ঞতা, চল ঋজু জ্ঞানে,
বিক্ত অবশেষে যাবে রে চলো।

There is in these lines a tone of piety which also forms a charming feature of the poems before us. Babu Jnánendra Chandra's religion seems to be a thing of beauty and simplicity, and his pious utterances are, therefore, pleasing like the lisplings of an infant. In this respect, the poems under notice possess a value which belongs to only a few of the numerous poetical works which are published in Bengali year after year. It should be noted, however, that Babu Jnánendra Chandra's style of religious thought is more like that of a Christian than of a Hindu. As a religious man and a man of feeling, our author sees God and His benevolence and His mercy in external things. The piece entitled 'জল', or *Water*, conceived with much poetic skill and tenderness, furnishes a good illustration of this remark.

The chief characteristics of Babu Jnánendra Chandra's poetry are piety, purity, calm simplicity, thoughtfulness, tenderness and love. His is not a fiery fancy, but a fancy which is essentially gentle, amiable, lovely, and pure, and pieces like the 'ললিত গান্ধারী', when coming from his pen, are therefore a mistake. He raises no storm in the reader's mind, but fills it with pathos and a pure and serene delight. With all his faults, and they are the faults of a beginner, he possesses merits of a high order—merits which are seldom met with in the numerous poetical publications of our time. We give him again a hearty welcome in the hope that he will give us still better things as years roll on.

Kabit-kusum. Part I. Printed by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh at the Victoria Press, 210-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and published by Ramjaya Bāgchi. 1289 B.S.

WE are sorry to say that we cannot praise this work. The author does not appear to us to possess any poetical powers; and his education and tastes do not seem to be of a high order. He vociferates in the manner of ordinary Bengali poetasters about the ancient glories of India and its present degraded condition, and deploras the loss of Indian independence in a spirit whose startling vehemence is a clear proof of its utter emptiness. He seems peculiarly fond of verbosity and uses fifty words where a writer possessing anything like education and common sense would use only five. He has apparently no æsthetic notions, no sense of the grave and the ludicrous, no knowledge of what should be told in verse and what in prose. The whole book is an illustration of this remark; but the following random extracts may be taken as specimens:—

(1) যেই দেশে হায়! দানের বিষয়
না বলি স্বমুখে, রাখিত ছাপা;
এখন কজনে দান করে দীনে
অনুরোধ বিনে কাগজে ছাপা!

(2) সিবিল সার্বিসে কঠিনতা কত
আছে, রাজ বিধি ভেদ বর্ণগত,
যে দোষে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ পদচ্যুত
গুরুতর দোষী হয়ে 'লেবন্'—
'হস্কে, ত্যজি স্বীয়পদ দূরদেশে,
স্বজন সহিত থাকিয়া স্ববাসে,
জীবিকার ভরে প্রতি মাসে মাসে
লইছে উভয়ে মিলি পেন্সন্।

(3) এবে রুদ্ধ সোত—সিকতাময়।
মরি হেরি নদী! তব স্বনয়।
সম্পদে করিলে গর্বিতাচরণ,
তেঁই তব হৃদে করে গোচরণ,
কিয়া নীল বুনে ওয়াট্মন।

(4.) Addressing Sir Ashley Eden on the occasion of his visit to Rampore Beaulah:—

এম বোয়ালিয়া-বন্ধ পুরাতন।
এবে বঙ্গেশ্বর অদৃষ্টের ফনে।

Many of the poems in this volume are written in memory of certain deceased persons about whom the public know little or nothing. It is the author's ignorance of the nature and function of poetry that must account for the publication of such improper and irrelevant matter. We do hope that the author will turn his attention to other occupations. In the field of poetry, he will simply graze and never win a laurel.

Sankshipta Rámáyan. Translated and published with the Original by Akshaya Chandra Sarkár. Printed by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharáni Press, Chinsurah, 1882.

THIS little work contains the first canto of the first book, or *Bálu Kánda*, of Valmiki's Rámáyan, together with a Bengali translation. The first canto contains the argument of the entire poem, and Babu Akshaya Chandra's object in publishing it with a Bengali version seems to be to invite the attention of his countrymen to their great national epic and diffuse among them the knowledge of its very interesting and instructive story by placing it before them in a succinct form. The object is laudable, and success ought to attend it.

Dasamahábidyá. By Hem Chandra Bandyopádhyaýá. Printed and published by I. C. Bose & Co., at the Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1289, B.S.

THIS is a remarkable poem written by the best living Bengali poet. It has for its motto, the following lines from Goethe:—

"Where shall I grasp thee, infinite Nature, where?"

How all things live and work, and ever blending
Weave one vast whole from Being's ample range."

And the object of the poet seems to be to show that the great fact which underlies the phenomenal universe is too large and mysterious to be understood. Sati, the consort of Siva and the concrete mythological ideal of *Sakti*, or force, has immolated herself at the great sacrifice performed by her father Daksha. The poem opens, immediately after this event, with a description of Sivá's abode, devoid of Sivá's beloved consort, which for its deep and gentle pathos, its pensive sweetness and its quiet grandeur, has no equal in the whole range of modern Bengali poetry. This description is followed by Sivá's lament, which, though resembling the lament of a human being, is marked almost by divine depth and simplicity, and by something of that wildness of spirit which is so properly attributed by the Hindu to his great destroying

deity. Just at this time, when the visible form of Sakti has disappeared, the sage Narad comes to him and prays that the mysterious operations of Sakti may be shown and explained to him. The Great God takes off from the Universe its phenomenal vestment. The sun, the earth, the stars, everything disappears. There remains only infinite space in which are seen only ten primordial worlds, representing the ten different forms of Sakti, so grandly and truthfully conceived, and so wildly, weirdly and beautifully described in the much-abused Tantras. This grand transformation is described in a style which for boldness, sublimity, sweetness, strength and eloquence has not been hitherto equalled even by Hem Chandra himself. When the phenomenal veil has been withdrawn, even Narad, the wisest of the wise, feels his eyes dazzled and his sight darkened by the transcendent scene which lies before him. Siva, thereupon, absorbs in himself a portion of the *dazzling severity*, and Narad is then enabled barely to look at, but not to see through the wonderful sight. This means that pure force and its non-phenomenal operations are too mysterious even for the mightiest intellects, and that but a slight knowledge is obtainable only when force is combined with phenomenal matter. Immediately after the absorption, the scene assumes a slightly phenomenal or concrete form, and Narad sees human beings writhing under the bondage of the passions and hears them uttering loud and plaintive cries of agony. He feels sad at heart and asks the great god why Sakti plays so cruelly with men, and whether there is no hope for them. The human element is now introduced into the poem. The god shows Narad the world of Káli—a scene of inconceivable horrors, heartless struggles for existence, bleeding and mutilated forms, mock-laughter, piercing cries, &c., described by the poet with a power and a determination which are really wonderful and appalling. The picture presented in this scene is, for truth and power, the production of a master. After this, other and better worlds are shown to the sage—the worlds of Tára (knowledge), Shorashi (love), Bhubaneswari (affection), Bhairabi (faith and devotion), Mátangi (peace and good will), Dhumábatí (pity), Bagalá and Chinnamastá (charity and self-control), and Mahálakshmi (benevolence). Nárad now understands that Sakti, or force, though it plays cruelly with man, also deals with him with tenderness and affection. He has known as much of cosmic truth as it is possible for man to know. The universe again assumes its full phenomenal form, and Siva is reunited to Sati.

The grandeur and importance of the idea embodied in this masterpiece of song must be now apparent to the reader. All

universe is force, a kind of force of which man can form no conception. This force is no mere brute, relentless force. It destroys; but it also feeds, nourishes and caresses. In the nature which surrounds us is our death; but there is in it also our light and our life. We are and we live in the midst of Pantheism, but in that pantheism dwell life, hope and happiness. With the help of the execrated Tantras of his country, Babu Hem Chandra Banerji has produced a poem in which thoughtful Germany at any rate will find the truest and grandest Gospel of the nineteenth century. And if Hem Chandra had chosen to dive a little deeper into what some *soi-disant* sages call the "obscene and abominable" Tantras of the "licentious" Hindu, his poem would have been such that even Germany would have stood before it wrapt in wonder and admiration. The modern Bengali is, in good truth, a miserable specimen of a human being. But when he speaks with the tongue of his ancestors, he looks like a giant. And none, we feel bound to say, among modern Bengali poets knows so well how to speak with the tongue of his ancestors as Hem Chandra. *Dasamahábidyá* is a masterpiece, surpassing in all that is characteristic of true poetry, all the author's previous performances. It is the greatest and truest national poem we have yet seen written by a Bengali.

Minatattwa. By Jnánendra Kumár Ráya Chaudhuri. Printed by Gopál Chandra Niyogi at the Nababibhákara Press, 34, Beniyátola Lane, Pataldānga, and Published by Mohini Mohan Majumdár at 55, College Street, Calcutta, 1289 B. S.

WE heartily welcome this work as the first of its kind in the Bengali language. It is a treatise on fishes, and describes the varieties, classification, habits, instincts, appearance and physiological structure, &c., of that species of animals. The different qualities of the flesh of different fishes, when used as food and the manner of catching fish with rods and nets, with all provincial peculiarities in this country, are also described. The author gives moreover an account of the different preparations of fish used in this country and elsewhere, and mentions the qualities of the spices which enter into them. There is much other interesting matter given at the end of the volume in connexion with fishes and other aquatic animals. The author's treatment of his subject is clear and systematic and proofs of industry are found in every page. He has consulted numerous Indian and European authorities bearing on the subject, and the result is a work which, though far from exhaustive, is of great interest and importance in the present state of Bengali literature.

The Bengali who, instead of writing useless and injurious poetry takes up practical subjects like the one discussed by Babu Jnánendra Kumár Ráya Chaudhuri, is really an estimable man, deserving, of the gratitude of his country.

Samaj-Chintá. By Purna Chandra Basu. Printed by Gopál Chandra Chakrabarti at the great Eden Press, 13, Rámnaráyan Bhattácharya's Lane, Darjipará, and published by Mahendra Náth Ráya. 1289 B. S.

BABU PURNA CHANDRA BASU has acquired much reputation as a Bengali author by the publication of *Kabya Sundari*, a good critical work which has been noticed in a recent number of this *Review*. We are not quite sure that his *Samaj Chinta* will add to, or even sustain, that reputation. In this work, within the brief compass of 200 duodecimo pages, he explains and contrasts the fundamental principles and essential features of Hindu, Aye, Asiatic civilisation, and the civilisation of ancient and modern Europe. To enter into the spirit of a great civilisation is a task of no ordinary difficulty. To enter into its practical forms and tendencies is a still more difficult task. Babu Purna Chandra says that the key to the progressive civilisation of Europe and England is to be found in the doctrine of liberty of which the late John Stuart Mill was such a warm and thorough advocate. Now, this is a very broad, and therefore, vague and inaccurate statement. In the first place, it may be fairly questioned whether the civilisation of England and Europe is advancing or retrogressing. The late John Stuart Mill himself thought that England was falling back in intellectual power; and, considering the remarkable growth, within recent years, of the military spirit all over Europe, not excepting even England, the progressive character of European civilisation in the nineteenth century may be fairly questioned. Again, assuming that European civilisation is progressing, it is doubtful whether its true key will be found in the *English* doctrine of liberty. England is not Europe; and the social and domestic institutions of European nations are little, if at all, influenced by the speculative opinions of English thinkers, who, for reasons which need not be mentioned here, are viewed not without some degree of distrust on the Continent. As regards England itself, it would be incorrect to say that Mill's theory of liberty is generally accepted there, and forms the basis of its social and domestic life. It is thus clear that all the terms of the proposition put forth by our author are in the highest degree questionable. On the other hand, it is a question for serious consideration whether social progress of any kind does not demand thorough social organisation, which means the curtailment of individual liberty

and the binding together of individuals for the accomplishment of a common purpose. We think that there was, on the whole, greater individual liberty in Europe during the somewhat lawless age of feudalism than there is now. But there is certainly now in Europe more of that material wealth and splendour which Babu Purna Chandra attributes to individual liberty. As regards Indian civilisation, we are clearly of opinion that it is even more dangerous to talk confidently or dogmatically about that than about the civilisation of Europe. The civilisation of a country means its history; and the history of India is a thing that has yet to be brought into existence. Questions connected with Hindu civilisation are in the highest degree difficult and complicated, and do not admit of a dogmatic solution in the present state of our knowledge of ancient Hindu life. We will give one instance. Babu Purna Chandra says that a practical life, full of disinterested benevolence, is a feature of modern European civilisation which could not be found in ancient India. Any one who reads the series of learned and thoughtful papers entitled *Abisrānta Bairagya*, now in course of publication in the *Banga Darsan*, will be seriously disposed to question the accuracy of the author's statement; and all Hindus will simply stand aghast at this remark of a man who, as being also a Hindu, ought to have known that the domestic system of his country is based on the principle of perpetual self-sacrifice, and deep reverence for the rights of others. The Hindu father does, indeed, sometimes tyrannise over the male and female members of his family. But it is his ignorance, or want of culture, or, as is oftener the case, want of means, or all three combined, that lead him to do so. His *shastras* nowhere enjoin domestic tyranny on him. If this were not so, if Hindu domestic life were not based on the principle of perpetual self-sacrifice, we should not now, with the increase of our so-called education, have found those nests of quiet philanthropy, the Hindu homes, vanishing under what Babu Purna Chandra would probably call the *healthy and progressive* influence of individual liberty and individual selfishness. Altogether, we are disposed to think that Babu Purna Chandra's social thoughts are not very sound, and that he is ignorant of the manner in which social questions should be discussed. He desires to see Hindu society revolutionised on the principles of European civilisation. But he ought to have known that a society is not a toy or a table that can be turned upside down, or round and round, at pleasure. He does not state how the difficulties that Hindu society will oppose to his sweeping revolution are to be overcome. He has made a mistake in publishing this book.

Babu Purna Chandra's style is eloquent, but exceedingly diffuse.

Saral Jwara-chikitsá. Part, II. By Dr. Jadunath Mukharji.
Printed and published by Lakshmináráyan Das at the Chikitsá
Prakásh Press, 160, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1289 B. S.

THIS is the second volume of the work on fever of which the first was so favorably noticed in this *Review* in July 1881. This volume possesses all the popular characteristics of its predecessor, and therefore extorts our admiration in the same unstinted measure. It is a work with the help of which a man who knows, it might almost be said, nothing but the Bengali alphabet, would be able to cure fever, and many other diseases. In malarious Bengal, such a work ought to be in everybody's hand. The diseases treated of in this volume are bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy and diarrhoea.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET,

BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.

LONDON: MESSRS. TRUBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL,

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CLIII.

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ART. I.—THE MATERIAL PROGRESS OF CEYLON.

THE material condition of the Island of Ceylon has lately shown marked progress, and, as its prosperity seems now destined, after a critical period of depression, to continue without check, some description may not be uninteresting of an island which has been styled "the richest possession of the English Crown." Whereas nature had intended it to be a mere appendage of whatever state chanced to be the most powerful kingdom of Southern India, the force of destiny has at all times availed to keep its fortunes apart and distinct from those of its neighbours on the great mainland of Hindustan. The Island of Ceylon, however, has enjoyed its successive dynasties, and has passed through vicissitudes similar to those which larger States have undergone. Undisturbed by the revolutions that were of periodical occurrence on the other side of the famous Adam's Bridge, and which were marked by the triumphs of antagonistic races and religions, its own history represented in miniature the same tragic features as marked the fortunes of greater nations and wider Empires. The same peculiarity attaches to it still, now that it has passed under the sway of the Anglo-Saxon. The schoolboy knows the proximity of Ceylon to India, but only a few persons are aware how widely apart their respective fortunes are numbered. While the possessions of the old East India Company have expanded in the course of a century into an Empire larger, more thickly peopled, and far more prosperous than any previously established in the plains below the snowy crests of the Himalayas, the island of Ceylon has indeed passed under the same all-conquering thralldom, but its destiny does not depend on the decrees of

the magnates of Calcutta and Madras. The questions of its happiness have for eighty years been decided at Whitehall, and, untrammelled by the cares of Empire, it has proceeded along its tranquil and prosperous way under the guise of a Crown colony.

To the ancients the island of Taprobane represented all that was magnificent, mysterious, and attractive in the East. It has been described as "the mother-land of fables—the country which to the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, and the Arabs offered the same mysterious attractions that the East long did to the peoples of Western Europe." It possessed also more vulgar recommendations, for it was the common meeting-place of the merchants of India, and, indeed, of China, with those who came by the Gulf, or the Red Sea from the countries of Europe; the various commodities of three Continents were there interchanged with convenience, and without difficulty; and what Taprobane was to the Western traders, such was it also under the name of Lanka to the Hindoos, some of whom, at a very early period of history, had established their authority over the island, and subjected the aboriginal inhabitants, the Veddahs, to their yoke.

A native Hindoo potentate reigned at the town of Kandy, and his jurisdiction was generally recognised throughout the island. The king of Kandy, or Kandia, as it was called in the old records, continued to exercise undisputed authority over his people until the beginning of the present century; and the relations of that prince with the early representatives of European commerce were not devoid of interest. The Portuguese were the first people who succeeded in establishing their diplomatic rights at his court, and also in securing the privilege of trading with his subjects. So far back as the year 1505, they founded colonies in the Southern and Western parts of the island, where the milder character of the climate invited races of the temperate zone; and these they retained so long as the naval enterprise of the countrymen of Da Gama remained at its zenith. But about the time that the great ruler of Persia, Shah Abbas, was regaining possession of the island of Ormus, which Albuquerque had conquered as the gage of further triumphs over Asiatics, the Portuguese came into collision, in Ceylon, with a more vigorous race and suffered the proverbial fate of the weaker. The Dutch, rescued by their own valour and fortitude from the terrors of Alva and Spain, turned to the conquest of fresh States the courage and energy they had shown in preserving their own. In Ceylon, as further east at Batavia and in the China seas, they came into hostile contact with the Portuguese, and the result was flattering to their superior valour and enterprise. What the Portuguese had been for a century in Ceylon, that the Dutch became by virtue of

their naval prowess; and for another century the latter remained the foremost and undisputed representatives of European superiority in the island.

Such was the condition of affairs there, until the eighteenth century had nearly reached its close. With the exception of two unimportant and unsuccessful missions—the first as far back as the year 1664, and the second in 1763—there had been no communication whatever between this country and the native king of Kandy, until in the year 1782, when war was carried on by the Madras Government against the Dutch Settlements on the Coromandel Coast. An expedition was despatched in that year to seize the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, and the co-operation of the king of Kandy was invited. Whether out of affection for the race with which he had long had treaty relations, or merely through distrust of our intentions, the king of Kandy rejected these overtures and refused to participate in the war against the Dutch. The staunchness of the principal ruler of Ceylon to his Dutch friends compelled us to have recourse to measures of greater vigour, and the necessary military preparations led to the postponement of the expedition for more than ten years. The task of ousting the Dutch from all participation in the trade of India, which had been begun under the auspices of Warren Hastings, was not crowned with success in Ceylon until the time of the Marquis Wellesley.

In 1795 a military force was landed on the coast, and the towns and districts of Trincomalee, Jaffna, and Calpentyu were captured and subjected to English authority. The king of Kandy could not remain indifferent to this display of power, and hastened to conclude with us a treaty of friendship in general terms. The Dutch remained for a short time longer in possession of Colombo, and other places in the South, but the insecurity of their position was so great, that they were led to risk every thing by openly intriguing against us at the Kandian Court. At first their intrigues succeeded, and the king refused to ratify the promises he had made to us. But the successes of the English in the field against their European rivals furnished so convincing an argument at the native capital, that wisdom dictated a speedy and amicable understanding with the new comers. The Dutch were soon restricted to the fortress of Colombo and the small town of Galle, where an English force, under Colonel Stuart, held them in close leaguer. Having lost the command of the seas, the garrison saw no possibility of escape, and articles of capitulation were signed on the 15th of February 1796, by which all their possessions were transferred to the English. With the surrender of Colombo, the Dutch

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empire in Ceylon passed away, as it had done elsewhere before a more vigorous competitor.

The king of Kandy and his advisers had not remained indifferent spectators of this crowning success. They had seen, with some alarm and much dislike, the Dutch, who had always been content with the part of traders, displaced by a more martial race which everywhere else sought to exercise all the functions of administration. The idea had been mooted, but rejected by the king as impracticable, of attacking the English with all his forces, and of expelling them before they should succeed in consolidating their position on the island. Divergent counsels produced hesitating action as well as dissensions at the capital, which were only terminated after a bitter contest. The king fell a victim to his own prudence, for, although his policy was adopted, he was himself deposed by the party which claimed to be the more patriotic. An event outside his own immediate dominions occurred to strengthen the hands of his opponents and to precipitate his fall. The Madras authorities had followed up their conquest in Ceylon by an indiscretion. They had sought to force upon the Cingalese a vigorous fiscal system, which was totally inapplicable to their new subjects, and which has retarded the material development of their own Presidency. A general revolt was imminent, and nothing but the prompt reversal of the policy averted the catastrophe.

Then, for the first time in the history of British India, the Crown directly interfered in behalf of the subject-population. The possessions in Ceylon were taken from the East India Company and annexed to the Crown; and what had been intended as a mere appendage of Madras became a Royal colony administered after a different fashion to any other Indian possession. In the result Ceylon has benefited beyond any possible anticipation, and its exceptional prosperity dates from the time, when in 1798 it was severed from Madras and passed under the direct control of the English Government.

The crisis had, therefore, been precipitated in the internal affairs of Kandy by this ill-judged action of the Madras Government. An ambitious Minister, Pilamé Tilawé, deposed the king whose death, in the midst of the disturbances, spared him much further anxiety. At first Pilamé Tilawé sought to enlist in his behalf the support of the English Governor, nor were his overtures received in an unfavourable spirit. The scheme did, however, work as well as the Minister expected, and, suddenly changing his plans, Pilamé Tilawé broke off the intrigue and proceeded to adopt violent measures. Several English merchants were seized at Kandy and plundered of their goods; and when

reparation was demanded, no satisfactory answer could be obtained. An expedition of three thousand men was accordingly despatched to Kandy, whence Pilamé Tilawé fled, on its approach, to the mountains, taking with him the puppet prince whom he had placed on the throne. The difficulty of pursuing the fugitives into their fastnesses was considerable, and the English commander wanted either the energy or the inclination to undertake the task. Recourse was made to a different mode of settlement, and an arrangement was concluded which sought to ignore the existence of Pilamé Tilawé and the Kandian king.

During the earlier intrigues of the minister, a scion of the Royal House, named Mootoo Samy, had fled for protection to the English. He was now brought forth from his retirement, and placed upon the throne. A treaty was concluded in 1803 by the terms of which Mootoo Samy was recognised king of Kandy, while he, for his part, made certain territorial concessions, and swore to be "the enemy of the enemies of the British Government." Pilamé Tilawé by a subsequent arrangement was made a party to this treaty, on the understanding that he was to be intrusted with "the administration of the provinces belonging to the Crown of Kandy"; but certainly very little trouble was taken to gauge his sincerity. When the English troops were withdrawn, the presence even of our Resident and his guard proved but a slight deterrent to the execution of the schemes he had formed. The ink of the treaty was hardly dry before Pilamé Tilawé had completed his plans for the effectual subversion of the new arrangement. A popular rising broke out in the month of June, and the garrison, cut off from their supplies, surrendered on a promise of their lives. Almost needless to say, the terms were not kept. The soldiers were massacred, and with them perished also Mootoo Samy, the king whom we had installed in power. Thus did Pilamé Tilawé celebrate his return to office.

This flagrant and treacherous act of hostility led to the resumption of warlike operations, but, although desultory fighting was carried on for a period of two years, the result proved indecisive, or rather Pilamé Tilawé succeeded in retaining the position he had seized. That minister continued to exercise the functions of authority until the year 1812, when the young prince in whose name he had been ruling, having arrived at the age of manhood, and developing the tastes of a tyrant, found his minister's advice incompatible with his own inclination. Pilamé Tilawé was accordingly arrested on a charge of treason, and summarily executed. Probably, this energetic act on the part of the king only anticipated the suspicious

apprehensions of the minister ; but the result showed that, while it rid the monarch of a possible rival, it also deprived the State of its best champion. Pilamé Tilawé was not without some of the darker traits of the human character, but the part he played during the most critical period in the modern history of Ceylon would afford a worthy theme for the eulogies of a native bard or historian.

With the death of Pilamé there departed from the counsels of Kandy the vigour that had hitherto sustained them. The king, Wikrema Rajah Singha, having tasted the blood of the greatest of his subjects, fast manifested all the ferocious instincts of a human monster. None were safe from his barbarities ; the meanest could not claim immunity from his cruel exactions. During two years he asserted, undisturbed by qualms of conscience or by the possibility of British intervention, his despotic will upon his unresisting people ; and it was not until he laid violent hands upon a party of merchants, who were British subjects, that he incurred the penalty of his crimes. The sight of these mutilated traders confirmed the native reports of the king's enormities, and it was resolved to put an end to the reign of infamy in progress of celebration at Kandy. An army was placed in the field, and marched upon the native capital. Its approach was received with manifestations of popular delight, and no resistance was attempted. Kandy was occupied without a shot being fired, and the king, abandoned by his subjects, found himself a helpless prisoner in the hands of his enemy. Wikrema Rajah Singha was deposed, like many another incompetent and tyrannical oriental ruler, and banished to Vellore, where he died seventeen years afterwards in 1832. With the deposition of this prince the royal line of Kandy came to an end, although the chiefs retained for a short time longer their virtual independence. It was not, indeed, until three years later, and after another rebellion, that general peace settled down over the whole island. The English sovereignty was then indisputably established, and the mass of the people were benefited by the abolition of the feudal rights which their chiefs had asserted over them. For sixty-five years Ceylon has enjoyed internal tranquillity, disturbed only by a few insignificant attempts at insurrection hardly worthy of a higher name than riot, although it was probably the vigour of Lord Torrington that alone prevented the rising of 1848 from assuming serious proportions.

The destiny of the Cingalese being thus decisively arranged, the opportunity was afforded of developing the resources of their country ; and the opportunity was not neglected. In an island approximating in size to Ireland, there were at this time, according to computation, not many more than one million persons ;

there are now two millions and a quarter. The revenue has always been in excess of the expenditure, while the surplus has been devoted to productive public works. The prosperity of the country has been enhanced by the steady importation into it of English capital, for the promotion of the coffee plantations. Among the numerous other products which constitute the wealth of Ceylon, are rice, cotton, tobacco, sugar, cinnamon and cocoanuts. In short, the climate is so varied in different parts, that almost all the productions of the temperate zone can be equally well cultivated with those of the tropics. Nature also wears her most lovely aspect in the valleys and on the hills of the interior. Round the town of Kandy in particular, the island scenery is to be seen in its highest perfection. The trees are magnificent in their size, the flowers equally resplendent in their colours, while the river Mahaweli, Ganga falls from a lofty altitude into a lake beside the town.

A great disaster befell the island some few years ago, and it was thought that the prosperous days of Ceylon were numbered. Despite its numerous resources, Ceylon flourished mainly on coffee. The coffee plantations were the principal inducement to Englishmen with some capital and energy to come and settle in the island; and during many years they proved a sure means of attaining fortune.

Five years ago the ravages of insect, scientifically called the *hemeliya vastatrix*, and more commonly known as the 'borer' fly, carried widespread destruction throughout the coffee plantation. Its assaults proved as fatally effectual as those of phylloxera have in Europe among the vineyards of Germany and France. Ruin stared hundreds of planters in the face, and a blight fell over one of the most thriving and useful industries in the world. Nor has the coffee-planting industry, although making up much lost ground, yet recovered from the rude blow inflicted upon it by this dire visitation. But fortunately the result has shown that the prosperity of Ceylon may be preserved, notwithstanding the downfall of its staple article. Great credit is due to the principal planters, who bore up with marked courage under the calamity that had fallen upon them; and, instead of losing heart, they came to the wise determination to discover some profitable substitute for the coffee they could no longer cultivate with a reasonable certainty of success.

The last few years have, therefore, been marked by much activity on the part of the English community in Ceylon, and urged by the sharp goad of necessity, their efforts have attained a wonderful degree of success. The tea-plant has been grown with such beneficial results, that Ceylon tea is already sold in the English market—which is certain proof, if not of its intrinsic

excellence, at least of its relative merit—with regard to that now imported from China and India. Nor is tea the only, or indeed, the most important, article which is to supply the place of coffee among Cingalese productions. The Cinchona, which was introduced with such remarkable results into India thirty years ago by Mr. Clements Markham, appears to be admirably suited to the climate of Ceylon, and in consequence a large quantity of invaluable and profitable quinine will in future figure among the productions and exports of the island. The native industries in cinnamon and spices are also being developed with greater energy and skill.

In the direction of public works much has also been done for the permanent welfare of the colony. A railway connects Kandy with Colombo, and the inland city is also connected with the northern port of Trincomalee by a high road, which was among the first works we undertook in the island. The roadstead of Colombo has been made safer for vessels by the breakwater, of which the Prince of Wales laid the first stone six years ago, and the rocky harbour of Galle still forms the most frequented meeting-place of our commercial navies in the East. The prosperity of Ceylon incurred a momentary check in consequence of a natural catastrophe, but that untoward accident is already being buried in oblivion, and the future never shone more brightly for this beautiful island of the sea, than it does at the present time, when settlers, are beginning to rejoice, at the success of their vigorous and unaided efforts under a difficulty which, if it had been treated with apathy or indifference, might have proved insuperable.

ART. II.—THE KHUDKASHT RYOT OF BENGAL.

IN the animated discussion about the proposed Rent Bill, most of the writers have lost sight of the original rights and status of the *Khudkasht* ryot and his position under the Permanent Settlement and subsequent laws and regulations. In the later phase of the discussion, questions of political considerations have been introduced, and finally the controversy has taken the shape of personality and partisanship. For this we believe Mr. A. Mackenzie, one of the Rent Law Commissioners, is to some extent responsible. In his note of the 20th January 1880, on enhancement, in reply to Mr. C. D. Field's note of the 13th idem, Mr. Mackenzie takes the aggressive in thus sneering at persons who happened to differ from him. Speaking of Mr. Justice Steer, he says:—"I decline to waste time in discussing Mr. Steer's views of the law. A Judge who could say that it had always been a matter of doubt whether a right of occupancy was acquired by any thing short of an occupation from a period prior to the Permanent Settlement shows such blank ignorance of the revenue history of the country as to be unfit even to enter the arena of discussion." Again:—"Mr Field's next authority is Sir Barnes Peacock, who said he 'did not believe' that even before the Permanent Settlement every resident cultivator necessarily became a *khudkasht*. I decline to accept that eminent Judge's 'belief' as settling any point of revenue history, or to pin my faith to his dissertations on the original meaning and derivation of the word *khudkasht*." Similarly, in his remarks on the report of the Rent Law Commission, dated Darjeeling the 23rd May 1880, while sneering at Babu Mohini Mohun Roy and Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee, the two independent native Members of the Commission, and while insinuating that their views were vitiated on account of their zemindari interests, Mr. Mackenzie observes: "They hold on tenaciously and rightly to the sheet anchor of their school—Sir Barnes Peacock; and they are, fortunately for them, able also to refer to the present Chief Justice (as having, though so far, on the unargued case) accepted the views of zemindary propaganda." When language is hurled forth in this injudicious spirit, it is but natural to expect that it will evoke retorts. The first attack was made by the able pen of Babu Ashutosh Mukerji in the pages of the October (1880) number of the *Calcutta Review*; and in the recent pamphlet of the present Chief Justice, Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy are

said to have been spoken of as junior members of unripe experience. The matter might have been closed here, but in a note conceived rather in passion and in more than doubtful taste, Mr. Mackenzie thus speaks of Sir Richard Garth: "It is true that in the matter of age I cannot rival Sir Richard Garth. But upon any Indian question I submit that civilians who have been for 20 years and more studying the people, their customs and their laws, are at least as much entitled to speak as any elderly London lawyer, however eminent, who comes out here with his mind steeped in the traditions of Westminster, and having had neither the time nor the inclination to digest great masses of matter that gather over every question of Indian land law." A writer in the *Englishman* thus pertinently comments upon this note:—"This is tall writing, but it is of a kind we should more reasonably have expected from an angry, naughty schoolboy than from a Secretary to the Government of India. Putting 'their laws' on one side, I should very much like to ask Mr. Mackenzie where he has spent his '20 years and more studying the people and their customs.' Am I right in thinking that Mr. Mackenzie's rent theories have been worked out in a comfortable chair in a Secretary's office? With these theories, Birmingham native aid may have had much to do." The whole discussion has thus ended more in a polemical and personal controversy than in judicious research.

The present discourse contemplates investigating the original status and condition of the *Khudkasht* ryot, the changes introduced into his position by statutory acts of the sovereign authorities, the relics of his rights and privileges as maintained by the common or customary law of the country, and the necessity or possibility of re-habilitating him *totidem verbis*. The main features for consideration will be his fixity of tenure and rent, and his power of alienation.

The Hindu Period.

The ordinary definition of a *Khudkasht* ryot is a ryot who cultivates in his own village. It is therefore necessary to understand the conception of a village in order to have a clear idea of his status. Now the Hindu village appears to have grown out of the joint-family, the unit of Hindu society. The Hindu race colonised, as well as conquered, the country, and the joint-family with its development formed a village:—*vide* "Maine's Village Communities" page 175; Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," page 161; Fifth Report Volume II, page 628; Evidence of Mr. Fortescue before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (1830), page 509.

The simplest form of a Hindu village community is an assemblage of blood-relations holding a domain in common. In the North of India, though the archives almost invariably show that the

community was founded by a single assemblage of blood-relations, there are reasons to suppose that men of alien extraction have always, from time to time, been engrafted on it, and a mere purchaser of a share has under certain conditions been admitted to the brotherhood. In the South of the Peninsula, there are often communities which appear to have sprung, not from one, but from two or more families, and there are some whose composition is known to be entirely artificial; indeed, the occasional aggregation of men of different castes in the same society is fatal to the hypothesis of a common descent, yet in all these brotherhoods, either the tradition is preserved or the assumption made of an original common parentage. Even at the present day the villagers commonly describe their fellow villagers as brothers, although apparently not related in any way; and in the Behar districts a villager is prohibited by custom from marrying in his village on account of a tradition of descent from a supposed common ancestor. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who writes more particularly of the Southern village communities, observes of them (*History of India*, volume I, page 126): "The popular notion is that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals who settled the village, and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase or otherwise from members of the original stock. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that to this day, there are single families of landholders in small villages and not many in large ones; but each has branched out in so many members, that it is not uncommon for the whole agricultural labor to be done by the landholders, without the aid either of tenants or laborers. The rights of the landholders are theirs collectively, and though they almost always have a more or less perfect partition of them, they never have an entire separation. A landholder, for instance, can sell or mortgage his rights; but he must first have the consent of the village, and the purchaser steps exactly into his place and takes up all his obligations. If a family becomes extinct, its share returns to the common stock."

The same feature of common descent also characterised the agrarian communities of France in their primitive form. And we can follow the process of expansion from a family into a community in the slave villages described by M. de Laveleye. The work of colonization is effected in the same way, and by the same agency: new villages are formed by offshoots from the original stock, interspersed, when necessary, with strangers.

The Hindu village communities inhabited the village homesteads which were collected together, and cultivated the village lands, some of which were detached and at a considerable distance. There was also a certain amount of waste or uncultivated

land included in the village lands.* In some cases part of the village land was separated from the rest by intervening land of another village†. The villages, however, were not always locally compact, though their boundaries scarcely ever varied.‡ Originally the village lands seem to have been held in common by the families composing the community, and there are traces of a periodical redistribution of land similar to what was made to the Slavonian villages of the Austrian and Turkish provinces by the elders of their body. At some period of their existence, however, a further development took place, when a division appears to have been made of the cultivated lands into equal shares, probably amongst the then existing families:—*vide* the Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes in the Deccan Provinces of Bombay, by Arthur Steele (ed. 1868, p. 207); and evidence of Colonel Briggs before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (1830) 4155. The original shares continued thenceforth to be preserved as the primary divisions of the village, § and the subsequent subdivisions were into fractions of such shares. The Punjab villages, for instance, are divided into a certain number of plough lands, which are distributed amongst the cultivators. (*See* Menu. Chap. VII., Slokas 118 and 119; Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," 161 and 162.)

Contrary to the changed state of things that now exists under the British rule, there was formerly a competition for cultivators, but no competition by cultivators for land||. According to the law of demand and supply, therefore, because the whole agricultural labour of the village could not be done by the brotherhood, these communities attached to themselves certain extraneous elements which they assimilated more or less completely. These were immigrants who either came and settled in the village, cultivating land abandoned by the original settlers and their descendants, or land allotted to them by the village; or another class who, either merely sojourned in the village or cultivated while residing in other villages.¶

There were thus three classes of cultivators in the Hindu period, claiming an interest in the soil of the village: *first*, the original settlers and their descendants; *secondly*, the immigrants who had permanently settled in the village, and *thirdly*, the mere

* Fifth Report, p. 571, vol. II, Thomason's Selections, 83, 84; Land Tenure, by a Civilian, pp. 7-21.
 † Directions for Revenue Officers, p. 31.
 ‡ Fifth Report, p. 571, vol. II.
 § Fifth Report, vol. II., pp. 299, 352.
 || The Great Rent Case, Bengal Law Reports, Supplement, V. 253, 279, 295 & 296. Campbell's Cobden Club Essay, 166; Directions for Revenue Officers, 41.
 ¶ Maine's Village Communities, 177; Campbell's Cobden Club Essay, p. 165.

sojourners in the village, or those who, without living in the village, cultivated lands of the village.* In the description that we propose to give of these three classes of cultivators, we shall endeavour to note their comparative rights against ejectment from land and enhancement of rent, as well as their power of transfer.

The first were the *Khudkashts* proper. They had an hereditary right to cultivate the lands of the village in which they resided, † and their rights were regulated by custom, probably the custom of many centuries, and having at least as much force as any written law.

They could not be ousted while they continued to cultivate their holdings and pay the customary revenue; but, on the other hand, they could not transfer their holdings without the consent of the community.‡ In his Cobden Club Essay, p. 170, 171, Sir George Campbell says, that these holdings were practically not transferable by sale, and that there was not enough profit derived from them to lead to systematic underletting. Mr. Shore seems to be of opinion that they were not transferable at all, § and Mr. Harrington agrees with his view. ||

Rent and Enhancement.

They paid the customary rate of rent which could not be raised, and in some parts, when the assessment was once fixed, custom prohibited a measurement of the land with a view to surcharging the *khudkashts*.¶ But while they had a right to cultivate on these terms, they were bound to cultivate and pay the assessment. In default of either of these conditions, they forfeited their right, a penalty which in the scarcity of cultivators was generally waived for an increased rent.** They were

* Orissa, by W. W. Hunter, vol. 1, p. 37; Directions for Revenue Officers, 63; Evidence of Colonel Briggs before the Committee of the House of Lords (1830), 4078; and of Lt.-Colonel Barnwell before the Select Committee of the House of Commons (1832), 1744.

† Fifth Report, vol. II., pp. 299, 301; Harrington's Analysis, vol. III., 353; Whinfield's Law of Landlord and Tenant, p. 15; The Land Tax of India, by Neil B. E. Baillie, p. xliii; Directions for Revenue Officers, pp. 5, 61, 62; Land Tenure, by a Civilian, pp. 66, 68, 80; Campbell's Cobden Club Essay, 165.

‡ Fifth Report, 1, p. 488, vol. II, p. 85.

§ An account of the Land Revenue of British India, by Francis Horsley Robinson (1856), p. 15, 41; Evidence of Mr. Stark before the House of Commons Select Committee (1832), 427, 428; and Evidence of Colonel J. Munro, 1488.

¶ Fifth Report, vol. I, p. 162.

|| Harrington's Analysis, vol. III, p. 460.

** Fifth Report, vol. I, p. 165.

** Fifth Report, vol. II, pp. 303, 456.

also bound to cultivate in the customary way.* On account of want of competition for land, their customary rate, however, fell short of the rent payable by other cultivators.

On the other hand, they enjoyed various privileges arising out of their position as the original settlers of the village. They always occupied the most central and the most easily cultivated land, and when any new allotment was to be made, they could choose their own site. They had a right to dig wells upon their land and let out the water †—a privilege guarded with jealousy in India. They received *russums*, or fees, from the other cultivators, ‡ and had a right to the services of the servile laborers, or had an allowance of one-eighth of the crop deducted from their assessment in view of such services. § In some places they had allotments of land for which they paid no revenue. || Their right was considered so strong, that even if they abandoned their holdings, or lost them by not keeping up cultivation, or by not paying the revenue, they or their descendants could at any distance of time reclaim them on paying a sufficient compensation to the holder. ¶ They were entitled, in common with other permanent cultivators, to the use of the productions of the waste for the construction and repair of their houses and implements of husbandry, and to pasturing their cattle upon the unoccupied lands of the village.**

The next class of cultivators very nearly approached the position of the *khudkashts*, and were sometimes ranked with them. There are, however, some differences which demarcate the original settlers from those afterwards admitted to form part of the permanent village community. The immigrants who turned out to be merely sojourners in the village, were naturally classed with *pyekashts*, but when they became permanent residents of the village, ready to undertake the responsibilities of the community, they gradually engrafted themselves on it, and in course of time, with express or tacit consent of the brotherhood, came to be recognised as *khudkashts*. They are called *Chaperbund* or *Judiest*, names specially applied to immigrants who have permanently settled in the village to which they have emigrated. †† Their right to the permanent interest of the soil,

* Directions for Revenue Officers, 274. Fifth Report, vol. I, p. 164.

† Direction for Revenue Officers, p. 5; Land Tenure, by a Civilian, p. 80.

‡ Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 41, 42, 299, 301.

§ Land Tenure, by a Civilian, pp. 78, 80.

|| Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 41.

¶ Fifth Report, vol. II, pp. 87; 49, 77, 78, 456, 467, 468, 472, 473, 481. Land Tenure, by a Civilian, p. 82.

** Whinfield's Landlord and Tenant, p. 17.

†† Whinfield's Landlord and Tenant, p. 17.

which nearly approaches that of the *khudkashts* proper, depends upon their having settled as permanent inhabitants in the village, building and clearing and establishing themselves as members of the village community, and by undertaking all the liabilities towards that aggregate group.* In exceptional cases it may not depend on the length of time they have occupied; for instance, when the community found ample proofs of their intention to permanently reside in the village, they could at once admit them to their brotherhood; but in ordinary cases their disposition to become permanent settlers could hardly be satisfactorily proved without some length of possession. Accordingly those who had settled in the village for more than one generation were generally considered to have sufficiently shewn their intention, and such settlers became recognised as Chupperbund cultivators†. "It is suspected by all who have examined their history,"‡ says Sir Henry Maine, "that the communities, like the Gentes, have been very generally adulterated by the admission of strangers; but the exact mode of absorption cannot now be ascertained. * * * The acquisition of the adopted member is, however, of the nature of a universal succession; together with the share he has bought, he succeeds to the liabilities which the vendor had incurred towards the aggregate group. He is an *Emptor Familiæ*, and inherits the legal clothing of the person whose place he begins to fill. The consent of the whole brotherhood required for his admission may remind us of the consent which the *Comitia Curiata*, the parliament of that large brotherhood of self-styled kinsmen, the ancient Roman commonwealth, so strenuously insisted on as essential to the legislation of an adoption, or the confirmation of a will."

Sir George Campbell, in his "Cobden Club Essay," p. 165, says that a distinction was made "in the general language of the country" between ryots who had settled as permanent inhabitants of the village, and had given pledges by building and clearing, and establishing themselves and accepting a share of common obligations, and the temporary sojourners or cultivators from another village. When there he said of the *khudkashts* that they had a "moral § claim" to hold while they cultivated and paid rent, he must have meant the permanent immigrants who came to be recognised as *khudkashts*. The expression "moral claim," however,

* Directions for Revenue Officers, Report, Supplement vol., p. 300.
p. 65; Campbell's Cobden Club Essay, p. 65. † Maine's Ancient Law, p. 265.

‡ Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," p. 165.
+ Robinson's Land Revenue, 15, p. 165.
11; The Great Rent Case, Bengal Law

appears to indicate a right much weaker than what belongs to an original resident of the village. Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) says, that tenants cultivating the lands of the village to which they belong, acquire by *long tenancy*,* a kind of hereditary right of occupancy; while those cultivating the lands belonging to a village where they do not reside are considered mere tenants-at-will. And in Harrington's Analysis, Vol. III, p. 426, (n) it is said generally of the ryots of Behar that they have a sort of *prescriptive right* to continue tenants so long as they pay the usual rate of rent, and in Vol. II, p. 64, it is said, that "their right of possession is considered stronger than that of ordinary ryots." These immigrants appear to have come in originally to cultivate land abandoned by the *khudkashts* to whom they paid *rusums* or *fees*,† and to whom they were bound to surrender their holdings, when required, upon the receipt of a proper compensation.‡ Uninterrupted occupation and succession gave them a prescriptive right to occupy, but there is no instance of the sale of their holdings. They were in fact conditional occupants and had not so complete a right as the *khudkashts* § proper. They could be dispossessed for default in payment of the assessment, or for not keeping up the full extent of cultivation; but they could not reclaim their holdings, as the *khudkashts* proper could. || They had no share in the management of the village or in the privileges of the *khudkashts* proper. Their right was a sort of life ¶ estate which grew to be an hereditary, although inalienable, right to occupy, paying the fixed** assessment. That assessment was slightly lower in former times than that of the *khudkashts* proper, but higher than that of the mere *pyekashts*. They received 45 per cent. of the crop as their share, instead of 50 per cent. which was the proportion the ordinary *pyekashts* received; out of their share they had to pay fees to the *khudkashts* proper. ††

The third class is that of strict *pyekashts* who came from

* Fifth Report, vol. I, p. 140, 162, 164.

† Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 41, 42, 87, 301, 308, 490 to 493; Campbell's "Colden Club Essay, 161, 162;" Land Tenure, by a Civilian, 81, 82.

‡ Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 87, 456, 496.

§ Directions for Revenue officers, 63, Evidence of Col. Briggs before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (1830), 4,078, and of Lt.-Col. Barnewell before the Select Com-

mittee of the House of Commons, (1832) 1,744.

|| Fifth Report, vol. II, 301, Directions for Revenue officers, 62, 63, 65, Campbells "Colden Club Essay" 162.

¶ Fifth Report, vol. II, 41, 42, 87, 308, 491 to 493.

** Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 63, Directions for Revenue officers, 63, Evidence of Col. Briggs and Lt.-Col. Barnewell cited before.

†† Fifth Report, vol. II, p. 301.

another village, usually a neighbouring one, to cultivate the land* of the village which the *khudkashts* were unable to cultivate, they were merely tenants-at-will, more usually from year to year, but sometimes for a fixed period. They were mere sojourners in the village, or cultivated while living in a neighbouring village.† They could not be ousted between sowing and harvest. They had to be attracted by favorable terms, and, as formerly there was a competition for cultivators, they got half the produce. They paid fees to the ‡ *khudkashts*, and their rights were left to be settled by contract.

An interesting controversy between Mr. C. D. Field and Mr. A. Mackenzie, two of the members of the Rent Law Commission, has been recorded in the form of minutes, or notes, in the Appendix of the Report of the Rent Law Commission. It purports to be a discussion as to what constituted a *khudkasht*. We have already seen that a *khudkasht* was originally involved in the conception of a village community of which he formed a component part; that the original settlers of a village were considered as *khudkashts* proper, and that from time to time, the community attracted toward itself men of alien extraction,—immigrants who permanently settled in the village. These immigrants gradually absorbed themselves into the community and were ultimately recognised as *khudkashts*. As Sir Henry Maine observes, § the exact mode of their absorption cannot now be ascertained, though we have reasons to believe that time, the great leveller of all things, was one of the many powerful agents to bring it about. Two elements went to make up a *khudkasht*: (1) the man's permanent settlement or residence in the village; (2) his admission into the village, into the community. What would constitute permanently settling in a village would certainly depend upon the nature of the circumstances that environ him, but there could hardly be any doubt that his residence for a long period in the village would be considered as a strong piece of evidence to prove his intention of permanently residing therein. In his notes of the 6th and 20th January 1880, Mr. Mackenzie misses the main point at issue. The question is, not whether long time was an essence of the ordinary *khudkasht's* title; not whether long residence was a necessary

* Robinson's Land Tenures, p. 15.
Winfield's Landlord and Tenant, p. 16. Fifth Report, vol. II, 308, Directions for Revenue officers, 63.

† Fifth Report, vol. II, 41, 42, 87, 308, 491-493; Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," 165; Directions for Revenue officers, 65.

‡ Thomason's Selections, 478; Directions for Revenue officers, 61, 62, 64, 65. Evidence of H. Mackenzie (1832), 2,572. Cobrooke's "Husbandry Commerce in Bengal," 64; Fifth Report, vol. II., 841, 308, 490, 494.

§ Maine's Ancient Law, p. 265.

ingredient to transform a migrater into a *khudkasht*, but whether, to all intents and purposes, long residence was not a strong proof of his intention to permanently settle in the village, and, as such, whether practically and in all ordinary cases long residence did not go to absorb him into the community, and confer on him the privileges and rights of a *khudkasht*. Looking from this standpoint of view, even Mr. Mackenzie will concede that the question of time occurs in order to define precisely the status of a *khudkasht*. In page 402, Report of the Rent Law Commission, Vol. II., he observes, "I would make the term of prescription necessary to entitle a ryot to the occupancy right of the old *khudkasht*, a reasonably short one; *just long enough in fact to give reasonable evidence* of his intention to cultivate *permanently* the lands he rents." In the general description of the permanent immigrants, we have given our own views of them; we have quoted Mr. Shore and Mr. Harrington to show that ordinary prescription gave them a right of occupation, and we have referred to Sir George Campbell to shew that he describes their right in much weaker terms than that of the *khudkashts* proper. In Harrington's Analysis, p. 267, Mr. Shore is thus quoted: "It is understood that the ryots by *long occupancy* acquire a right of possession in the soil and are not subject to be removed." Again, in page 252, "there are two other distinctions of importance also with respect to the rights of the ryots. Those who cultivate the lands of the village to which they belong, either from *length of occupancy* or other cause, have a stronger right than others, and may in some measure be considered as hereditary tenants; and they generally pay the highest rents. The other class cultivate lands belonging to a village where they do not reside: they are considered tenants-at-will." Mr. Mackenzie unwittingly quotes this paragraph and emphasizes the expression "other cause." True, there may be other causes than length of occupation which might give stronger rights to this class of ryots (one of those causes may be that some of them were original settlers of the village, or their descendants), but when, in making a classification, one of the classes is described by the length of their occupancy, surely the writer must have thought that in ordinary cases that was their attribute or description. In page 281 of Mr. Harrington's Analysis Mr. Shore is thus reproduced:—"To require that pottahs should be given for a definite time, as proposed by some of the Collectors, would diminish the force of that *prescription* which has established a right of occupancy in favor of the ryots." Again, in p. 301, "on the whole, therefore, I do not think the ryots can claim any right of alienating the lands rented by them by sale or other mode of transfer, nor any right of

holding them at a fixed rent, except in the particular instances of *khudkasht* ryots who from *prescription* have a privilege of keeping possession as long as they pay the rent stipulated by them." In the Directions to Revenue officers, para 130, it is said:—"It is impossible to lay down any fixed rule defining what classes of cultivators are to be considered entitled to hold at fixed rates. They are known in different parts of the country by different names as *chupperbund*, *khudkasht kadimi*, *mourusi*, *hugdar*, &c., all of which terms imply attachment to the soil or *prescriptive* right. Those who have no such right are commonly called *cutchas asamis*, or *pyekashts*. It has sometimes been supposed that all ryots resident in the village (*khudkasht*) are of the former class, and that those who reside in another village (*pyekasht*) have no right. But there are frequent exceptions to this rule. Many cultivators residing in the village are mere tenants-at-will, whilst those residing in neighbouring villages may have marked and recognised rights. *Prescription is the best rule to follow.*" The passage quoted by Mr. Mackenzie from p. 272 of Harrington's Analysis goes only to show how the right of occupancy originates, not how it ripens and develops. Mr. Holt Mackenzie in his evidence in 1832 forgets that a *khudkasht* was originally a unit of the village community without whose consent no foreigner could have admittance into the village. His tenure would not, therefore, originate, as he supposed, in "the mere act of Settlement and tillage," but also in the consent of the village brotherhood.*

The Great Rent case, in which the question was discussed at some length is a fruitful source of information on this subject to all writers. Sir Barnes Peacock and Mr. Justice Steer seem to be quite decided in their opinions. Sir Barnes Peacock says, † in his judgment:—

"I do not believe that even before the Permanent Settlement every cultivator who resided in the village in which his lands were situate, whether let into possession for a term or only as a tenant-at-will, or to hold from year to year, necessarily became a *khudkasht* ryot.

"The definition of *khudkasht* in Wilson's Glossary (287) is a 'cultivator of his own hereditary land.' The word *khud*, self or own, and *kasht*, to sow, shew that the term has reference to some proprietary rights, rather than to the fact of residence in the village. * * *

* Maine's Ancient Law, p. 265 ; † Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench, Mounstuart Elphinstone's History Supp. vol., pp. 318, 319. of India, p. 73 & 126.

"A *khudkasht* ryot probably derived his title by descent from or succession to one of the old village community, or some person who in ancient times had acquired a proprietary right in the land under the old Hindu or Mahomedan Law by reason of his having reclaimed it. Menu says :—^{*} 'Sages pronounce cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared or tilled it.' So property in waste land was, according to the Mahomedan law, established by reclaiming it with the permission of the Imam, according to Aboo Hanifa; and by the mere act of reclaiming it, according to Abu Yusuf and Mahomed. (See Baillie on the Land Tax of India, Chap. VI, para 42)."

Mr. Justice Steer, who agreed with the majority of the Judges on the main point referred to the Full Bench, expressed † himself thus on the original status and rights of the *khudkasht* :—

"What ryots were entitled under the old laws to be called *khudkasht* ryots, and what ryots were entitled to be considered as ryots who have acquired a prescriptive right of occupancy, are subjects which, I think, have never been cleared up, either by express authority of law or by the authority of any Judicial ruling. Are *khudkasht* ryots, then, as spoken of in the Regulations, those and exclusively those, who were *khudkasht* at the time of the Permanent Settlement? or, does the term *khudkasht* embrace also those ryots who, since the time of the Permanent Settlement, had by a long residence in the village in which they held and cultivated land, acquired a prescriptive right of occupancy? These were, I think, even up to the passing of Act X, moot questions and are so still.

"While no doubt exists as to the right of those ryots who, from generation to generation, have cultivated lands of the village in which they reside from a period antecedent to the Permanent Settlement, and who without any doubt are entitled to be called and classed with *khudkasht* ryots, the greatest doubt exists as to whether any other class or description of ryots are entitled to be called *khudkasht* ryots. If any ryot whose tenure came into existence since the Permanent Settlement, can, by any means, be called a *khudkasht* ryot at all, it certainly is not the ryot who simply lives in the village and cultivates the land of the village. To be a *khudkasht* ryot at all, implies that the ryot must not only be a cultivator of lands belonging to the village in which he resides, but he must be an hereditary husbandman. A *khudkasht* right is not acquired in a day, but is transmitted; and it has never, so far as my knowledge extends, been laid

* Menu, chap. IX., para 44.

Rulings, Supp. vol., p. 310.

† Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench

down what exact length of holding gives a title to a tenant to consider himself a *khudkasht ryot*."

Mr. Mackenzie quotes* the following passage from the Judgment of Mr. Justice Morgan (Mr. Norman's name has probably been used by mistake) in support of his theory:—

"I do not think that the right of occupancy was formerly confined to those who had acquired such a right by prescription. It extended to all who had given an unequivocal proof that they intended to remain at the place of their settlement, and who had been recognized as fixed residents of the locality, although their holding may have been of a recent date. I agree in what I understand to be the opinion of other members of this Court, that length of time or ancient origin was not essential to his existence."

We have compared this passage with the original, as reprinted in page 300 of the Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench Rulings, Supplement volume. That passage runs thus:—

"I do not think that the right of occupancy was formerly confined to those who had acquired such a right by prescription. It extended to all who had given unequivocal proof that they intended permanently to remain at the place of their Settlement, and who had been recognised as fixed residents of the locality, although their holding may have been of recent date. *The khudkashts were, doubtless ordinarily persons who derived their holdings from their ancestors and whose rights were of old date*; but I agree in what I understand to be the opinion of other members of the Court, that length of time or ancient origin was not essential to his existence."

By omitting the italicised words from this passage Mr. Mackenzie has altogether mutilated it to his own purpose, and has thus betrayed the biased spirit of a partisan with which he has studied the question. An honorable controversialist is he who represents dispassionately both sides of a question by quoting authorities, not by distorting them.

Mr. Justice Trevor and Mr. Justice Norman, however, adopted a different view of the question. They were of opinion that originally a *khudkasht* tenure was not created by prescription, though the Regulations of 1822 made it so, but still they do not

hat when a migrator has by a long residence given unequivocal proof of his settling permanently in the village, that did confer upon him the rights and privilege of *khudkasht*. They do not even explain how ordinarily such rights were created.

Mr. Justice Trevor says:—† "It has indeed been contended before

* Report of the Rent Law Commission, vol. II., p. 414.

† Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench

Rulings, Supplement vol. I.; The great Rent Case, p. 214.

us that time is not of the essence of a *khudkasht* tenure; that a ryot simply residing in a village in which his land is, is not a *khudkasht* ryot; and that in order to constitute a *khudkasht* ryot under the Regulations he must be a resident hereditary ryot; and that if he has not succeeded by right of heirship, he does not fall within that class of tenants. But it appears to me that, whether we look to the etymology of the word, or to the thing itself, there is no reasonable ground for question. *Khudkasht* ryots are simply cultivators of the lands of their own village who, after being once admitted into the village, have a right of occupancy so long as they pay the customary rents, and therefore with a tendency to become hereditary."

As regards his views as to what transformations the *khudkasht* ryot underwent under the sale Regulations, we will speak hereafter.

Mr. Justice Norman in speaking * of the time, before Act X of 1854, thus says:—

"In fact the circumstances of the country have been such, that while on the one hand, no Zemindar would wish to lose his ryots, on the other, the ryots cling to the soil; and the contest between the parties naturally would be, and I believe was, fought out in suits for enhancement, and not by a system of ejectment. It may well have been one of the objects of Act X to prevent this powerful engine of extensive ejectment from being brought to bear on a body of cultivators, large numbers of whom must have had some sort of prescriptive right, vague and indefinite as it may have been, to occupy or cultivate the soil. No doubt the right of occupancy before the passing of Act X of 1859 was exceedingly ill defined. There is a good deal in the Regulations which leads to the inference that *khudkasht* ryots, resident cultivators in Bengal, whether *kadimi* or not, had by custom a right of occupancy so long as they paid the usual rate. It seems to me that this custom is recognised in all the Regulations down to XI of 1822. And a reason for that custom has been suggested to me, viz., that the building or purchasing a house in the village is a security to the Zemindar for the ryot continuing to occupy as tenant."

We have already seen how Mr. Justice Campbell disposed of the question in his Cobden Club Essay. In his judgment in Full Bench he followed Mr. Justice Trevor. He observes:—†

"It may here be observed that in truth in the later enact the word '*khudkasht*' is so variably coupled with the

* Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench Rulings, Supplement vol. I., p. 304-305; The great Rent Case.

† Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench Rulings, Supplement vol., 252-253; The great Rent Case.

terms 'kadimi,' 'resident,' 'hereditary,' 'resident and hereditary,' that it became very difficult to say who were privileged against auction purchasers, and who came within the various descriptions of *khudkasht* ryots. But I have no doubt that as explained by Mr. Justice Trevor, the original *khudkasht* of the early Regulations was simply the resident ryot permanently settled in the village as opposed to the *pyekasht* ryot. The two words '*khudkasht*' and '*pyekasht*' are used as correlative and as between them including all ryots."

Of the other Judges, none commits himself as to the original status and rights of *khudkasht* ryots.

John Stuart Mill writing in a more modern time, thus speaks * of them :—

"In India and other Asiatic communities similarly constituted the ryots or the peasant farmers are not regarded as tenants-at-will, nor even as tenants by virtue of a lease. In most villages there are, indeed, some ryots on this precarious footing, consisting of those, or the descendants of those, who have settled in the place at a known and comparatively recent period: but all who are looked upon as the descendants or representatives of the original inhabitants, and even many more tenants of ancient date are thought entitled to retain their land as long as they pay the customary rents."

Under the Mahomedans.

Under the Hindus the earliest authentic records seem to point to a state of things in which the gross produce of the soil was in some places, as of right, shared between the king, the village landholders, and the permanent or the *khudkasht* tenants who cultivated the lands of the village in which they resided, retaining them, during their lives, and transmitting them to their descendants; and in others, in which there were no village landholders, between the king and the aforesaid tenants. In this state of things property in the English sense of the term, that is, the exclusive and the absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity was in no one person. †

Coming to later times, we meet with the class of persons, called the zemindars, who seem to have had no existence before the time of the Mahomedan conquest. The sovereign and the permanent or *khudkasht* tenants are of course present. There were thus three classes of persons who claimed an interest in the soil in the Mahomedan period. We are not concerned at present with any antiquarian research into the origin and development of the Zemindar.

* Political Economy, Book II, Chap. IV., 112, People's edition.

† Mountstuart Elphinstone's India, vol. I, chap. 2.

That may form an independent subject for enquiry. We accept his position as recognised in later times, that in course of time he acquired a property in the soil, and along with it a right of disposing of it by sale, gift and mortgage, subject, however, under any mode of alienation to the sovereign's claims for revenue. The following extract from Mr. Harrington is a succinct but accurate definition of a Zemindar:—

“A Zemindar,” * says he, “appears to be under the Moghul constitution and practice, a landholder of a peculiar description not definable by any term in our language; a receiver of the territorial revenue of the State from the ryots and other under-tenants of the land, allowed to succeed to his zemindari by inheritance, yet generally required to take out a renewal of his title from the sovereign or his representative, on the payment of a fine of investiture to the Emperor and a *Nazarana*, present, to his provincial delegate the Nazim; permitted to transfer his zemindari by sale or gift, yet commonly expected to obtain previous special permission; privileged to be generally the annual contractor for the public revenue received from his zemindari, yet set aside with a limited provision in land or money when it was the pleasure of Government to collect the rents by separate agency, or to assign them temporarily or permanently by the grant of a *jaghir* or *altamgha*; authorized in Bengal since the early part of the eighteenth century to apportion to the *pergannahs*, villages and lesser divisions of land within his zemindari, the *abwabs* or cesses imposed by the *Subadar*, usually in some proportion to the standard assessment of the zemindari established by Todar Mall and others, yet subject to the discretionary interference of public authority, either to equalize the amount assessed on particular divisions, or to abolish what appeared oppressive to the ryot; entitled to any contingent emoluments proceeding from his contract during the period of his agreement, yet bound by the terms of his tenure to deliver in a full account of his receipts.”

During this period the ryot had always to fight at odds with the Zemindar and a rapacious State. The settlement with him was always annual, whatever the settlement by the Government with the Zemindar might have been. † His payments were regulated ostensibly by the customary rates which were known and registered in the Patwari's records, and which were called the *nirk* ‡; but this advantage did not extend to those ryots who did not form part of the village organisation. § The customary rates

* Harrington's Analysis, vol. III., 400. Directions for Revenue officers, 4. § Orissa, vol. I, 54, 55, vol. II. 232

† Land Tenure, by a Civilian, 65-66. and 245; Directions for Revenue

‡ Fifth Report, vol. I, 141, 162, 163; officers, 66.

sometimes extended to the whole pergannah, and sometimes only to the village. The records of those rates were known as the village and pergannah *ryebandis*.* If such rates did not exist for any particular village, a reference was made to the rates of the neighbourhood.† These rates corresponded to and were sometimes originally derived from the *assul jama*, and sometimes included *abwabs* and cesses as consolidated with the *assul jama*.‡

The ryots, tenacious of the customary rates, were averse to receiving pottahs (§ or leases). When these rates slackened and the Canongoe's office fell into disuse, they could not be induced to receive pottahs unless at some ancient rates, such as the usual village or pergannah rate, or the rate charged in a certain year, or paid by a certain previous holder of the land.¶ Sometimes the pottahs fixed a rate which included all cesses, and sometimes the cesses were charged as an extra tax.¶¶

Mr. Shore says that there were two modes in which the enhanced assessment used to be fixed. One of these was to add the subsequent *abwabs* and the exactions by the Zemindar (calculated at so much a month, or so much a rupee) to the *assul*, or the original rate, and then to distribute this, according to the quantity and quality of land held by the ryots, on the estimated or the actual crop. The other mode was to assess at a rate fixed for the bighah, whatever might be the crop, which rate included the chief items of exaction or extra assessment.** The Zemindar was, however, to some extent, controlled in his assessment by custom, which required that the rates usually paid by the village should be adhered to, at least in form. Nevertheless he ultimately contrived to extract the main portion of his profit from the surplus of his receipts beyond the jama he paid. And in this he was still further assisted when he settled with Government for a term of years, and when consequently his yearly settlements with the ryots could not at all be expected to be at the same rates as he paid to Government, †† and when the cultivators did not form part of any village organisation, he could deal with them untrammelled at least by the village *ryebandis*.‡‡

The cultivator could not be deprived of his land for not paying the *khiraj*.§§ The course prescribed in case the cultivator made default in payment of the *khiraj*, or if he abandoned the land, or

Land Tenure, by a Civilian, 59.

Fifth Report, vol. i, 163 and 164.

Fifth Report, vol. i, 140, 170; Rington's Analysis, vol. iii, 346.

Fifth Report, vol., 23, 141; Orissa, II., 242.

¶ Fifth Report, vol. ii., 140.

¶ *Ib.*, 163.

** Fifth Report, vol. i., 40.

†† Orissa, vol. i, 54, 55; vol. ii., 232.

‡‡ *Ib.*, vol. ii., 232, 245.

§§ Baillie's Land Tax xxxiii., 14, 15. Land Tenure, by a Civilian, 35, 36, 38.

left it uncultivated, was that the Imam should endeavour to let the land to another cultivator, allowing him half, one-third, or one-fourth of the produce; and handing over the residue, after payment of *khiraj*, to the owner. If this could not be done, he should give it in *Moozarut* (partnership), the cultivator and the State sharing the produce; and after deducting the *khiraj* from the State share, the surplus was to be paid to the owner. If this course was also impracticable, the Imam should let the land to any one who would cultivate it, and simply pay the *khiraj*. In default of all these methods the land might be sold, and the *khiraj* paid out of the proceeds; but the surplus must still be paid to the owner; and, even if he had absconded, must be kept for him in case he should return.*

Wuzeefa lands were in fact grants made by the sovereign, and therefore alienable. But *Mookusuma* lands, which were ryotti lands proper (at least they covered the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the State), could not be sold or mortgaged without the permission of the sovereign,† but they went to the heirs of the cultivators. The sovereign was also considered to have the right to make a grant of such land in some cases.‡

The Zemindar having stipulated to pay the full revenue of his district, and being empowered in his capacity as a Government representative to authorize the cultivation of waste land (*khamar*), or fallow (*bunjur*), within his district, the revenue derived from such land came to belong to him as part of the revenue of his zemindari. If he cultivated such land by himself or his servants, he took the whole of the benefit: if he permitted the villagers to cultivate, he took such revenue as was payable for it.§

The distinction of ryots into *khudkasht* proper, *khudkasht chupperbund*, and the *pyekashts*, remained as before, and their rights were to some extent regulated by the customary law of the country, though, as it appears, they were much unprotected on account of the intervenors, the zemindars. Practically, however, on account of the imposition of *abwabs* and *cesses* by the State, many of their rights were weakened and disturbed. Their resistance was ineffectual and inoperative.

The Pre-Decennial Settlements.

When the ryot was thus fighting single-handed with the and the Zemindar combined, the East India Company step

* Baillie's Land Tax, xxxiii. Land Tenure by a Civilian, 38.

† Baillie's Land Tax, xxxiv, xxxv.

‡ *Ib.*, xxxv.

§ Harrington's Analysis, vol. iii,

340, 343, 363. Land Tenure Civilian; 42, 60, 69. Patton's Monarchies, 158, Rose's Directions; 293, 294. Wilson's *Khamar*. Directions for R Officers, 4.

and took the reins of Government. Their first attempt was to replace the Zemindar in his former official position and protect the ryot. The revenue history from 1769 to 1787 discloses an earnest struggle on the part of the authorities to discover the best mode of securing revenue to the State, and yet protecting the ryot. In 1769 the Company took the first step towards bringing collection under their direct control by appointing supervisors. * The Committee directed the supervisors to enquire into the history of the provinces (1725-1739), and among other duties to ascertain the extent, production and value of *khamar* lands, which are described as lands cultivated by contract, of ryotti lands which are tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the spot, and of waste lands, distinguishing those which have become so from decrease of population from those covered with jungles. † The Committee remarked that the *khamar* lands have no native tenants, but that the Zemindar cultivates them by contract, receiving in return one-half or two-thirds of the produce, together with his advance and interest thereon, ‡ that it is a mischievous anomaly, and that the cultivators should be induced to settle upon the *khamar* lands and change them into ryotti lands. § This contemplates an encroachment on the Zemindar's right, who by that time had acquired a vested right in the *khamar* lands. No order for resumption is made, probably on the principle that the Zemindar assumed this right as an agent or official servant of the State.

With regard to the exactions of the Zemindar, the Committee observe that the poor and industrious tenant is overtaxed by || him, that his claim should be fixed, ¶ and that pottahs should be granted ** specifying it.

In 1772 it was provided by the Regulation of the 14th May of that year, that the revenue should be farmed †† for 5 years from April 1772. The farmer was prohibited from receiving on any pretence larger rents from the ryot than the amount stipulated in the pottahs ‡‡ under penalty, but the State was not to demand from him beyond the agreed rent or rent-roll delivered with his lease. §§ *Oppressive and pernicious abwabs* were abolished, and new *abwabs* prohibited. ||| The Collectors were directed to prepare a rent-roll of each farm, arranged in pergannahs with full account of all changes and of the highest rent ever realised. ¶¶ The President

Fifth Report, vol. i., 3. Harrington's Analysis, vol. ii., 7. Colebrooke's Supplement, 174.
Colebrooke's Supplement, 174.
Ib., 183.
Ib., 184.
Ib., 185.

¶ *Ib.*, 176.
** *Ib.*, 178.
†† Art. 1.
‡‡ Art. 10.
§§ Art. 11.
||| Arts. 12 & 13.
¶¶ Art. 23.

and Council were, however, anxious that the farms should be let to zemindars, and if they did not agree to the terms proposed, to the highest bidder, the instructions from home being that "they should not by any sudden change alter the constitution nor deprive the zemindars of their former privileges and immunities." The farming settlement came to an end in 1777. From 1778 to 1790 the settlement with zemindars continued year by year. On the 7th April 1786 the Board of Revenue directed the appointment of servants who were to preserve "the ryots and other inferior tenants from the oppression and exactions to which they are in this country so peculiarly liable from the superior landholders and renters."* By the Regulation passed on the 8th June 1787, it was provided that the Collector is to ascertain the rules and rates of assessment upon the ryots and to endeavour to fix upon some mode of regulating them upon general, fair and ascertained principles.† The sayer was to be abolished, and no new taxes to be imposed.‡

Thus in this transitional period there was a distinct tendency on the part of the authorities to thrust the Zemindar back into his official position, till opinions changed in his favor in the Permanent Settlement. During this period the authorities were ignorant of the various and conflicting rights and interests claimed in the soil by contending and rival parties, and they advanced opinions upon uninvestigated subjects without always weighing them. Mr. Shore, writing in 1782, admitted that, although he was a member of the Committee, the Committee were necessarily ignorant of the real state of any district, § Such was the mass of conflicting and groundless opinions advanced during this time that Mr. Field very properly refused to look at any thing "said or written, or thought, or opined before the Permanent Settlement, or a quarter of a century before it." Mr. O'Kinealy, however, quotes copiously from the despatches and State papers of this period. How far he is justified in doing so, how far it is fair to apply unmatu-
 red theories, advanced in an unsettled state of things, to settle rights and status of conflicting parties, it is for the public to judge.

The Decennial and Permanent Settlements and Posterior Regulations.

We now come to the Decennial and Permanent Settlement. A careful reader of the despatches and letters of this period discover a distinct change of opinion in favor of the Zemin-

* Colebrooke's Supplement, 243.

† Art. 35.

‡ Arts. 50 & 51.

§ Harrington's Analysis, vol. 41-43.

on the 18th June 1789. Mr. Shore records the memorable Minute* which formed the basis to a great extent of the Permanent Settlement, and which was substantially the first sketch of the Decennial Settlement Regulations.† In this Minute he proposed to confer an absolute right in land upon the Zemindar. In a further Minute (18th September 1789), relating mainly to Behar, he opposes perpetuity of settlement;‡ and Lord Cornwallis in a Minute of the same date answers Mr. Shore.§ He considers that Mr. Shore has “most successfully argued in favor of the rights of the Zemindar to the property of the soil,” and he is of opinion that in order to give value to these rights, they must be made permanent. Mr. Shore || replies in another Minute of the same date, in which he supports his former view that ten years will, in the estimation of the native, be equivalent to a perpetuity,¶ and that “a definite term will be more pleasing to them than a dubious perpetuity.”** On the same day that these Minutes were recorded, the rates for the Decennial Settlement of Behar were promulgated. On the 8th December 1789, Mr. Shore wrote a further Minute upon the general subject of permanency of settlement.†† He remarks that with respect to the relations of zemindars and their tenants, the interference of the Government is absolutely necessary (para. 13 of the Minute), but that the interference will be looked upon by the zemindars as an invasion of their proprietary right, being not consistent with each other (para. 14 of the Minute). In answer to this, Lord Cornwallis, in a Minute dated the 3rd February 1790, remarks: “If Mr. Shore means that, after having declared the zemindar proprietor of the soil, in order to be consistent, we have no right to prevent him imposing new *abwabs*, I must differ from him in opinion,” since every bigha of land possessed by the ryots “must have been cultivated under an express or implied agreement, that a certain sum should be paid for each bigha of produce.” This is an argument based upon the comprehensive laws of contract and a legislation that is based upon such broad principles has nothing in it to be impugned.

There were four classes of ryots or cultivators whose position at this period ought to be considered : 1st, the *kadimi khudkashts* or the *khudkashts* proper.

2ndly, the modern *khudkashts*, or the immigrants who incorporated themselves into the first class and acquired their rights such.

* Fifth Report, vol. i, 107.

† *Ib.*, 202.

‡ *Ib.*, 555.

§ *Ib.*, 590.

|| *Ib.*, 591.

¶ *Ib.*, 594 & 595.

** *Ib.*, 596.

†† Fifth Report, vol. i, 598.

3rdly, the new settlers in the village who had not yet been absorbed into the *khudkashts*, and were therefore still *pyekashts*, and 4thly, the cultivators of the lands of the village, but not residing in the village, called the *pyekashts*.

We are to enquire what rules of enhancement and ejectment were prescribed for these ryots in the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement, and subsequently, and what were the possibilities of the creation of new *khudkashts* since the settlement.

Unfortunately, however, the earlier Regulations throw very little light upon the constitution of the *khudkasht* ryots. In the forty-eight Regulations of 1793 no definition was given of their holdings and no provision was made as to how the new settlers of the village might acquire the rights and status of the *khudkashts*. Between 1793 and 1818, in the numerous Regulations enacted for Bengal, the word "*khudkasht*" occurs only once * (e. g., in section 60, clause 2 of Regulation VIII of 1793), and that also refers to the *khudkasht* who was found as such on the land at the time of the Permanent Settlement. In all the other provisions made during these 25 years in respect of the under-renters, the generic term "*ryot*" has been used. There are only two possible theories to explain this omission: (1) :—either the authors of the Permanent Settlement entirely lost or meant to destroy the long established distinction between the *pyekashts* and *khudkashts*, and enacted laws and rules affording protection to both and maintaining no distinction between them, or (2), by the term "*ryot*" :—† whenever used in connexion with the *pergana* rate, they intended to refer exclusively to the *khudkashts*, making provisions for them, and forgot the *pyekashts*, or did not think it necessary to legislate for them. It should be remembered, that in those days there was no competition for land. The *khudkashts* paid a higher rate of rent than the *pyekashts*, who had to be attracted to the village by more favourable terms. The necessity of the time, therefore, required to protect the *khudkashts* from enhancement. The Legislature did not, it seems, anticipate that in time there might grow up (as has actually been the case) such a strong competition for

* We find the words *pyekasht* and *khudkasht* expressly used in section 10 of Regulation XXI of 1795, but that Regulation refers to Benares.

† Even now in Behar a witness in Court who may be a cultivator of the plaintiff or defendant, would strenuously refuse to call himself his *ryot*

unless he happens to be a *dehi* or resident cultivator. The word *ryot* means a subordinate or dependent. The idea seems to be that if a cultivator resides in the village he does not consider himself to be perfectly dependent upon the *Zemindar*.

land that *pyekashts* would pay a higher rent than the *khudkashts*, and, being subject to rack-rent, would need protection.

Whichever of these theories may be correct, in either case as we shall presently see, the channel for fresh creation of *khudkasht* tenures was practically closed.

As regards enchancement, tho "pergannah rate" was a limit to it under the 1st theory both for the *pyekashts* and the *khudkashts*, and under the 2nd theory only for the *khudkasht* ryot.

The same law of competition explains the absence of any express provision for ejectment in the Regulations of 1793. To quote Mr. Justice Norman, the circumstances of the country have been such, that while, on the one hand, no Zemindar would wish to lose his ryots, on the other, "the ryots would cling to the soil; and the contest between the parties naturally would be, and I believe was, fought out in suits for enchancement, and not by a system of ejectment.* Ryots were then the riches of the Zemindar, and there was no demand for rules and laws of ejectment."

Similarly no provisions were made for transfer of the ryots' holdings. There was *first* no competition for land,† and *2ndly*, little left to the cultivators beyond a bare subsistence after paying the Government revenue.‡ Very little, therefore, had they to sell and very few candidates were there to buy.

Now let us analyse how under the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement the ryot stands. To begin with the *khudkashts* whose tenure existed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, (they include the first two classes of ryots mentioned above). Section 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793, provided that the landholders and farmers should not cancel their leases except on proof that they were obtained by collusion, or that the rents for the three years before the Permanent Settlement were below the pergannah *nirk-bundy*, or that they had collusively obtained deductions from their rents, or upon a general measurement of the pergannah for the purpose of equalising and correcting the assessment.§ Under section 7 of Regulation IV of 1794, which immediately followed the Regulation of 1793, such ryot (*i. e.*, the then existing *khudkashts*) could renew their leases at the pergannah or established rates. On a sale for arrears of revenue, under section 5 of Regulation LIV of 1793, their former leases stood "cancelled"; they could,

* Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench 41.
Rulings, Supp. vol. 304

† The Great Rent Case, B. L. R. Supp. vii, 253, 279, 295, 296. Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," 164, Compare "Directions for Revenue officers,"

‡ Campbell's "Cobden Club Essay," 170.

§ Regulation of the 23rd November 1791, article 66. Regulation VIII of 1793, section 60.

however, demand a settlement "according to the established usages and rates of the pergannah or district in which such lands may be situated." The purchasers, on the other hand, could demand an engagement at the rate of the previous proprietors, but if they declined to enter into engagements at that rate, the purchaser might ask for the pergannah rate, and if they still resisted under section 29, clause 5, Regulation VII. of 1799, the purchaser might oust them.

Mr. Justice Trevor, referring to the *khudkasht* ryots of the Permanent Settlement, observes: * "These tenants seem, at the Settlement, practically and legally, though not by express statute, to have been divided into two classes, the *khudkasht kudimi* and the simple *khudkasht*, or those who have been in possession of land for more than twelve years before the Settlement and those whose possession did not run back so long. Both by the Hindu and Mahomedan, law, as well as by the legal practice of the country, twelve years have been considered sufficient to establish a ryot by negative prescription—that is, by the absence of any claim on the part of other persons during that period—and hence the doctrine which has obtained that *khudkasht* ryots in possession twelve years before the Settlement were, under no circumstances, not even on a sale for arrears of revenue, liable either to enhancement, of rent, or eviction from their holding, so long as they paid the rent which they had all along paid. The *existing leases of khudkasht ryots at the time of the settlement*, † who had no prescriptive rights, were, with certain exceptions, specified in section 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793, to remain in force until the period of their expiry; and those ryots were entitled to renewal of their leases at the pergannah rates; and on a sale for arrears of revenue could be evicted only after declining to enter into engagement with the purchaser at the same rates."

As regards the *pyekashts*, including the new settlers of the village, who might subsequently under certain circumstances, or in the course of time, acquire the rights and status of the *khudkashts*, section 52 of Regulation VIII of 1793, provided that the Zemindar might "let the remaining lands of his zemindari under the prescribed restrictions in what manner he may think proper." "What then are these restrictions?" ‡ asks Mr. Justice Campbell, and answers as follows:—

"The zemindars are to grant pottahs to the ryots which shall

* Bengal Law Report, Full Bench Rulings, Supp., p. 215.; The Great Rent Case. the *existing khudkashts* were protected.

† Bengal Law Report, Full Bench Rulings, Supp. Col. page 249; The Great Rent Case.

‡ Here Mr. Justice Trevor expressly holds that under section 60 only

be specific as to amount and conditions. The rents paid by the ryots, by whatever rule or custom they may be regulated, shall be specifically stated in the pottahs, which, in every possible case, shall contain the exact sum to be paid by them. He (the Zemindar) shall, in concert with the ryots, consolidate the impositions under the name of *abwab*, *mathot* and other appellations, with the *assul* into one specific sum, and he shall not impose any new *abwab* or *mathot* upon the ryots under any pretence whatever. A ryot, when his rent has been ascertained, may demand a pottah, and the pottahs must all be settled by the end of the year 1198. Again, all leases made previous to the conclusion of the settlement (and not obtained by collusion, &c.) are to remain in force till their expiration, and no proprietor shall cancel the pottahs of the *khudkasht* ryots except upon proof that they have been obtained by collusion," &c.*

The *pyekashts*, including the new settlers of the village, were thus, under section 52 of Regulation VIII of 1793, to hold on at the rate which they have either expressly or impliedly contracted to pay to the Zemindar. Under section 7 of Regulation IV of 1794, they were entitled to the renewal of their pottahs, if cancelled under Regulations X and IV of 1793, and to such renewal at the pergannah rate. Under section 6 of Regulation IV of 1794, if a dispute arose between them and the Zemindar regarding the rates of the pottahs, it should be determined "according to the rates established in the pergannah for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute arose." On a sale for arrears of revenue, under Regulations X and IV of 1793, section 5, their leases would be cancelled, but they were entitled to a renewal of their leases by a purchaser at the pergannah rate. Should they refuse to hold at the pergannah rate, under clause 5, section 29, Regulation VII of 1799, they could be evicted at once. On a sale of other kind, under clause 5 of section 29 of Regulation VII of 1799, they could demand pottahs from the purchaser at the rate at which they paid to the former incumbent.

Mr. Justice Trevor, however, seems to think that the Regulations of Bengal did not provide for the *pyekasht* ryots. They provided only for the *khudkashts*.

"*Khudkasht* ryots," he observes, † "whose tenancy commenced subsequently to the Decennial Settlement are entitled to hold on at the rate which they have either expressly or impliedly

* Regulation VIII of 1793, sections 52 to 60.

† Bengal Law Report, Full Bench

Rulings, Supp. Vol. 215, 216; The Great Rent Case.

contracted to pay during the incumbency of the Zemindar * who granted the pottah and of his representatives, whatever that rate may be; and on a sale for arrears of revenue, they also are entitled to a renewal of their leases by a purchaser at the pergannah rate. Should the rate in the engagement cancelled by the sale have been below that figure, they can only be evicted on refusing to renew the pergannah rates. Moreover, it was enacted generally by section 6 of Regulation IV of 1794, that if a dispute arises between the ryots and the persons from whom they may be entitled to demand pottahs regarding the rates of the pottahs, it should be determined in the Dewany Adawlut of the Zillah in which the lands were situated according to the rates established in the pergannah for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute arose."

† Again, "as to *pyekasht* ryots, they are nowhere expressly mentioned in the laws referring to Bengal. If they held under pottah at the time of the settlement, they were entitled to hold them till the expiry of the lease under the comprehensive terms of clause 1, section 60, Regulation VIII of 1793, which included even them. In section 10, Regulation LI, of 1795 which referred to Benares, they are expressly mentioned, and they are declared to be equally entitled with *khudkasht* ryots to have their pottahs renewed at the established rates, provided the proprietor of the former chooses to permit them to cultivate the land held by them, which they have the option to do, or not to do, as they think proper, on the expiry of all *pyekasht* leases. In Bengal, the rates of *pyekasht* ryots at the present date, though it seems to have been different formerly, are generally above the pergannah rates. *They have always been considered to have no rights independent of the particular engagements under which they hold; and those being cancelled they are liable to immediate eviction.*"

Whatever may be the view entertained by Mr. Justice Trevor as regards the *pyekashts*, there is no doubt, as the quotation just made fully shows, that he holds that the *khudkashts*, whose tenancy commenced since the Decennial Settlement, could only hold at the rate which they expressly or impliedly contracted to pay to the Zemindar; in other words, that they were subject to section 52, Regulation VIII of 1793. The question is important in the way that, if the Permanent Settlement gave a right to the Zemindar to treat his *khudkasht* ryot as one with whom he could

* Here Mr. Justice Trevor evidently thinks that section 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793 is subordinate to section 52, and that with *khudkashts* whose tenancy commenced since the

settlement the Zemindar had op:
"let his land in any manner he c

† Bengal Law Reports, Full Bench Rulings, Supp. Vol. page 219, 220; The Great Rent Case.

deal upon agreement and contract only, any provision that would propose to confer a right upon him independent of the Zemindar, would be looked upon by the latter as an encroachment upon his vested rights. There has been a division in the camp of the Rent Law Commissioners on this point: Mr. Field holding that the restrictions alluded in section 52, Regulation VIII of 1793, extend to section 60, and Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy maintaining that they are confined to section 53. The discussion ultimately turned into a ridiculous form, Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy having insisted that a colon follows section 52, and that, therefore, the restrictions extend only to section 53. A humorous writer in the *Calcutta Review* observed on this:—"It is impossible to be serious when one finds grave senators spending so much valuable time and energy in a controversy about a colon. In truth, it does not make the least difference in the world, whether section 52 is closed with a full point or a colon:

"The contention of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy is that section 52, which leaves the Zemindar at liberty to let the remaining lands in his estate in any manner he may think proper, subject to certain prescribed restrictions, is to be read as connected with section 53, but totally disconnected from the next following sections including section 60, which speaks of the *Khudkasht* ryots. The virtue of the colon, especially when it comes after 'following,' with which it has some kind of elective affinity, is universally acknowledged to be very comprehensive, and there is no reason why the colon at the end of section 52 should be held to exhaust its connective virtue exactly at the end of section 53."

Mr. Field gives † this answer to his opponents:—

"First as to the argument concerned with the punctuation and the supposed printer's error, the construction of a statute cannot be made to depend upon the punctuation, which is not a part of the statute. See case quoted in Maxwell in the Interpretation of Statutes, page 35; and Sedgwick's work, page 225.

"Secondly, the last sentence of section 52 speaks of restrictions in the plural. It is impossible that these restrictions can be included in, and cease at the end of, section 53, for this section, contains a single restriction only."

Instead of confining ourselves to Regulation VIII of 1793, if we look to the amended Regulations for the Decennial Settlement passed on the 23rd November 1791, ‡ and the preceding papers, we may find a more satisfactory explanation of this knotty question. It should be remembered, that these very regulations of

* *Calcutta Review*, October 1880.

‡ Colebrooke's Supplement, 308-328.

† *Calcutta Gazette*, page 481.

the Decennial Settlement were confirmed in perpetuity by the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement, and were reproduced in Regulation VIII of 1793 with slight modifications. Articles 43-45 of this Regulation deal with the distribution of the Sudder Jama, and articles 50 to 54 with *Istemrardars* and *Taluqdars*. Article 55* then says :—"The Zemindar is to let the remaining land of his zemindari under the prescribed restrictions in what manner he may think proper." The prescribed restrictions are set forth from article 56 to article 73,† and, then, article 74 says, the remaining restrictions are those set forth in the prescribed *kabuliuts*. Article 63 provided that all existing leases are to hold good unless granted by collusion, or without authority, and article 64 that no landholder or farmer shall cancel the pottahs of the *khudkasht* ryots except on proof of their being obtained by collusion, &c. These two articles were compressed into one section in the Permanent Code, *viz.*, section 60 of Regulation VIII of 1793. The wording of article 74 indicates that articles 63 and 64 were also included in the restrictions of article 55.

The very fact that section 60 lays down a general rule of protection for all sorts of ryots as long as their leases subsist, and that the provision for *khudkasht* ryots is only a branch of that general rule, considerably weakens the position of those who would read section 60 as totally disconnected from section 52. On a reference to rule 27 of the Resolutions on the Bengal Settlement, No. 54, printed at page 45 of the papers, relating to the Permanent Settlement, which forms the basis of article 64 of the regulation of the Decennial Settlement, we find that it bears the following heading : *viz.*, "Provisional rule for the security of the ryots," by which we understand a provision that was meant to meet the present need. If so, it was meant for the *khudkashts*, then on the land and abiding by existing leases. It was never the intention of the Legislature to extend it to *khudkashts* who might acquire their tenancy subsequently.

We have seen that the "pergannah rate" is the only limit to enhancement proposed by the Regulations of 1793, 1794 and 1799. Whether this was a limit only in respect of the *khudkasht* ryots, as Mr. Justice Trevor thinks‡, or a limit for all sorts of ryots, as others venture to think§ is not a question of much importance; because in those days the *khudkasht* ryots had to pay

* Compare Section 52 of Regulation VIII of 1793:

† Sections 53 to 66 of Regulation VIII of 1793.

‡ This also appears to be the opinion of Mr. Field, one of the

Commissioners of the Rent Bill.

§ This also appears to be the opinion of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, two of the Commissioners of the Rent Bill.

higher rents than the *pyekashts*, and these latter had to be tempted by more favorable terms. Practically, therefore, they paid a lower rate than the *pergannah* rate, and the *pergannah* rate was considered the maximum to which the rent of any *ryot* could be raised. The real question, however, appears to be—was the *pergannah* rate an effectual or substantial limit? Was it confined to the particular portion of the produce of land to which, by the custom of that *pergannah*, the demand of the *Zemindar* was limited, or did it include the *abwabs* recognized by Regulation VIII of 1793, which had become consolidated with it? In short, did the customary rates admit of variation or enhancement, or how were they regulated? On this question Mr. Justice Campbell observes* with much truth—

“It seems a somewhat singular omission that in the Regulations no provision is made for any enhancement of the *pergannah* rates payable in money. The customary or *pergannah* rates were of three kinds :—

1. Grain rates, being the original share of the produce not commuted into money, and which generally continued to prevail in the province of Behar.

“In this case as the value of grain increased,—if taken in kind, it fetched more money—if annually struck in money at the market rates, more money was received; there was no need of any special provision for enhancement. The rent, as it were, enhanced itself.

2 & 3. Money rates, more common in Bengal, *i. e.*, when the grain rents were commuted into money in either of two ways which are distinguished in section 56, Regulation VIII of 1793, as follows :—

2. “Where it is the custom to vary the *pottah* according to the articles produced thereon (on the land), *i. e.*, there were established rates not for each kind of land, but for each kind of produce,—so much per *bigha* for rice, so much for wheat, so much for cotton, so much for sugar-cane. In this case the *Zemindar* would benefit by the substitution of more valuable for less valuable articles of produce; but, the kind of produce remaining the same while it increased in value, he would not benefit.

“And 3, the system which it was hoped would ultimately prevail where the rates were fixed, not on each kind of produce, but on each quantity of land, and thus there was fixed a specific rate for a certain quantity of land, leaving it to the option of the *ryots* to cultivate whatever species of produce may appear to them

* Bengal Law Report, F. B. Rulings, Supplement volume, page 254-56, The Great Rent Case.

likely to yield the largest profit. In this case, it is evident that, without some mode of enhancement, the Zemindar would benefit neither by the introduction of new products nor by the rise in value of the old products. * * *

"It is remarkable that throughout the whole litigation of the long period between 1793 and 1859, no principle of enhancement other than a reference to existing *pergannah* or local rates is anywhere to be found. * * * When the customary rates were enhanced, it must have been done without the least assistance from the law or the Courts of Judicature. In fact, however, the rates have generally been enhanced. Zemindars had great power over their ryots; the interference of the law was but partial; the zemindars could do much without law; and the reliance of the ryots was much more on custom than on law.

"Moreover, in this matter the zemindars had a strong equity on their side. Although no rule of enhancement was laid down by the law, it seemed hard that, as the relative value of produce and money altered, as produce became relatively more valuable, and money relatively less valuable, the Zemindar should continue to receive, as representing his share of the produce, a sum of money actually representing a smaller purchasing power, a smaller quantity of grain, and smaller proportion of the produce. The fact seems to be that this contingency of a change in the relative value was omitted to be provided for.

"But as the country progressed, and as the Zemindar's expenses increased, without a corresponding increase of income, he had, according to custom and ancient rule, a strong equitable claim to a re-adjustment which should restore to him his own fair share of the produce. Power and equity being then combined, it is not wonderful that, in the absence of any regulated mode of adjustment, it was irregularly effected by various irregular devices resulting in compromise between the Zemindar and the body of the ryots. As Harrington puts it: 'every part of the transaction is a subject of contention; the demands on both sides are unreasonable, and are finally terminated by a compromise.'

"A common process seems to have been a mere repetition of the old process by which Teran Mall's assessment was enhanced. In spite of the prohibition against adding *abwabs* or cesses to the consolidated rates of the time of settlement, illegal cesses (almost always in the regulated form of percentages, so many annas or pies in the rupee, or so many seers in the maund) were from time to time added on, and gradually annexed to the custom; then, as the rates became complicated and heavy, and led to resistance, a compromise was effected, and the extra cesses were merged into a rate somewhat enhanced, to which the ryots consented. Then, as

further increase of value took place, more cesses were superimposed on the rates, and presently another compromise took place. Sometimes in one way, and sometimes in another, the rates by mutual compromise and consent were from time to time enhanced, and the pergannah rates were frequently split up into local rates especial to estates and sub-divisions, according to the area of each new compromise. Still the new rates always had and have some local area. They were and are common to the body of the ryots of that locality. When the majority or the body of the ryots had consented to an equitable compromise, an enhanced local rate was established, and refractory individuals could be and were raised to that standard."

Mr. Justice Trevor says* :—

"Reverting then to the question, what the words 'pergannah rate,' as used in the old laws, meant, I have no hesitation in holding that it must be considered to mean the *assal*, or original rate, the rate of Teran Mall, together with the *abwab* which had been subsequently levied from the tenants and recognized by the settlement. It is true, that these two quantities joined together did not probably exactly represent that share of the produce calculated in money which under a pure system of customary rents, would have been developed ; but judging from the increased wealth of the country which had, from commerce and the influx of precious metals, resulted between the time of Teran Mall and the Decennial Settlement, the assessment which had been increased in one form did not probably differ widely from what it would have been, had the other and natural mode of calculating the increase been adopted. Since the Decennial Settlement, however, the rates of rent have adjusted themselves to the varying prices of the produce irrespective of any extraneous demand ; and the terms used in Regulation V of 1812 have regard to the varying rates in the different localities which have resulted solely under the increased activity and industry caused by the comparative security obtained under the Permanent Settlement.

"To suppose that a pergannah or local rate of rent could be permanently fixed in amount when the circumstances of the country were improving, is to suppose an impossible state of things. The proportion of the produce calculated in money payable to the Zemindar, represented by the pergannah or local rate, remains the same ; but it will be represented, under the circumstances supposed, by an increased quantity of the precious metals."

* Bengal Law Reports, F. B. Rulings, Supplement vol., page 218; The Great Rent Case.

Regulation V of 1812 legalised what the Zemindar did by force and upon equitable grounds. Under section 3 of that Regulation, "such parts of Regulation VIII of 1793 and of Regulation IV of 1794, as require that the proprietors of land shall prepare forms of pottahs, and that such forms shall be revised by the Collectors, and which declare that engagements for rent contracted in any other mode than that prescribed by the regulations in question, shall be deemed to be invalid" were rescinded, and proprietors of land were declared "competent to grant leases to their dependent Talukdars, under farmers and *ryots*, and to receive corresponding engagements for the payment of rent from each of those classes, or any other classes of tenants, according to such form as the contracting parties may deem most convenient and most conducive to their respective interests." They were not, however, to impose arbitrary or indefinite cesses under any denomination, but, "the Courts shall notwithstanding maintain and give effect to the definite clauses of the engagement contracted between the parties, or in other words, enforce payment of such sums as may have been specifically agreed upon between them." Section 5 having recited that the pergannah rates have in many instances become uncertain, section 6 provided, "that if any known established pergannah rates shall exist, the same shall serve to determine the amount of rent, which should be received by persons deputed to attach the lands on the part of Government, or by the purchasers at the public sales;" and section 7, provided that "in cases in which no established rates of the pergannah or local division of the country may be known, pottahs shall be granted and the collections made, according to the rate payable for land of a similar description in the places adjacent; but if the leases and pottahs of the tenants of an estate generally, which may consist of an entire village or other local division, be liable to be cancelled under the rules above noticed, new pottahs shall be granted, and the collections made at rates not exceeding the highest rates paid for the same land in any one year, within the period of the three last years antecedent to the period at which the leases may be cancelled." Section 9 declared that no such enhancement could be made without serving a notice upon the tenant in the first instance.

We have thus seen that from the time of the Permanent Settlement the zemindars have been free to make such arrangements and contracts as pleased them regarding all lands in which no rights were held by *ryots* or others at the time of the settlement; consequently the new settlers of the village since the settlement were also subject to the contract terms imposed by the Zemindar. Of course, they, as well as the *pyekasht* *ryots*, could claim to hold

at the pergannah rate, but according to the process described by Mr. Justice Campbell, new cesses were imposed thereupon, and the customary rent was varied or enhanced; and under Regulation V. of 1812 the Zemindar and all the ryots (including the *khudkashts*) could legally enter into a specific contract, though that contract might override the pergannah rate. The effect of these rates was a complete stoppage of fresh creation of *khudkasht* rights. Perhaps the authors of the Regulations did not intend to interfere with custom, and perhaps it was still possible that *khudkasht* rights could grow up now and then by custom, but the holders of such rights were in a very unfavorable situation for enforcing them, having had to contend with a Zemindar whose rights had been recognised by the Government, while their own rights had been left to take care of themselves, the right to Government interference being withdrawn except in specified cases. Custom on this occasion had to fight with legalized power. Where the Zemindar had any reverence for the old custom; and while there was no competition for land, probably, custom would protect these tenants. But with the progress of time, as competition for land grew stronger and stronger, the question of interest being involved, and the Law having invested the Zemindar with powers to enhance and eject, he would stifle their customary rights and check their growth. Mr. Justice Trevor says * :—

"Thus, then, the *khudkasht* ryots, though they were entitled to pottahs at the pergannah rates by the laws of 1793 and following years, and though under section 6 of Regulation IV. of 1794, the courts were, in case of dispute, to determine the rate of the pottah according to those rates, still under the operation of the laws above cited, ryots might, if they pleased, bind themselves by specific engagements irrespective of those rates; and, of course, having done so voluntarily, they would be held strictly to the terms of their engagement."

"The Regulation of 1812," says † Mr. Justice Morgan, "by which the Zemindar and ryot were authorized to make engagements at any rate of rent and for any term, have been regarded in very different lights. On the one hand, it has been supposed, that they merely took away the old restriction on the Zemindar's power of leasing without in any way affecting the ryots' rights; while, on the other hand, they have been regarded as having authorized the ouster even of the hereditary ryots from the possession of their lands when they refused to accede to any terms of rent which might be demanded of them, however exorbitant."

* Bengal Law Report, F. B. Rulings, Supp. vol., p. 217; The Great Rent Case.

† Bengal Law Report, F. B. Rulings, Supp. vol., p. 298; The Great Rent Case.

Mr. Justice George Loch held that under the old Regulations it was the *khudkasht kadimi* ryots who had right of occupancy. Interrogated "who were these *khudkasht kadimi* ryots," he says:—"They were evidently ryots who were on the estate cultivating lands of the village in which they resided at the time of the Decennial Settlement. They were not ryots whose engagements date from a period after that settlement, who were settled by the first engager or his representative subsequent to the settlement; for such tenures were liable to be cancelled by the auction purchaser. They were the ryots' holding and cultivating the lands in the village in which they resided at the time of the settlement of the estate, and as such they and they alone are ryots who have a prescriptive right of occupancy. All other ryots subsequently settled, though now residing in the village and cultivating lands of the village, though entitled to be called *khudkasht* from the circumstances, are not *kadimi*, and are either tenants-at-will or tenants for a term, according as they hold their lands on lease or otherwise. We may I think, look through the length and breadth of the Regulations and we shall find nothing that declares a ryot settled on an estate subsequent to the Decennial Settlement to be other than a tenant-at-will, nothing that recognizes in such a ryot any prescriptive right of occupancy."

In Regulation VIII of 1819 (Putnee Talook), we find express mention of the term "*khudkasht*" for the second time. By that time it appears that the *khudkasht* rights had come to be looked upon as rights accrued not only by residence in the village but also by succession. They are noticed in section 2, clause 3, which provides that nothing in that Regulation shall entitle the purchaser at a public sale for arrears of rent of an intermediate tenure to eject a *khudkasht* ryot or resident hereditary cultivator, nor to cancel *bond-fide* engagements made with such tenants by the former holder without proof in a suit by the purchaser that a higher rate would have been demandable at the time such engagements were made by the purchaser's predecessor. Section 18, clause 5, excepts such ryots from the operation of clauses 2 and 4 of that section, which provide for sending a *sezawal* to attach the lands of intermediate holders and to collect rents in case of default, provided a summary suit had been instituted, and which also make provision for cancelling the leases of such holders. The *khudkasht* ryots may be proceeded against by arrest a summary suit or distraint. These latter provisions were repealed by Act X of 1859, section 1. "But," says * Mr. Justice

* Bengal Law Reports, F. B. Rul- The Great Rent Case. ings, Supplement vol., p. 219 ;

Trevor, "when Regulation XI of 1822 was passed, the use in section 32 of that law of the terms *khudkasht kadimi ryot*, or resident and hereditary ryot with a prescriptive right of occupancy, to designate the cultivator who would not be liable to eviction on a sale for arrears of revenue, * gave rise to the doctrine, that *khudkasht* ryots who had their origin subsequent to the settlement were liable to eviction, though, if not evicted, they, under section 33, could only be called upon to pay rents determined according to the law and usage of the country; † and also that possession of all ryots whose title commenced subsequent to the settlement was simply a permissive one, that is, one retained with the consent of the landlord. ‡ Again, by Act XII of 1841, and Act I of 1845 (which repealed the former), a purchaser acquired his estate free of all encumbrances which had been imposed on it after the time of the settlement; and he is entitled, after notice given under section 10 of Regulation V of 1812, to enhance at discretion, anything in the Regulations to the contrary notwithstanding, the rents of all under-tenures in the said estate, and to eject all under-tenants § with certain exceptions, amongst which are the *khudkasht kadimi*, but not simple *khudkasht* ryots. It follows that these laws distinctly gave the purchaser the power to eject a *khudkasht* ryot whose tenure was created after the Permanent Settlement, and if not ejected, they are liable to be assessed at the discretion of the landlord. This word discretion entirely annihilated the rights of the *khudkasht* tenants created subsequent to the settlement in estates sold under these laws. It reduced them from tenants with rights of occupancy, so long as they paid the established rate of the *pergannah*, or the rate which similar lands paid in the places adjacent, into mere tenants at the will of the Zemindar, who might in any year eject them, and place in their stead any tenant competing for the land. It is, in short, introducing into this country competition in place of customary rents."

* "Nor shall the said rule be construed to authorize any purchasers aforesaid to eject a *khudkasht kadimi ryot* or resident and hereditary cultivator having a prescriptive right of occupancy." Section 32, Regulation XI of 1822.

† "Nor in any respect to annul or diminish the title of the ryots to hold their lands subject to the payment of fixed rents or rents determinable by fixed rates, according to

the law and usage of the country." Section 33, Regulation XI of 1822.

‡ Sudder Dewani Decisions for 1856, pp. 617—628.

§ Here Mr. Justice Trevor quotes the exact words of Section 27 of Act XII of 1841. The exception says: "Lands held by *khudkasht* or *kadimi* ryots having rights of occupancy at fixed rent or rents assessable according to fixed rules."

Act X. of 1859.

Such was the state of the Law when Act X of 1859 was passed, under the power, it is said, which the Governor-General in Council had reserved to himself in the 7th article of the Proclamation inserted in Regulation 1 of 1793, of enacting, whenever he might deem it proper, such Regulations as he might think necessary for the protection and welfare of the ryots and cultivators of the soil. They were in the opinion of the Legislature insufficiently protected; hence, the new law which re-enacted with modifications certain old laws rescinded by it, and which, moreover, as we shall see presently, interfered with the rights of the zemindars as laid down in the legislation of the previous thirty years.

"At the time of the passing of Act X of 1859," says * Mr. Justice Campbell, "the state of things was this: The tenures and rents of the ryots were still for the most part regulated by the old customs of the former times. But two things specially required legal definition:—

"*First.*—There was doubt as to the mode or prescription by which a *khudkasht* or occupancy tenure was acquired, and which tenures were of this character. It was not certain whether mere settlement in the village on the ordinary terms, without limitation of tenure, gave such a right, or what length of prescription established that right. The various sale laws had also introduced a large element of confusion, different estates being variously affected, according to the date of sale. And, what is perhaps most important of all, owing to the absence of public records in Bengal, the perishable nature of private defence, and the discredit attaching to private documents and oral evidence in this country, it was very difficult to prove whether a ryot's holding was really ancient, or what was the date of its creation; the oldest holdings were imperilled by the absence of proof.

"*Second.*—There was an entire want of any regulated and defined legal mode of enhancing the customary money rates.

"Section 6 declared that twelve years' holding was to be taken as the test of a prescriptive right of occupancy, unless the presumption was contradicted by an express written contract (Section 7.) That was a protection in favor of the ryot, settling all doubt as to the rights of those who had held so long.

"Sections 5, 13 and 17 declared the right of the Zemindar to enhance the rents of all under-tenures which had either submitted to enhancement since the Permanent Settlement, or had been

* Bengal Law Reports, F. B. Rul- The Great Rent Case.
lings, Supplement vol., p. 257

created without specific stipulation since that period, provided that it was proved that the former rent was not fair or equitable, and that the grounds of enhancement should be confined to certain particular grounds specified in section 17.

"At first it appears to have been intended to confine these grounds to two, in accordance with the letter of the old Regulations, *viz* :—

1. That the rent paid by any ryot was below the prevailing rate paid by the same class of ryots in the places adjacent, and
2. That the ryot held more land than he paid for.

"But before the Bill finally passed, a third very equitable ground of enhancement was added, giving the Zemindar the right to claim an increased rent in consequence of the increased value of the produce—an increase which both the old custom of division of produce would have given him, and the subsequent practice had in fact without express provision of law more or less given him. Enhancement might henceforward be awarded on the specific ground that the value of the produce or productive powers of land have been increased otherwise than by the agency and at the expense of the ryot. This was a new provision in favor of the Zemindar.

"It appears, then, that the principal provisions of Act X were in fact those by which on two points the hitherto rough and somewhat uncertain written practice was reduced to definite law, in one case, in favor of the ryot, by defining the prescriptive right of occupancy ; in the other, in favor of the Zemindar, by acknowledging the right to enhancement on the ground of increase of the value of produce."

Section 1 of Act X of 1859 rescinded all those Regulations which laid down the rights of *khudkasht* or permanent resident ryots ; Regulation IV of 1794 and V of 1812, as to the rates at which they were entitled to pottahs, were repealed, and such parts of section 26 of Act I of 1845 (which repealed Act XII of 1841) as related to the enhancement of rents and ejectment of tenants by purchasers of an estate sold for arrears of Government revenue were modified.

Section 3 enacted that ryots who hold lands at fixed rates of rent which have not been changed from the time of the Permanent Settlement are entitled to receive pottahs at those rates, and section 4 raised the presumption that the land has been held at a certain rent from the Permanent Settlement on proof that it has not been changed for the last 20 years. These sections, therefore, replaced the *khudkasht kadimi* ryots who were declared as being entitled to hold at fixed* rents. Such *khudkashts* whose tenures really did not

* They were not liable to ejectment, and nothing is said about the transfer of their tenure.

exist at the time of the Permanent Settlement, but who can give unrebuted evidence of their holding at an unchanged rent for 20 years are also entitled to the advantage of these provisions. And the sections are so broadly worded, that unless we read them with the repealed laws, even *pyekashts* (if under peculiar circumstances they might have held at an unchanged rent) could claim advantage of these provisions.

Section 5 of Act X of 1859 provides that ryots having rights of occupancy, but not holding at fixed rates, as described in the two preceding sections, are entitled to receive pottahs at fair and equitable rates; and in case of dispute, the rate previously paid by the ryot shall be deemed to be fair and equitable, unless the contrary be shown in a suit by either party under the provisions of this Act. If, however, the neighbouring ryots of the same class pay for similar land a higher rate of rent, that rate becomes fair and equitable; or, if he should be in possession of more lands than he pays for, he should be equitably assessed for the surplus; or, if the value of the produce or productive power of the land has increased otherwise than by his agency, the Zemindar should equitably get an advantage of it. Hence sections 13 and 17 of Act X of 1859, in accordance with the letter of the old Regulations and the equity of the circumstances, provide that ryots having rights of occupancy are liable to enhancement if their rates are below the prevailing rates of the neighbourhood payable by the same class of ryots for similar lands, if the value of the produce or the productive power of the land has increased otherwise than by their agency, or if the quantity of land held by them is proved by measurement to be greater than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by them. These grounds are practically the grounds on which the rent of the *khudkasht* could be enhanced under the old Regulations.

But, who are the ryots who will be considered to have acquired rights of occupancy in the land?

Then follows section 6 by which it is enacted, that "every ryot who has cultivated or held land for a period of twelve years, has a right of occupancy in the land so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not, so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same; but this rule does not apply to *khamar*, *nijjote* or *seer* land belonging to the proprietor of the estate or tenure, and let by him on lease for a term, or year by year, nor (as respects the actual cultivator) to lands sublet for a term, or year by year, by a ryot having a right of occupancy. The holding of the father or other person through whom a ryot inherits shall be deemed to be the holding of the ryot within the meaning of this section."

This provision substantially restores the *khudkasht* ryot to his former position, for, probably, in Hindu times, as we have already seen, a ryot who had cultivated the same holding for twelve years would have been considered to have given the pledges required to protect him from ejectment so long as he paid the rent. It was also evidently following the principles of the ancient system that the *khamar*, *nijjote* and *seer* land were excluded: such land being in the immediate occupation or cultivation of the Zemindar, or, if not in his immediate occupation or cultivation, not occupied by *khudkashts*. But the effect of this section went further. Not only does it protect the *khudkasht*, but it does confer a right of occupancy upon a *pyekasht* who has cultivated land for twelve years. We have neither time nor space to discuss the important question whether section 6 of Act X of 1859 operates by way of encroachment upon the Zemindar's right as vested by the Permanent Settlement, but we have no hesitation in stating that that section, by conferring occupancy right upon the *pyekashts* as well, created a right which they did not possess in the Hindu or Mahomedan times, or in the earlier part of the British reign. This section also suggests the fact that when Act X of 1859 came into operation, the Legislature intended to destroy the conception of a village (which was the ruling idea in ancient times respecting the distribution of soil), and the distinction between resident and non-resident cultivators of the village. This view is confirmed also by section 7, Act X of 1859, which declares that "nothing contained in the last preceding section shall be held to affect the terms of any written contract for the cultivation of land entered into between a landlord and a ryot when it contains any express stipulation contrary thereto."

Ejectment.

It should be observed, however, that the right of occupancy itself is not defined, and it is not expressly said that the occupancy ryot cannot be ejected, though that may be inferred; and section 21 of Act X of 1859, re-enacted by section 22 of Act VIII of 1869 (B. C.) provides that no ryot having a right of occupancy shall be ejected otherwise than in execution of a decree or order under the Act. This section relates to ejectment for arrears of rent.

Transferability.

Act X of 1859, as I have already remarked, does not define a right of occupancy. It provides that the ryot holding for the prescribed period "shall have a right of occupancy in the land so long as he pays the rent." The right is not expressed to be heritable; but it is

provided that "the holding of the father or other person from whom a ryot inherits shall be deemed to be the holding of the ryot within the meaning of this section."

"The clear meaning of this," says * Mr. Bell, "is that in computing the period of twelve years, the ryot who succeeds to his father's land shall be permitted to reckon the period of his father's occupation as his own. The section does not refer to cases in which occupancy rights have been acquired, it merely lays down the conditions under which they are to be acquired. The law is absolutely silent as to the manner in which these rights, when once acquired, are to be transferred." Indeed, the literal meaning of the terms used in section 6 would not necessarily include an hereditary quality in the right. Besides the right being one created by Statute, although analogous in some respects to the right of the *khudkashts*, its nature cannot be ascertained by reference to the rights of the *khudkashts* or to custom. Occupancy tenants may of course have customary or other rights in addition; but it is difficult to see how these can exist in determining their rights as occupancy ryots. Apparently, the strict terms on which the right is bestowed would be satisfied by giving the ryot a personal right neither hereditary nor transferable. Accordingly Sir Barnes Peacock, in one case, doubted whether a right of occupancy was heritable,† but it has been now settled that the right of occupancy is transferable by inheritance, but in no other way. In the Full Bench case of Narendrá Narain Chowdry, *vs.* Ishan Chunder Sen, 13 Bengal Law Reports, page 274, it has been decided that the statutory right of occupancy is not transferable as such. This decision is grounded upon the personal nature of the right. Thus Chief Justice Couch says, "it is a right to be enjoyed only by the person who holds or cultivates and pays the rent, and has done so for a period of 12 years," and again, "the ordinary construction of words (in section 6) appears to me to be that the right is only to be in the person who has occupied for twelve years, and it was not intended to give any right of property which could be transferred." This view has been more fully developed by Mr. Justice Phear in the following judgment:—‡

"As the authorities stand, this question seems to be one of some nicety, and in considering it there is need to bear in mind that the relations between the Zemindar and the ryot are not generally

* Bells' Landlord and Tenants' Act, p. 20-21.

† Ajoodhya Pershad *vs.* Mussamut Emam Bindie, 2 Indian Jurisdiction, 192; Weekly Reports, 528. Rani

Durga Sundari *vs.* Brindaban Chundra Sirkar Chowdry, 2 Bengal Law Reports, App. 37.

‡ Bibi Sohodoron *vs.* Smith, 12, Bengal Law Reports, p. 82.

the same as those between the English landlord and tenant. No doubt the Zemindar has been made by legislative enactment the proprietor of the land which forms his zemindari; and as regards his *khamar*, *nijjote* or *seer* land, it may be taken that the cultivator of the soil has generally no other rights than those which he obtains as a tenant by contract with the Zemindar: but with regard to the ryotti lands which constitute the bulk of the zemindari, it is much otherwise. There, while the Zemindar is still proprietor of the land, the ryots of the village, as the combined effect of custom and legislation, have in most, if not in all, cases some right to cultivate the ryotti land of the village, which is altogether independent of the Zemindar, and which, in the case of a ryot having a right of occupation, is a right to occupy and use the soil quite irrespective of any assent or permission on the part of the Zemindar. This right, resting upon legislation and custom alone, is not derived from the general proprietary right given to the Zemindar by the Legislature, but is, as I understand, in derogation of, and has the effect of cutting down and qualifying, that right. I may say that, in my conception of the matter, the relation between the Zemindar's right and the occupancy ryot's right is pretty much the same as that which obtains between the right of ownership of land in England and the servitude or easement which is termed *profit à prendre*: although I need hardly say the ryot's interest is greatly more extensive than a *profit à prendre*. It appears to me that the ryot's is the dominant and the Zemindar's the servient right. Whatever the ryot has, the Zemindar has all the rest which is necessary to complete ownership of the land: the Zemindar's right amounts to the complete ownership of the land subject to the occupancy ryot's right, and the right of the village, if any, to the occupation and cultivation of the soil, to whatever extent these rights may in any given case reach. When these rights are ascertained, there must remain to the Zemindar all rights and privileges of ownership which are not inconsistent with or obstructive of them. And amongst other rights, it seems to me clear that he must have such a right as will enable him to keep the possession of the soil in those persons who are entitled to it, and to prevent it from being invaded by those who are not entitled to it.*

But it has been held that where custom allows the transfer of an occupancy tenure, it is transferable, † the test of transferability being the original nature of the holding.

* See Regulation VII of 1799, sec. 15, cl. 7.

† Weekly Reports, 247; 13 Bengal Law Reports, 274.

Thus, it will be observed, that the statutory declaration that an occupancy right is not transferable does not place the *khudkashts* in a worse position than they were in in Hindu or Mahomedan times.

Tenant-at-will.

The old *pyekashts* were substantially replaced by section 8 of Act X. of 1859, which declared that "ryots not having rights of occupancy are entitled to pottahs only at such rates as may be agreed on between them and the persons to whom the rent is payable." Not having a right of occupancy, this tenant has no right to remain in the land, unless he can agree with the landlord as to the amount of rent.* But if the landlord suffers the tenant to remain on the land, he can only recover from him a fair and equitable rate of rent.† The grounds of enhancement might be those mentioned in section 18 of Act X. of 1859, or any other equitable and fair reason. Here we see that, instead of the *pergannah* rate being the limit to enhancement, as under the Regulations, the limit proposed is fairness and equity of the rent claimed, and under the Great Rent Case, where the neighbouring ryots of the same class pay for similar lands a certain rate, that rate should be considered as fair and equitable.

The New Rent Bill.

This is the state of Law from 1859 up to the present day. The New Rent Bill now proposes, 1st., to create a new prescriptive right of the ryot by three years' occupation; 2ndly, to give statutory declaration to the transferability of twelve years' right of occupancy; 3dly, to define a limit which is in no case to be transcendent as to the rate of rent receivable by the landholders; 4thly, to prescribe a progressive scale of enhancement within that limit, and 5thly, to place the tenant-at-will entirely at the mercy of the landholders.

To discuss at a full length the expediency of those innovations and the propriety of the propositions mentioned above, would require the scope of an independent article. What we, therefore, propose to offer here is merely by way of hints and suggestions.

The first proposal is embodied in chapter IV. of the Bill, and is alleged to be the result of a compromise between different views

* Marshall's Report, p. 341, 325
2 Bengal Law reports, section 15.

+ 11 Weekly Reporter, 304; 1
Bengal Law Report, 25.

entertained by the members of the Commission. Of the seven members signing the final Report of the Commission, dated the 19th June 1880, Babu Peary Mohun Mukherji, and Mohini Mohun Roy, both of whom command a large experience, strongly protest against the innovations; Messrs. Dampier and Field "would prefer to have chapter IV. struck out of the Bill altogether." This chapter has, therefore, the support of three members against five; and if we recollect how meagre is Babu Brojendra Kumar Seal's note on the *khudkasht* tenure, and how Mr. Harrison, one of the members of the Commission who did not sign the report, is opposed to the views of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, we cannot help thinking that this chapter is solely due to these two gentlemen. If, therefore, the Government accept their view of the question, contrary to all rules of equity and justice, it would accept the opinion of a minority against a majority.

The reason for this proposal may be gathered from the following extract from Mr. Mackenzie's note of the 6th January 1880:—

"I have already admitted that it is perhaps in the present day impossible and useless to attempt to rehabilitate the *khudkashts* or resident ryot *totidem verbis*; and I have said that I think that we must be content now to adopt a prescriptive test of residence. But holding as I distinctly do, that long time was pot of the essence of the ordinary *khudkasht's* title, I would make the term of prescription necessary to entitle a ryot to the occupancy rights of the old *khudkashts* a reasonably short one; just long enough, in fact, to give reasonable evidence of his *intention* to cultivate permanently the lands he rents. I have suggested that three years is a sufficiently long term to raise this presumption of intention to settle, and should entitle any ryot to a right of occupancy, not of course in *khamar*, *utbundy* or similar lands, but in the ordinary village jote lands."

So Mr. Mackenzie and his opponents are agreed, that some length of time should be fixed to give reasonable evidence of an intention to permanently settle. The question, therefore, stands thus: Does twelve years or three years' occupation give such evidence? It is a question of fact which should be considered in connection with the state of the country. The period of prescription in case of land has always been twelve years in India, and this had probably some influence in determining the period chosen by Act X of 1859. In the Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council which settled the details of Act X of 1859, the Committee observes: "But it has been pointed out by the Western Board

that residency is not always a condition of occupancy; and it appears that after much enquiry, it was perscribed by an order of the Government of the North-Western Provinces in 1859, as most consistent with the general practice and recognised rights, that a holding of the same land for twelve years should be considered to give a right of occupancy. We have followed this precedent, and altered the section accordingly." Mr. Justice, Trevor, in the Great Rent Case, says:—"Both by the Hindu and Mohamedan Law, as well as by the legal practice* of the country, twelve years had been considered sufficient to establish a right by negative prescription,—that is, by the absence of any claim on the part of other persons during that period, and hence the doctrine which has obtained that *khudkasht* ryots in possession twelve years before the settlement were under no circumstances, not even on a sale for arrears of revenue, liable either to enhancement of rent or eviction from their holding, so long as they paid the rents which they had all along paid." In a Minute in support of the Decennial Settlement, Mr. Shore said, that ten years is in the estimation of the native equivalent to a perpetuity.† If, then, the former of Act X of 1859 fixed a right to a permanent occupancy by an occupation of 12 years, they were reasonably within the mark, and had strong precedents to follow. What precedent has Mr. Mackenzie for the limit of three years proposed by him?

If Mr. Mackenzie's rule is open to the objection of being dogmatic and arbitrary, Mr. Reynolds' proposal is open to the objection that it is unsuited to the improved state of the country and will practically operate to the detriment of the tenant. In his memorandum, he observes: "The provisions of chapter IV (of the Rent Commission Bill) have been universally disapproved, and the entire chapter has been omitted from the revised Bill. But it must be understood that this omission has only been possible in view of the wide definition of an occupancy ryot which has been adopted in chapter III. If the right of occupancy is conceded to all resident ryots, it is unnecessary to make special provision for the case of ryots who have held for more than 3 years." Section 19 of Mr. Reynolds' Bill, therefore, provides that every settled ryot has a right of occupancy in the land which he holds or cultivates as a tenant, whether such land be held under a lease or otherwise," and explanation ‡ declares that "a settled ryot is a ryot who has fixed habitation in the village estate in which he holds or cultivates as a tenant, or whose fixed habitation is within a distance of two miles from the lands which he holds

* Colebrookes's Digest of the Regulations Vol. iii., page 4

† Fifth Report, Vol. I, 594, 595.

or cultivates as a tenant." This proposition virtually proceeds on the assumption that, in legislating for the landholders and cultivators of the present day, the Government propose to legislate for the true descendants and successors of the *khudkashts* of the Hindu village community and of the zemindars of 1793. Now with the progress of time in most parts of Bengal there exists no village community. In former days there was a scarcity of cultivators; the competition was not for lands but for tenants; with the progress of time the scale has turned, and now there is a competition for land, not for cultivators. Even in the old days, an immigrant could be admitted into the village only by consent of the village community. Mr. Reynold's definition overlooks the fact that there is a strong competition for land in the present day, and under his definition any immigrant who makes a fixed habitation for the time would acquire the rights of a *khudkasht*, though the village community, or the Zemindar who now stands for the village community, would not consent to admit him as a member of the village. "Fixed habitation," again, has not been defined, and if the Courts are to exercise their discretion as to what is fixed habitation, and if they would interpret the term from the history of past legislation, anything but a satisfactory conclusion is possible for the tenant.

Secondly, it is proposed to make twelve years' right of occupancy transferable without the consent of the landlord. We have already shewn that in the Hindu and Mahomedan period *khudkasht* tenures were not transferable. The same reason of an absence of competition for land might have been at the root of this state of things. The so-called strongest argument for the statutory change now proposed is said to be the tendency of occupancy tenures to become transferable,—which means in other words, that there has now grown up a competition for land, and lands have acquired a marketable value. Undue prominence seems to have been given to the materials that were placed before the Commission about this *tendency*. It is said, that in most districts of Bengal, ryots' holdings are daily sold by the Courts in execution of decrees. The explanation is very easy: most of these sales happen to be at the instance of the Zemindar. The question is not whether occupancy tenures are daily sold at the instance of the Zemindar, but whether they are sold independent of him, and contrary to his will. I believe that, in all the enquiries made on this point throughout Bengal, this point has been sadly missed. The materials that the Civil Courts of the different districts have furnished have no value for the question in issue, because no inquiry

was made as to whether those sales were independent, or at the instance of the Zemindar.*

The most formidable argument, however, *against* transferability of occupancy holdings is what is numbered 12 by Mr. Field, *viz.*, that the zemindars will be unable to choose their own ryots, Mr. Field ridicules this argument by saying—"If the Legislature would properly listen to this argument of freedom of choice, it would be bound, in order to be consistent, to alter the native marriage laws." We are not sure if Mr. Field meant to be humorous by this remark, but we know for sure that Mr. Justice Phear in the case of *Bibi Sohowda vs. Smith*, 12 Bengal Law Reports, p. 82, based † his decision against transferability expressly upon this argument. Indeed, Mr. Field seems not to have weighed the importance of this argument, loosely put down by himself: The idea of property involves two primary ingredients, *viz.*, the right of occupation, and the right of alienation. The occupancy ryot has the former, and if you invest him with a right of alienation also, you convert him into a sub-proprietor. Under the present law, the Zemindar has a right against his power of alienation, a right (to quote Mr. Justice Phear) "to keep the possession of the soil in him alone who is entitled to it, and to prevent it from being invaded by those who are not entitled to it." This power is loosely expressed by saying that the Zemindar has a right to choose his own ryot.

In pleading for the transfer of occupancy tenures, Mr. Field must have forgotten the following passage ‡ which he wrote in 1875:—

"Ryots having a right of occupancy are also more and more getting into the habit of sub-letting, and thus a fresh class of petty middlemen, ignorant and useless, if not absolutely pernicious, is being created. Whatever be the merits of the Permanent Settlement, it is obviously unfair to the zemindars that this class should in this way appropriate the increase. It is further impolitic, because it tends to rack-renting and the creation of wretched cottiers. It would not be unreasonable to enact that any ryot *regularly subletting* his land should forfeit his right of occupancy. In *Bibi Sohowdowa and others vs. M. Smith*, 12 Bengal Law Reports, 82, it was held that when a ryot having a right of occupancy transferred his rights, the Zemindar could sue the transferee to recover possession of the soil. Leasing is only another form of assignment. There are many arguments in favor of the policy,

* There should have been also an enquiry as to whether the sales in Court, not at the instance of the Zemindar, were recognised by him.

† The full Judgment has been quoted ante.

‡ Field's Regulation (1875), note, p. 59.

which protected the actual cultivator: there are none that I know, which would justify his conversion into a petty middle-man."

Sir Richard Garth is more forcible in his minute of the 8th January 1880:—

"Now," he says, "however wise or politic this provision (section 6, Act X of 1859) might have been, it seems to me impossible to deny that it operates as an invasion of the landlord's right as conferred upon him by the Permanent Settlement; and the only equitable ground upon which such an invasion could be justified would seem to be this, that if a ryot has approved himself as a good tenant by cultivating his land and paying his rent satisfactorily for so long a period as twelve years, it was only fair to him and no real injustice to the landlord, to continue him in his occupation and prevent his being ejected, without some sufficient reason.

"But assuming this to be the true view of the matter, what becomes of the justification for invading the landlord's rights, if the ryot is to be allowed, as soon as he has acquired his right of occupancy, to get rid of it altogether? If the equity to the landlord consisted in his having permanently secured a good tenant, what becomes of the equity if you allow the ryot to transfer his interest?"

Thirdly and Fourthly, the Commission propose to fix a limit to the maximum rent claimable by the landlord from his tenant and to define a progressive scale of enhancement within that limit.

It is assumed, in the first instance, that in the interests of a prosperous peasantry, the ruling idea which the Commissioners had in view in framing the Bill, the rents must be *settled*. "They are settled only," they go on to say, "(1) by custom, or (2) by competition, or (3) by law." Custom, the most unchangeable factor in Indian society, they ignore, because it is liable to change on account of the disturbing influence of the revenue sales, thus going beyond the Permanent Settlement; competition, they ignore, because it has a tendency to bring in starvation and poverty in a populous country; so they resort to an express law or arbitrary rule: if the Legislators of the present day would replace the ryot into his former position as regards fixity of tenures—a position that he can claim only on account of the original custom of the country, why, in determining his rent, should they refuse to adopt custom which in the good old days regulated it? If, however, they look to the improved state of time, competition rent now exists to a considerable extent,* why should not they

* Field's Regulations, p. 58, note.

adopt that test? Where lies the justification or precedence of adopting an arbitrary rule fixing the rent.

But are changes really necessary? The Rent Commissioners propose to fix the rent with a view to securing a prosperous peasantry. If under the present law such a peasantry exists, there remains no necessity for fresh legislation: in the very first year of his administration, after visiting East Bengal, Sir Ashley Eden, in his public address, said: "I have just returned from visiting the Eastern districts, and I may say on this occasion, when my administration is only at the commencement, what I could not well say in a later period without seeming to seek credit for the Government of which I am the head. Great as was the progress which I knew there had been in the position of the cultivating classes, I was quite unprepared to find them occupying a position so different from that which I remembered them to occupy when I first came to this country. They were then poor and oppressed, with little incentive to increase the productive powers of the soil. I find them now as prosperous, as independent, as comfortable as the peasantry, I believe, of any country in the world; well fed, well clothed, free to enjoy the full benefit of their own labours, and to hold their own and obtain prompt redress for any wrong." In another address on his second visit in Behar, he bore the same testimony with regard to the peasantry of the country.

Indeed, before the Commission sat, and before the influence of Mr. Mackenzie prejudiced the Commission, the consensus of opinion was that the law as regards recovery and enhancement of rent should be changed in favor of the Zemindar.

Sir George Campbell, the well known champion of the ryot, in his Bengal Administration Report, p. 79, says:—"The whole Rent Law was rescinded by Act X of 1859. The law of 1859 reduced the powers exercised by the zemindars themselves, while it increased the grounds of enhancement and afforded the remedy of a summary process before Deputy Collectors, who were, however, often very insufficiently qualified. Rent-suits are now transferred to the Civil Court; they are better tried, and the rights of the ryots more respected than they were; but, on the other hand, there are now grounds of complaint that there is difficulty in quickly realising undisputed rents by legal process."

As to enhancement, Mr. C. D. Field, before he sat on the Commission, thus wrote in 1875:—*

"When enhancement is sought on the ground that the rate of rent is below the *prevailing rate* payable by the same class of ryots for lands of a similar description and with similar

* Field's Regulations, 63, note.

advantages in the places adjacent, witnesses from the vicinity are indispensable in order to succeed. The *pergannah rate* used formerly to be the prevailing rate, but the *pergannah rates* were declared by the Legislature more than half a century ago to have become very uncertain. The new law has not provided an adequate substitute for the provisions contained in section 9, Regulation XXX of 1803, and sections 6, 7 and 8 of Regulation V of 1812, as to settling rates. "If there is no prevailing rate, which under existing circumstances gives a fair share of the increase to the landlord, it is necessary to take the remaining ground of enhancement, *viz.*, that the value of the produce or the productive powers of the land have been increased, otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot. Here, if it be sought to prove an increase of the productive powers of the land, witnesses from the spot are necessary. The enquiries involved under this ground of enhancement are so extensive, and the production of evidence essential to success is a matter of so great expense, that such suits are seldom brought to a successful termination. The cost of success in a single suit is out of all proportion to the advantage gained therein; and where the ryots, getting to understand the principle '*res inter alios actæ*,' defend every individual case, the Zemindar is almost compelled to stop, more especially if his funds fail, which not unfrequently must happen, when the payment of all rent is suspended pending the dispute. It may be doubted if the existing procedure of a Civil Court is the best machinery for conducting the inquiries involved in this class of cases."

In conclusion, it appears to us that the Commissioners would give all the benefits of competition to the ryot, but block up its course to the Zemindar. In the first innovation proposed by them, they ignore competition for land, in the second, they recognize it, and in the third and fourth they again ignore it.

As to the fifth proposal, we have simply to add that poverty in this country is not among peasants, but among the landless classes, and that the innovation now proposed is calculated to convert all tenants-at-will into landless vagabonds.

K. N. R.,
(A Judicial Officer.)

ART. III.—“THE PRESS OF CALCUTTA”

FIFTY YEARS AGO.

1. *Life of John Thomas*, by C. B. Lewis.
2. *The India Gazette*.
3. *Alexander's East India Magazine*, December 1831.
4. *The Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, 1833.
5. *The Calcutta Review*, June 1844.
6. *The Calcutta Review*, October 1876.
7. *The Englishman*, 1880.

IF we accept *Hickey's Gazette*, which began to be published in January 1780, as the date of the birth of the Press in India, then it has just completed the first hundred years of its existence ; and during that period it has risen from the low level of a vile, scurrilous, vindictively abusive print, till to-day, in fairness of criticism, in ability, in wealth of resource, in enterprise, and in all those qualities that go to form a vigorous and independent Press, it ranks with that of any country in the world. The father of the Indian Press, James Augustus Hickey, has been characterised as “the most objectionable rowdy that ever landed in Calcutta.” *Hickey's Gazette* was a weekly four page foolscap, of three narrow columns of indifferently printed matter. When *Hickey's Gazette* appeared, the American war of independence was in progress ; there were British troops fighting in France and Spain ; a march from Calcutta to Bombay had been accomplished by the Company's and the King's troops under Major Goddard ; Hyder Ali was on the eve of invading the Carnatic, so that war news was not by any means scanty, and there was the whole gossip of Calcutta served up in a fashion that now-a-days would very much astonish the grossest scandal-monger, and horrify a modern drawing-room. *Hickey's Gazette* simply retailed the news of Europe and America as it found its way to India in private letters and newspapers in the six months voyage round the Cape. It was the medium through which vendors advertised their wares, and budding poets “waked their tuneful lyre.” Here is how one of the poetic joker's appeal to Hickey to leave out his advertisements and serve up more poetry.

Confusion to the wight that crams
The hallowed page with tongues and hams ;
Shall Donald come with butts and tuns,
And knock down epigrams and puns ;
With chairs, old cots, and buggies trick ye ?
Forbid it Phoebus, and forbid it Hickey.

In addition to this, *Hickey's Gazette* retailed in print, the tattle small talk, gossip, and general scandal, that formed in those days the backbone of a good deal of the talk of Calcutta society. The morals of the majority of the servants of the Honourable East India Company are truthfully, if grossly, portrayed in the weekly *Hickey's Gazette* of a hundred years ago; and it was frequently made the vehicle of private spite, and individual, social and moral revelations of a character that could scarcely find their way now-a-days into a public print.

It was in the pages of this notorious paper that the strictly private arrangement was made public by which the wife of the Russian portrait-painter and adventure, Imhoff, became the wife of Warren Hastings, the first and greatest of the Governor-Generals. Hastings, who had, previous to this, prohibited the Post office authorities from distributing Hickey's paper, and had established the *Gazette of India*, could bear no longer. Sir Elijah Impey arrested Hickey, but admitted him to bail on his furnishing security for Rs. 2,000. Though a great favourite for a time with a section of Calcutta society, he could make no head-way against Hastings and Impey, and sunk out of sight, his latter end lost in obscurity.

By its wholesale serving up of scandal and by its public announcements of private intrigues, by innuendoes, hints and exaggerated versions of attentions which ladies received from gentlemen not their husbands and not their brothers, *Hickey's Gazette* materially aided to make Calcutta society a nest of hornets; and Saturday afternoons, as well as the early morning before the sun was too high in the heavens, were frequently taken advantage of to get rid of the accumulated evil passions roused between gentlemen, who might be seen, commonly enough, furnished with swords and pistols, wending their way in palanquins towards Tolly's Nallah, as it enters the Hooghly, to settle their little differences after the manner of Hastings and Francis; and they not unfrequently returned with a pistol bullet or a sword thrust as a memento of their outing and a remembrancer of the region of Kidderpore.

The *Indian World*, a Calcutta paper, projected and edited by William Duane, an Irish-American adventurer, was distinguished for fearless independence and plain speaking, when neither of these were palatable to the servants of the Company. Duane had made arrangements to leave India early in 1795 and to return to Philadelphia, the city of his adoption. His passage was taken in the *Hercules*, and the sale of the *Indian World* and his other property advertised for New Year's day of that date, when on the 27th December 1794, he received an invitation to Government House from Captain Collins, Private Secretary to Sir John Shore. The

following morning, on his appearance, punctual to his engagement, at the residence of the Governor-General, he was arrested as a State prisoner at the instance of the Supreme Council, and three days afterwards was shipped on board an Indiaman. Without a single word of explanation and without having any opportunity granted him of hearing or rebutting any charge brought against him he was deported to England; the whole of his property being confiscated, and himself beggared. William Duane was not a man to be snuffed out by deportation. He settled in Philadelphia and started and successfully conducted the *Aurora*, an American journal, which probably did more to foster the bitter and uncompromising feeling of the American citizens against the old country than any other public print then in existence.

John Silk Buckingham was a Cornishman; and before entering on his career as a Calcutta Editor, had passed through a variety of adventures which mark him as a man of indomitable will, fertility of resource and unusual mental activity. In 1813 Silk Buckingham traced, for the Pasha of Egypt, the old canal across the Isthmus of Suez, and probably, had funds been forthcoming, would have made a navigable passage through the isthmus forty years earlier than the great Frenchman. For the same master he was commissioned to purchase ships and open up trade between Egypt and India. This scheme also came to nothing. The Bombay traders did not believe in Egyptian Pashas and their agents; and Buckingham's attempts to trade without the sanction of the East India Company, procured his deportation from India.

From Egypt he again started for India, dressed as a Turk and speaking Arabic, through Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia; and in the year 1818, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings, there appeared "the ablest newspaper ever published in India." That paper was the *Calcutta Journal* and its editor was John Silk Buckingham. With him were connected some of the ablest men then in the service of India, amongst whom were Henry Merideth Parker, and Lawson. The Irish-American Duane had not spared Government officials; but this roving Cornishman lashed them unmercifully. On one occasion, when a high official had his term of service extended, Buckingham made the announcement to his readers in a circular bordered with black. He seized on the green coats worn by the Secretaries of Departments and daubed their wearers "Gangrene of the State." The notorious Adams, after the departure of Lord Hastings, passed a Regulation in the April 1823, against the "freedom of unlicensed printing," which practically destroyed the freedom of the Indian Press. Buckingham went on his own fearless way. The *doos and pawky* Minister of the Scotch Kirk, Dr. James Bryce, who came to India, the first

Scottish chaplain on the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment, started the *John Bull*, a thick and thin defender of all things Governmental, a Tory of the Tories. The Minister wrote occasional leaders, the Precenter did the printing and the Government used it to hound down Silk Buckingham and stifle freedom of discussion. As a reward for his services, Dr. Bryce was appointed clerk of stationery. Buckingham, in a leader, poked fun at the clerical editor, clerk of stationery and Missionary of the Scotch Kirk to convert the heathen lying in darkness. Adams swooped down on the *Calcutta Journal*, withdrew Buckingham's license and deported him from India in the same high-handed fashion as Sir John Shore had treated Duane. Buckingham, like Duane, was not to be suppressed. On his arrival in London, a subscription, to make good some of his large losses in India, was got up; he lectured to crowded audiences, vigorously condemning the monopoly of the East India Company, established the *Oriental Herald*, and for five years (1852-7) was member of Parliament for Sheffield. Some time before his death, in 1855, he was in receipt of a pension from the Company.

The *John Bull* first made its appearance as a daily paper in the June of 1821, under the name of the *John Bull in the East*. In its introductory address it proclaimed itself "the supporter of Church and King, the contemner of private scandal, the counterpoise of the pernicious influence of other journals." For several years after its first appearance, it occupied a conspicuous place in the regard of the large party who were opposed to the politics of Buckingham; and, being supported by the secret influence of the leading officers of the Government of India, it acquired a large circulation. The *John Bull* maintained its influence by the great attention it paid to its intelligence department. Being of course a semi-official journal, it could command all the earliest news, and in this respect had no rival. It continued its advocacy of Tory and Anglo-Indian Conservative politics till 1829. In that year the Half-Batta question tested its allegiance to the army, and its subscription list fell from 600 to 400. In 1830-31 it assailed the Trades Association, and its circulation fell rapidly to 100. Its supplies of intelligence fell off. It was violently opposed to reform, which at that time was agitating Englishmen in all parts of the world, and it dragged on, the organ of the clergy and the Tory party, till the 1st of May 1833, when, Dr. Bryce having returned to Britain the previous year, it changed hands, and, from violent Toryism, passed into an advocate and defender of the Whigs. It supported colonization as it was then called, that is, the throwing open of India to Englishmen irrespective of their connexion with the East India Company; and

it advocated the freedom of the Press. Stocqueler bought the *John Bull*, and in his hands it became the *Englishman*, with Peter Grant, John Farley Leith, and Charles Thackeray, uncle of Charles Mackepeace Thackeray, the well known novelist, as leader writers. It was at the press of the *Englishman* that Macaulay set up the rough proofs of the famous essays, Clive, Warren Hastings, &c., which he sent home to Napier of the *Edinburgh Review*. Of the men connected with the *Englishman* since it came into the hands of Stocqueler, it may be sufficient to mention Robert Adair Macnaughten who died in 1842, Cobb Hurry of the *Delhi Gazette*, Brett and John O'Brien Saunders, senior. A few items regarding the *John Bull* of 1833 may be interesting. The then editor set down the circulation at 305, and of these 104 were civilians, 81 military, 9 religious, 41 medical, and the remainder miscellaneous, of which 25 copies are put down under gratis, and exchange copies. The establishment of the *John Bull* published also the *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, the *Oriental Observer* and the *East India United Service Journal*.

On the decadence of *Hickey's Gazette* the supreme Government established the *India Gazette* as early at least as the year 1784. It was the medium of publishing all the advertisements issued under the authority of the Court of Directors, and it maintained this monopoly up to 1833, if not later. The early files of the *India Gazette*, at all events till the paper passed into the hands of Dr. John Grant in 1822, contain the usual advertisements of the period, Government and General orders, shipping intelligence, local news, the campaigns, reports of the Supreme Court, Criminal Sessions, correspondence, and extracts from English newspapers and notices of new books. It was a weekly paper up to 1822, when it was published twice a week. The predecessor of Dr. John Grant in the editorial chair of the *India Gazette* was Mr., afterwards Sir Herbert, Compton. From the time when Dr. Grant became connected with the paper it entered on a wide sphere of usefulness and popularity, and up to the March of 1829, when the order of the Court of Directors, prohibiting the servants of the Company from having any connexion with the press, severed his connexion with the paper, it exercised considerable influence. In politics it was a supporter of the Whigs, with a tendency to Radicalism. In the January of 1830 it was published twice a week, and in November of the same year it was issued daily. Its circulation in 1833 was 568, of which 103 were civilians, 123 military, 40 medical, 79 mercantile, 5 religious, 172 miscellaneous and 46 gratis and exchange copies. Two-thirds of the circulation was confined to the Bengal Presidency and one-third went into the interior.

Candour and fairness were notable features in its editorials. It discussed fully the numerous questions relating to India "undeterred by any fear of the displeasure of authority or any anxiety for the applause of the multitude." Its sources of information were numerous and its mechanical "getting up" was equal to the best known London newspapers of the day. The *India Gazette* establishment, besides publishing the daily and tri-weekly editions, also published an *Annual*, a *Quarterly Register* and *Directory*, a *Monthly Journal* of local events of interest, a weekly account of the *Calcutta Market*, and a catalogue of the sales of Tulloch and Company, the Mackenzie Lyall of those days, which appeared four times a week, besides "job printing." The monthly expense, including editing, reporting, office-rent, Superintendent's services, readers, compositors, pressmen and peons is set down at Rs. 3,341 or about Rs. 40,092 a year. Other charges including postage, English newspapers, printing materials and paper brought the yearly cost up to Rs. 93,592. In those days 25 per cent. on gross receipts was deducted for non-payment of subscriptions and other losses.

Fifty years ago the leading paper in Bengal was undoubtedly the *Bengal Hurkaru*. The date of its origin is probably not later than 1793, when it appeared as a weekly. On the 29th of April 1819 it commenced its daily issue, a single royal quarto sheet, which was at that time the most that would be got up daily at an Indian press. A second sheet was added, and in July 1821 a third and, instead of Bengal material, European royal paper was used, the first ever used by a Bengal newspaper. After 1st February it was printed on a large super royal folio sheet. Up to 1818, when the censorship established by Lord Wellesley was abolished, Indian newspapers bore a family resemblance, and when they differed, it was in type and extracts rather than in composition. The abolition of the censorship saw the rise of the *Calcutta Journal*. Under the auspices of Mr. Samuel Smith, who became proprietor in 1821, the *Hurkaru* became a power. While the *John Bull* and the *Calcutta Journal* carried on controversies in a style of journalism which has no counterpart now-a-days, unless in some obscure American political prints, the *Hurkaru* went on consolidating its hold on the public; and when the *Scotsman in the East*, which rose after the death of the *Calcutta Journal* in 1824, became extinct, the *Hurkaru* became the advocate of free discussion, and "colonisation," the education of natives and other popular measures. It advocated the claims of the army and the Medical Service when the Government of Lord William Bentinck began the reduction of half-batta and other allowances. Its independence of tone, the

integrity of its motives and the increasing desire for news, raised the issue of the *Hurkaru*, including its tri-weekly, the *Chronicle*, to 934 subscribers, namely: 934 daily and 208 tri-weekly. Its subscribers were classed as follows:—Civil servants 136, military 308, legal 24, clerical 3, medical 51, mercantile 206, miscellaneous 154, and gratis, and exchange copies 52. The *Hurkaru* was thoroughly radical and adopted the maxim of the "Benthamites," as the Utilitarians were then called, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Its editorial department was conducted with ability, its sources of news extensive, and its "get up" not inferior to the English papers of the day. The establishment of the *Hurkaru* was the most extensive in Bengal. Besides the daily *Hurkaru* there was produced at the same press the tri-weekly *Chronicle*, the *Bengal Herald*, and the *Literary Gazette*, weekly papers, the *Quarterly Magazine and Review*, the *Bengal Annual*, the *Army List*, an *Annual Directory* and Price Currents, Shipping Lists, Souvenirs, Almanacs, and the usual job-work of a large press. Mr. Smith employed a staff of 166 persons, including compositors, pressmen, peons and sircars at a monthly cost of Rs. 4,374, contributors and reporters cost Rs. 10,000 a year, paper of all kinds cost Rs. 18,000 and office rent Rs. 5,160. The value of the advertisements is set down at Rs. 18,000 a year, and the sale of the various publications issued from the *Hurkaru* press realised Rs. 20,000 a year. The Office of the *Hurkaru* was in Hare Street, near the present abode of the *Englishman*. The *Hurkaru* Library, which was open to the public and lighted with gas, was a valuable one. There are men still alive who remember the library and its courteous proprietor.

The *Calcutta Courier*, up till the year 1831, bore the title of the *Calcutta Government Gazette* and enjoyed the exclusive privilege of publishing Government orders and notifications by authority. The appointment of editor was in the hands of the Military officers who regulated and managed the Military Orphan Asylum; and care was usually taken that the editorial chair should be filled by a man of some literary attainments who would avoid political discussion and endeavour to amuse. The order of the Court of Directors prohibiting their servants from connecting themselves with the press, placed the editorship of this journal, fifty years ago, in the hands of a Calcutta merchant. It was printed at the same press as the *Government Official Gazette*, and it thus had the advantage of reproducing every important official announcement and every item of Government news earlier than any of its contemporaries. The official advantage which it in this way enjoyed, and the Military patronage under which it was issued, made it a formidable rival to the other journals which had to depend for their existence

on private enterprise, unsupported by official assistance. The daily edition had a circulation of about 175 copies including exchange and gratis copies, and the half-weekly edition has been estimated at 225 numbers. The profits of the *Courier* went to aid in supporting the Military Orphan Asylum for boys and girls still in existence at Alipore.

The *Indian Register* was a short lived attempt on the part of East Indians to support a journal of their own. Derozio's attempt, the *East Indian*, to conduct a paper advocating the claims of the community, acquired a considerable amount of success and popularity, but on his death, in the hands of Mr. King, his executor, it died of inanition. The *Indian Register* was started shortly before the final appearance of the *East Indian*. It was issued thrice a week, and at one time had 200 subscribers. It had no special views on politics, a very large number of correspondents, "one-half only of whom write plain English," while the editors were distinguished by negative rather than positive qualities.

The *Philanthropist* was published on Thursday mornings at two rupees a month. It was devoted exclusively to the interests of Christianity and had 92 subscribers. Its existence seems to have been a short one.

The *Enquirer* was published on Sunday mornings, edited by Krishna Mohun Banerjee. It was originally the organ of the band of young natives so powerfully influenced by H. L. V. Derozio and the English teaching of the Hindoo College. By the year 1833, however, the *Enquirer* was practically an organ of the Church of England. It distributed 100 copies gratis.

The *Reformer* was also published on Sunday mornings at the same price. The founder, proprietor and reported Editor was Prosonno Coomar Tagore. It discussed local politics, literature, religion, metaphysics, jurisprudence and political economy. Its subscribers list numbered 400, and its pages may be regarded as a historical record of the progress of the Hindoos in their knowledge of English.

The *Gyananneshan* had for its object the instruction of Hindoos in the science of government and jurisprudence. It was printed in English and Bengalee and circulated about 100 copies. It was edited by Russick Krishna Mullick, one of the most distinguished students of the Hindoo College, and Duckinarunjan Mookerjee. A note regarding Mullick may be found in the *Calcutta Review* for April 1881, in the Article *Henry Lewis Vivian Derozio*. One of the most accomplished editors and contributors to the *Gyananneshan* was Ramgopal Ghose, a short sketch of whose life is here appended.

Ram Gopal Ghose was born in the October of 1815, the son of Gobindo Chunder Ghose, a Mooktear of the Rajah of Cooch Behar, and an accountant, in a Calcutta mercantile house. He

received his earliest education in English at the School of Mr. Sherbourne an East Indian, who was amongst the earliest teachers of English to natives in Calcutta. Dwarkanath Tagore and other well known native gentlemen were also pupils of Sherbourne. At the age of nine he was sent to the Hindu College, where he was favourably noticed by David Hare, whose interest in all the lads, and anxiety for the success of the College was unremitting. Ram Gopal's father was subsequently unable to pay the fee of Rs. 5-5-3 a month for his schooling. David Hare had young Ghose placed on the free list. At the age of fourteen he came under the influence of Derozio, and besides doing the work of his class, engaged in the extra studies which Derozio voluntarily directed. The best preparation for public life, however, which Ram Gopal received was in the Academic Society founded by Derozio. At the age of 17, on the recommendation of David Hare, he became assistant banian to a Jewish merchant, named Joseph; but long after leaving the Hindu College he continued his studies, and for some years he took his seat in the first class on the Saturday forenoons and took part in the work of the class. In private study and in intercourse with Derozio and his companions at the Academic and elsewhere, he broadened and deepened his knowledge and acquired a facility of expressing his views. He contributed a series of letters to the *Gyananneshan*, then edited by Russick Krishna Mullick, on the Inland Transit duties, which attracted the notice of Sir Charles Trevelyan, and which aided considerably in effecting their abolition. On the death of the *Gyananneshan* he started the *Bengal Spectator*, which Peary Chand Mittra edited for some time. He also founded the Society for the acquisition of general knowledge, in which Duckinarunjan Mookerjee and Tara Chand Chuckerbutty were active members. This afterwards became the Bengal British India Society. Mr. Kelsall joined Mr. Joseph in the business in which Ram Gopal was now a valuable and trusted assistant, and on Mr. Joseph retiring, the firm afterwards became Kelsall, Ghose & Co. He remained partner in the firm till the commercial crisis of 1847 was bridged over, and then retired from the business with two lakhs. Shortly after he was offered a judgeship in the Calcutta Small Cause Court, which he declined. He then began business on his own account, and the firm of R. G. Ghose & Co. was one of the best known in its day. On the Bengal Indian Association ceasing to exist, he, in conjunction with others, founded the British Indian Association, which exists to this day. He was appointed a member of the Council of Education, and took an active interest in many educational institutions in Calcutta. There was scarcely a society of any eminence, social, political or literary, with which he was not associated, and he was appointed

to nearly every Government Committee to conduct enquiries regarding every subject of public importance.

In 1853 when the renewal of the Company's Charter was being discussed in Parliament, Ram Gopal called a meeting at the Town Hall to advocate the admission of educated natives into the covenanted service. The meeting was one of the largest that had ever been gathered in Calcutta, and the speech which he made on the occasion was one of his greatest efforts. Some time afterwards, at the instance of the Government of Bengal, the Justices proposed removing the Burning Ghâts from the position they had occupied since the founding of Calcutta, to the banks of the Salt Lake or Tolly's Nallah. Orthodox Hindus received the news of this proposal with consternation, and Ram Gopal, being appealed to by his countrymen, threw the whole weight of his influence against the proposal, and was able to defeat the Government. In grateful acknowledgment of his services, the Hindus of Calcutta, after his death, raised a suitable memorial of his worth.

Ram Gopal Ghose, who began life a poor lad, whose father was unable to pay for his school fees, died leaving property amounting to three lakhs. A few days before his death "he cancelled all the debts which his friends owed him to the extent of Rs. 40,000. He made ample provision for his widow and relatives, and bequeathed Rs. 20,000 to the District Charitable Society of Calcutta, and Rs. 40,000 to the Calcutta University."

The Samachar Durpan was a bi-weekly Journal published in English and Bengalee at the Mission Press of Serampore. The *Durpan* was a "diligent chronicle of news interesting to the natives."

The following extract from a letter to the *India Gazette* of April 5th, 1830, will give a good idea of the spirit of the native newspapers of fifty years ago. At any rate it is the view of a contemporary.

The writer says:—"The end and aim of all periodical writers should be to reform the manners and customs of their countrymen, and to recommend the Government to adopt such measures as may eventually conduce to the public welfare. With regard to these points, however, we are sorry to say, the native editors are quite mistaken. They think they have done their duty if they can fill their papers with the recital of some pleasant stories, or of some news that is already in the mouth of every individual. Nay, they think it beyond their business to interfere with matters that concern the welfare of the community; and if they do sometimes enter into such discussions, we are generally sure to find them advocating the worst side. In making this remark we do

not mean to include all the native papers ; on the contrary, we are glad to say, that some of them give us as enlightened and liberal sentiments as can elsewhere be found. It will be proper, therefore, to give a separate account of each of these papers, pointing out their merits and defects.

The *Samachar Chundrika* is considered by the natives as the first standard of prose writing, and the best paper which we at present have. But of this, we believe, our readers may doubt, when they are made acquainted with its character. We cannot, however, blame the ignorant Hindoos for setting so high a value on this paper ; since their passions are nowhere else flattered in so servile a manner. It is an odd characteristic of this paper to flatter and slander in one breath. While on the one hand, it panders to the passions of the wealthy Hindoos to gain their favour, it abuses, on the other, men of the most profound learning and morality, merely because these men do not agree with it in some abstract points of religion. The editor of this paper thinks he writes according to the spirit of the *Spectator* ; but he may rest satisfied, abuse was never the language of that inimitable paper. We may also inform him, that his slander against persons of the first character is not construed by the intelligent into wit and satire ; on the contrary it raises the disgust and contempt of every man of liberal principles. We recommend him to abandon the supposition that abuse is argument.

Of the periodical named the "*Teemeer Nausuck*" (the destroyer of darkness), we have very little to say. It is a servile imitation of the spirit of the *Chundrika*, and, therefore, contains gross and absurd writing. What else can be expected from the disciple of such a master ? It is said to be written in a neat style. We may observe that it has taken a very high name beneath which to shelter itself, but that it by no means deserves the designation it has adopted.

The *Samachar Durpan* is an excellent paper, making its appearance every Saturday. It gives us, in the first and third columns, original articles in Bengallee, and in those next to them, translations of those articles in English. We cannot refrain from observing that the *Samachar Durpan* is not written in pure Bengallee, frequently containing English sentences dressed up in Bengallee words. In fact, we cannot deny that it is written in what is usually denominated Serampore Bengallee. It would be desirable that the editor should submit the Bengallee part of his labours to a learned pundit before he sends it to the press. We may, however, add that we have no objection to his Serampore Bengallee, provided his sentiments are liberal.

Of the *Bungo Doot* we cannot but speak in high terms. The style in which it is written is correct, classical and elegant, and it

professes liberality of opinion. But the journal that principally attracts our attention is the *Sumbad Cowmoody*, a newspaper which we firmly believe may stand in competition with many of the English papers of the present day. The sentiments it inculcates, we are sure, will astonish many Europeans, who but twenty years ago thought the minds of the Hindoos unsusceptible of improvement or of cultivation. Like all earthly works, however, the *Sumbad Cowmoody* is not void of faults. While it rouses its countrymen from their lethargy to look upon their deplorable state, it is led sometimes to defame the writers of the *Chundrika*. This is indeed below the dignity of such a paper. It would be more becoming to convince opponents by arguments, and if it fails, to remain silent.

It would be unpardonable in us not to notice a periodical that has but lately been published. We allude to the *Surbo-tutto-Dypica*.

All these native papers deal in the marvellous. There is not a month passes but we see them bringing to light wonderful stories of children one day old walking about, and of a woman who bore a monkey; and these, we are sorry to add, our countrymen are ever ready to believe. We suggest to the editors of these papers not to continue imposing such ridiculous tales on the credulous and ignorant Hindoos. We should have them discuss political questions and all others involving the happiness of the community. That the natives are susceptible of every degree of improvement is a fact which we have the pleasing satisfaction every day to witness. The editors should, therefore, ever make it their object not to let a single subject pass unnoticed by which they may attempt a reformation in the customs and morals of their countrymen."

The *Calcutta Literary Gazette* was published on Sundays, the annual subscription to it being sixteen rupees. It was conducted by Mr. David Lester Richardson with great ability.

The *Oriental Observer* came out on Saturday evenings, and the annual subscription was twenty-four rupees a year. It was a compound of the *Literary Gazette* and the *Bengal Herald*, and published at the *John Bull* Press. English and local extracts, an occasional editorial, and a summary of the week was the circle within which it restricted itself. It was to the pages of this weekly that Miss Emma Roberts contributed original papers and verses of considerable merit. She appears to have left India before 1832. The *Oriental Observer* was then conducted for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Pritchard, up to his death-printer of the *John Bull*.

The *Sporting Magazine*, "India's only sporting paper" fifty years ago, was conducted by the editor of the *John Bull*, and

issued once a month for sixteen rupees a year. It was "the most popular periodical ever issued from the Calcutta Press, although its subscribers never numbered more than 300." Of the *Sporting Magazine*, it was said, "No tiger dies, but his fall is here registered. No boar is speared, but the event is here detailed,—no jackal yields his brush, but MAGA screams the Tally ho!"

The *Calcutta Monthly Journal* was a collection of the best articles which appeared in the *India Gazette* and was published at that office.

The *Christian Intelligencer* and the *Christian Observer* were, the first the organs of the Church of England, the latter the organ of Alexander Duff and the dissenters. Each copy cost twelve annas, and it was distributed freely among the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians.

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society* had its origin in a publication called *The Gleanings in Science*, and was enlarged so as to embrace the proceedings of the Society.

The *East India United Service Journal* was, at the time we are writing of, the property of the editor of the *John Bull*. It was issued every alternate month for eight rupees a year, two rupees a number. It was exclusively intended for the members of the Military profession. Its first number appeared in 1883.

The *Quarterly Magazine and Review* had a sale of about 200 copies and was inferior in many respects to the British Quarterlies.

Fifty years ago, then, Calcutta had four daily papers, namely, the *Hurkaru* and *Chronicle*, the *India Gazette*, the *Calcutta Courier* and the *John Bull*, with an estimated total subscription list of 1,580. The first three, issued thrice a week editions. There were seven weekly papers, namely, the *Bengal Herald*, the *Philanthropist*, the *Enquirer*, the *Reformer*, the *Gyananneshan*, the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* and the *Oriental Observer*: four tri-weekly, the *Indian Register*, and the tri-weekly edition of the *Hurkaru*, the *India Gazette* and the *Courier*: two monthly, the *Sporting Magazine*, and the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, and if the *Christian Intelligencer* and the *Christian Observer* be included, then the number of monthly publications amounted to four. The *Quarterly Magazine and Review*, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* were the two Quarterlies. The *East Indian Service Journal* appeared every second month and the *Bengal Annual* once a year. The total circulation of all the Journals enumerated was reckoned by the editor of the *John Bull* to be not less than 9,053.

Fifty years ago the Press of Calcutta, in the number and frequency of its publications, not only was the first in India, but in

the British dominions it ranked second in importance to London. While Calcutta could boast of such a variety and number of periodicals, Madras had three papers published thrice a week, the *Government Gazette*, *The Courier* and the *Madras Gazette*. In Madras the press censorship was rigorously enforced. All attempts at independent expression of opinion regarding Government measures, either in India or England, were suppressed, and their place in the editorial columns supplied by stars. Laudation, however, might be copiously indulged in. Bombay had two Journals, the *Courier*, the official organ, and the *Gazette*. Sir John Malcolm allowed them to copy freely the bold articles of Calcutta papers, but if any Bombay editor ventured to express strong opinions of his own, he did so under the prospect of speedy banishment to England.

Of all the Calcutta dailies the *Hurkaru* was the ablest, and it continued its existence unbroken from 1793 up to 1866, under a long line of able editors, Sutherland, Kaye, D. L. Richardson, Mr. McPherson, Dr. Moor, James Hutton, Henry Mead, and Alexander Forbes. The proprietors were Samuel Smith, Sims, Gordon Stewart, Mr. Mendes and Mr. S. E. J. Clarke. In the year 1864 Mr. S. E. J. Clarke became editor and proprietor, and conducted it till the commercial crash of 1866, when twelve Calcutta banks failed, and a large section of the Calcutta community were ruined. In a single month the receipts of the *Hurkaru* fell from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 2,000. Under this condition of affairs Mr. Clarke found it impossible to go on. The *Hurkaru*, which had previously absorbed the *India Gazette*, became the property of a company, and appeared on the 30th December 1866, as the *Indian Daily News*.

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. IV.—RESULTS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN
THE NORTH-WEST AND OUDH.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review" for April 1883.)

No. II.

THE object of this second article is to describe the results of the enquiries made in the autumn of 1882 at thirteen selected village schools in the Lucknow district. The purpose for which these investigations were made was to discover as far as possible what the actual effects of primary education have been in these thirteen schools, and thus to establish some grounds for inference as to what its probable effects have been throughout the North-West and Oudh generally.

To have called for statistics from the teachers themselves would have been an easier, but a less useful, task. The plan upon which I acted was to go myself * to the villages selected, and in each place to scrutinize the school records for the last 15 years, to examine the ex-students themselves one by one, and, whenever the necessity arose, to question the parents and other inhabitants. It took about three days to examine each school and village after this fashion. When all the particulars for which I was in search had been collected, the task of comparing, generalizing, and arranging them in proper form was one of no little drudgery and labour; for they comprised the individual history of over three thousand ex-students. I mention this fact with a view to shewing that the results, which I am about to exhibit, are as accurate and exhaustive as I could make them.

To those, who have not gone through a similar experience, it would be difficult to realize how much caution and patience are required for getting at the exact truth in an Indian village. When you ask a man a question, the first kind of answer that he gives you is to say the first thing that comes into his head, without taking the trouble to think or weigh his words. Afterwards, when he sees that you are in earnest, his plan is to guess at the motive which he supposes you to have in view, and shape his answer accordingly, taking care to say what he thinks will please you best or appear most creditable to himself. At last when it has fully dawned upon his mind that there is more t-

* I must, however, once for all acknowledge in this place the very great assistance afforded me by M. Ambika Prosad, the Dy. Inspector of Schools in the Lucknow District, both in collecting the facts and in compiling them after they were collected.

be gained by stating the facts than by concealing them, he begins to weigh his words more carefully and describe things as they are. For example, many of the ex-students, on being asked whether they used the Nagri or the Kaithi character in their private accounts, declared that they invariably wrote Nagri, when an inspection of their books showed that they invariably wrote Kaithi or Mahajani. * This they then frankly admitted to be the case, but without betraying the slightest sense of shame at having stultified their previous statement. Many others declared that they could still read and write fluently, when upon examination it was proved that they could do neither. From the vagueness, inaccuracy, and sometimes intentional untruthfulness of the answers given, it would appear that the education imparted in boyhood had not had much effect in strengthening their regard for truth. It would not be reasonable, however, to expect that a meagre intellectual training can produce such an effect anywhere, unless it is accompanied with parental discipline and enforced by social penalties.

It will be best to begin with describing the locality of the villages at which these investigations were made. Of Europe it has been said that all roads lead to Rome. Of Oudh it may be said that all roads (south of the Gogra) lead to Lucknow. From this city, as from a centre, 5 great lines of communication radiate to the different parts of the Oudh province. One, due east, leads to Fyzabad, (the first capital of the late kingdom of Oudh, and now the head-quarters of the north-east Division) and passes three important towns on the way, (Nawabganj, Daryabad, and Radauli), besides many villages. There is not only a railway uniting these places, but a metalled road, which is largely used for local traffic, and runs nearly parallel to the line of rail. The next great thoroughfare goes towards the south-east, and leads at last to Sultanpur, after passing many villages and towns on the way. The third goes due south and leads at last to Rae Bareli, the head-quarters of the south-east Division. Mail carts pass daily between Lucknow and Rae Bareli on this metalled and much

* The only Hindi character which is allowed to be taught in the Government schools of the North-West, and the only one which is encouraged in Oudh, is Nagri; but the character which the people themselves use is Kaithi, or (which is the same thing in a less legible form) Mahajani. Almost all the ex-students declared that since leaving school they had been using Nagri, thinking that I should be vexed on finding that they had neglected the instruction imparted to them at school, or that such neglect would not seem creditable

to themselves. As soon as they perceived that they had nothing to fear, and that, if they spoke the truth, no evil consequences would ensue, they admitted that they used only Kaithi or Mahajani, and voluntarily brought me their shop books and private accounts for inspection. If I had been content with the first answer that they gave me, and had taken no trouble to enquire further, I should have carried away a totally false impression of the real facts of the case.

frequented road. The fourth goes south-west towards Unao and Cawnpore. Many villages and small towns lie in the way; and these are connected not only by a line of rail, but by a metalled road, the first, and in fact the only metalled road which the late kings of Oudh caused to be made while their dominion lasted. The fifth and last goes due north towards Sitapur, the head-quarters of the north-west Division, and thence to Sháhjáhpúr in the North-Western Provinces, where it meets the line of rail. Thus all districts and divisions of the Oudh province, (except the two districts north of the Gogra), are connected with their capital, Lucknow, by means of roads, railways, or both.

The programme which I followed was to draw a circle as it were round this central city, cutting the five great thoroughfares just described at a distance of about 20 miles from the capital, and within that area to examine the ex-students of those primary schools, which were the oldest and best established, and which might therefore be taken as favourable types of primary schools in general. I know of no area of the same size in any other part of the North-West or Oudh, which would appear to offer a more promising field for sowing the seeds of elementary knowledge. In the thirteen villages selected for investigation, (the names of which are given below, *) all castes, classes, and interests are represented in adequate proportions. Here are post-offices, police-stations, Taluqdari mansions, tradesmen's stalls, agricultural bazars, and artisans' workshops. The schools established here are among the oldest and best of their kind in Oudh. Three of them, (Mahona, Mohanlalganj, and Amethi), have, during the greater part of their career, been something more than mere village schools; for they have at different times had classes learning up to what is called the middle standard, that is, a standard higher by one or two years than that laid down for the primary curriculum. Within the whole of this area there has been no competition at any time with Anglo-vernacular schools; and thus vernacular schools have here had the whole field to themselves.

* The names are as follows :—(a) On the Fyzabad road, Chintah, which has a post-office and a small police force; Ujariaon, which is an old Mahamedan settlement; Juggaur, which has a railway station; (b) On the Cawnpore road, Amousi, which is near a railway station, and is inhabited by many Brahmin and Chattri families; (c) On the Sultanpur road, Bakás; Goshayengunj, which, out of Lucknow, is the largest trade centre in the district; Amethi, where two

Taluqdars reside, and where Bandagi Mir, the tutor of Aurangzib, was born and buried; Salempore, where a Taluqdar resides; (d) Etaunja, where there is a Taluqdar and a large Brahmin population; Mahona, which is an old seat of learning like Amethi; (e) On the Rai Bareli road, Kalli Pascham; Mohanlalganj, the head-quarters of the Tahsil and the residence of a Taluqdar; Mow, where there is a weekly bazar.

The total number of ex-students whose names are borne on the books of the thirteen schools examined, amounts to 3,327. But 303 of the names could not be identified after the most careful search, and were therefore set down as fictitious. Respecting the fictitious students some explanation will be given presently. When these are deducted, the total number of genuine ex-students whose case we have to consider and describe comes to 3,024.

In making these investigations there were three great questions which I proposed to myself to answer :—(1) What are the castes, Hindu and Mahomedan, by which the schools have been attended? (2) What are the occupations, agricultural or otherwise, which the students have followed, or have desired to follow, after leaving school? (3) What amount of knowledge have they retained since leaving school, or in other words, of what use has education been to them in the work of life?

Sec. II :—Castes attending village schools.

The answer to the first of the three questions just noted is summed up in tabular form in the statement given in the next page. The reader is requested, however, to attend to the top-headings only and not to the side-headings : for the former describe the castes of the students, while the latter relate to their occupations, which is an entirely distinct question. For the present we are concerned only with the question of caste :—

Particulars as to the present occupation, condition, or status of the ex-students.	High caste Mahomedans.	Brahmins.	Chattris.	Kayasths.	TRADING CASTES		ARTIZAN CASTES.	CULTIVATING CASTES.		PASTORAL CASTES.	CASTES IN SERVICES OR PROFESSION.		MISCELLANEOUS CASTES.	TOTAL.
					Karis and Ban-yas.	Halwai Bhunja, Kalwar, Tamoli, &c.		Gunar, Lohary, Thatera, &c.	Behna, &c.	Murao, Kacchi, Kurmi, Lodha, Mali, &c.	Ahir, Gureya, Gudi, Ghosh, Gujar, &c.	Nai, Durzi, Kachhar, Dhoob, &c.	Bhat, Goshay, Pasai, Kasari, Lamija, &c.	
Landlords ..	27	6	27	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	75
Tenants ..	59	161	123	31	1	2	1	1	0	33	3	3	1	518
Field Labourers ..	13	3	3	1	3	11	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	49
Shopkeepers ..	22	41	5	0	177	132	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	383
Artisans ..	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	167
Religion ..	0	77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	85
Service or { Literary ..	76	31	12	118	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	248
Profession { Non-Literary ..	163	93	13	56	8	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	417
Studying { Indigenous ..	61	4	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	115
at schools { Civil Servant ..	44	60	17	68	13	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	240
Miscellaneous occupations ..	10	0	2	15	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
No occupation ..	17	12	0	2	13	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	68
Occupation not known ..	70	93	16	75	13	9	3	3	3	3	2	2	12	296
Dead ..	33	58	9	22	98	13	6	2	0	4	6	0	4	237
	36	48	17	35										196
Real Total ..	637	668	248	461	263	198	92	134	115	56	70	82	3,024	
Fictitious Registration ..	54	89	28	41	39	15	5	5		6	6	7		303
Registered Total ..	691	757	276	502	302	213	97	139	122	62	76	89		327

The top-headings to this statement are based upon the great caste divisions, of which the native population of Upper India consists, and which have prevailed for many centuries past in these provinces. The first heading applies to high caste Mahomedans, that is, to Mahomedans of the Syud, Mogul, Pathan, or Shaik clans, and to those Mahomedan clans who have been converted to the creed of Islam from the high caste Hindus.* The second heading applies to Brahmins or men of the priestly caste; the third to Chattris or men of the warrior and landlord caste; and the fourth to Kayasths or men of the writing and literary caste. Among these, as I need scarcely add, no Mahomedans are to be found. All the remaining headings apply to castes, in which Hindus and Mahomedans are mixed, though Hindus greatly preponderate. The fifth and sixth headings relate to the trading castes, amongst whom Banyas (with Katris) are set apart in the fifth column as being a large and influential caste by themselves, while the less important trading castes, (Halwais, Bhunjais, Kalwars, Tamolis, &c.), are placed collectively in the sixth column. The seventh and eighth headings describe the artizan castes. It was found convenient to distribute these under two distinct sub-heads,—the metal workers under one and the non-metal workers under the other. The former (consisting of Sunars, Lohars, Thateras, &c.) stand decidedly higher in the social scale than the latter who consist chiefly of Kumhars (potters), Telis (oil pressers), Koris (weavers), Chamars (tanners), &c., and whose status in the eyes of Hindus is very low. The ninth heading describes the great cultivating castes, (Muraos, Kacchis, Kurmis, Lodhas, Malis, &c.), of whom the four first are engaged in tilling fields, and the last in tilling gardens. Amongst these, Mahomedans are seldom, if ever, found. The tenth heading relates to the great pastoral castes or tribes,—Ahirs, Gareriyas, Gaddis, Goshis, Gujars, Jatis, &c. Under this heading the Goshis are all Mahomedans, (the Goshi caste being the Mahomedan counterpart of the Hindu Gaddi), and there are a few Mahomedans among the Gujars and Jatis. The eleventh heading relates to those castes which are engaged in domestic service or in the practice of the corresponding professions. These are chiefly Nais (or barber-surgeons), Darzis (tailors and dress-makers), Kahars (water-men, palankin-bearers, and general house-servants), and Dhobis (or washermen). Amongst all of

* The distinction here drawn between Mohamedans of high caste (namely, those of the great Mohamedan clans, and those who have been converted from high caste Hindus), and Mohamedans of low caste, (namely, those who have been converted from the low and mixed caste of Hindus), is observed by Mr. Williams in the Oudh Census of 1869, *See* Vol. II. Table IV, pp. 2, 3.

these, under the same or different names, Mahomedans are to be found, and in numbers more equally matched with Hindus than in the case of the preceding castes. The thirteenth and last heading comprises an unclassified residuum of miscellaneous castes, none of whom were considered of sufficient importance individually to require a column to themselves. These are chiefly the Bháts or minstrel caste, the Gosháyens or so-called hermit caste, the Pásis or caste of pig rearers and watchmen, the Kasais or butcher caste, the Maha Bráhmans or caste of funeral priests, the Bárís or caste of leaf-plate-makers, the Luniyas, once the salt-making, but now the road-making and navy caste, and many more. Among the minstrels one, and among the butchers several, Mahomedans were found. All the rest are Hindus.

Out of the 3,024 ex-students, whose case we are considering, the total number of Hindus of all castes is 2,322, and of Mahomedans of all castes 702. Now, according to the Oudh census of 1869, the total male population of Hindus at the thirteen villages described was 14,852; and the total male population of Mahomedans was 4,152. On comparing the proportions, we find that the percentage of Hindu ex-students to the total Hindu male population at the said villages is 15·76, and the percentage of Mahomedan ex-students to the Mahomedan male population is 16·91. This proves that Mahomedans as a whole are as much, if not more, ready to attend Government Vernacular schools than Hindus are. It has been more than once demonstrated by myself on previous occasions, that the same fact holds good in English schools also. The report on the last census of the North-West and Oudh (compiled by Mr. White, C. S., and published in 1882), contains the following remark, p. 92:—"There are 2,644,135 Hindu boys between the ages of 5 and 10, of whom 232,055 or 8·7 per cent are learning to read and write. Among the Mahomedans there are 410,946 boys in this age group, and of these the 57,850 returned as scholars are in the proportion of 14·1 per cent. Thus the Mahomedans have a larger proportion of their boys under instruction than the Hindus." There seems to be no need, then, (as has been so often asserted) of special provision for the education of Mahomedans in these provinces.

An examination of the totals at the foot of the above statement will shew in what proportions the different castes are represented at our primary vernacular schools. Out of 3,024 ex-students, high caste Mahomedans contribute 637, Bamins 668, Chattris 248, Kayasths 461, Banyas (with Katris who, however, are very few in number) 263, the other trading castes 198, the metal-working artizan castes 92, the non-metal workers

134, the cultivating castes 115, the pastoral castes 56, the serving or professional castes 70, and the remaining castes (not included in the above) 82. Now if we calculate the proportions which these several items bear to the total number of ex-students, and if we exhibit in a parallel column the proportions which these several castes bear to the total population of Oudh,* the result is as follows :—

	Percentage to total number of ex-stu- dents.		Percentage to total population of Oudh.
High caste Mahomedans	21.1	...	4.0
Brahmins ...	22.1	...	12.5
Chattris ...	15.3	...	5.9
Kayasths ...	8.2	...	1.3
Katris and Banyas	8.7	...	2.3
Other trading castes	6.5	...	3.8
Artizan castes { Metal workers	3.0	...	1.9
{ Non-metal workers	4.4	...	19.5
Cultivating castes	3.9	...	14.2
Pastoral castes	1.8	...	13.4
Serving and Professional castes	2.3	...	7.3
Castes not included in the above ...	2.7	...	13.9
	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

The first conclusion to be drawn from an examination of the above figures is, that the bulk of the school-goers are of the high castes, while the bulk of the population are of the low and inferior castes. Thus, high caste Mahomedans constitute only 4 per cent. of the total population of Oudh, but contribute 21 per cent. of the school-goers. Brahmins constitute only 12 per cent. of the total population of Oudh, but contribute 22 per cent. of the school-goers. Chattris constitute only 5 per cent. of the total population, but contribute 15 per cent. of the school-goers. Kayasths make up only 1.3 per cent. of the total population, but contribute 8.7 per cent. of the school-goers. Banyas make up 2.3 per cent. of the population, but contribute 8.7 per cent. of the school-goers. Traders of other castes make up 3.8 per cent. of the population, but contribute 6.5 per cent. of the

* The population of Oudh caste- is given in Mr. William's Census for 1869, in Vol. II. Table IV., pp. 1—7. His enumeration of castes is much more elaborate than that given by myself. But I have carefully grouped every caste men-

tioned by Mr. Williams under one or other of the 12 fundamental divisions selected by myself; and his enumeration is so clear and explicit, that I felt no doubt whatever as to the division or group to which each of the castes should belong.

school-goers. If we take these 6 caste-divisions together, we find that they constitute collectively only 30 per cent. of the total population, but contribute no less than 82 per cent. of the school-goers. On the other hand, if we take the 6 last and remaining caste-divisions together, it will be seen that they constitute collectively no less than 70 per cent. of the total population, but contribute only 18 per cent. of the school-goers.

Now there are three ways in which this marked disproportion might be accounted for. It might be supposed, *firstly*, that low caste boys do not attend our schools, because the high castes will not allow them to sit in the same class with themselves. Or it might be maintained, *secondly*, that the upper castes attend our schools, because education in some form or other has always been traditional within their ranks, and that the inferior castes stand aloof, because they have been illiterate from the beginning of their existence, and have no ambition to be anything better. Or it might be urged, *thirdly*, that, as education is incompatible with extreme poverty, and as almost all the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the upper castes, the inferior castes are too ill-fed, too severely pressed for the bare necessities of life, to be able to give a thought for any higher aim.

There seems to be much less truth in the first of these suppositions than in either of the other two, though this is the explanation which has not unfrequently been given. In fact, it appears to me, that there is scarcely any truth in it at all. If the reader will again refer to the tabular statement shown above, he will observe that among the 134 ex-students in column eight, who come under the heading of artizan castes, non-metallurgic, there are some who rank almost or quite as low as Pásis; such, for example, are Kumbhárs or potters, Telis or oil-pressers, Chamárs or hide-workers, and Koris or weavers. Yet, when we compare these non-metal-workers shown in column eight with the metal-workers shown in column seven, we find that the former exceed the latter by 42, in spite of the fact that they stand very much lower in the social scale. Among the serving and professional castes in column 11, there is not only the respected Náí or barber-surgeon, but the impure and despised Dhobi or washerman, who ranks not less low than the castes already named. Among the miscellaneous castes, (see column 12,) we have not only the respected Bhát or minstrel, and the Gosháyen or herdsman, but the Pási or pig-rearer, whose diet is swine's flesh, is abhorred by all consistent Hindus, the Kasái or butcher, whose trade in beef involves the slaughter of the sacred cow, and the Mahá Bráhmañ or funeral priest, the degenerate and despised descendant

of the highest caste in India, whose very touch is considered a pollution. Lower still than any caste that has been named, a Dóm was found in one school, sitting a little by himself, but present nevertheless,—the caste of scavengers and corpse-burners, the very lowest of the Hindu castes, “the most degraded of mortals, contemned even by the contemptible.” Now the very low castes contribute (roughly speaking) 5 per cent. of the 3,024 ex-students, whose names were verified on the rolls, and the castes of a rank between the very low and the upper contribute about 15 per cent., while the upper castes contribute about 80 per cent. If the upper castes had wished to exclude the lower or the lowest ones, it would have been easy for this large majority of 80 per cent. to expel such a small minority as that of 15 or 5 per cent., and thus keep the whole of the field to themselves. At indigenous schools, that is, at schools raised and maintained on a purely private and purely native basis, the case would be; and in fact is, altogether different. Into these schools low caste pupils are not admitted, (except occasionally into the Kaithi schools,) and do not expect to be. But at Government or public schools the equality of all castes and classes is recognized, much to the same extent that it is in railway carriages or in the public courts. The natives of India, so far as I am able to interpret their sentiments, are impressed with the idea, that all castes and classes are regarded as equal in the eyes of the British Government, and must therefore be so treated by themselves at Government schools. The prevalence of this conviction has given to our primary schools a democratic and levelling character, such as is not to be found in England: for I have never yet heard of the son of a squire taking his seat in the same class or school with the sons of a grave-digger, scavenger, chimney-sweeper, or butcher. Yet this is a thing of common occurrence in the Government Primary schools of Upper India.

There seems to be much truth, however, in the other two suppositions alluded to above. It is a fact that education, in some form or other, has always been more or less traditional among the upper castes, and ignorance among the inferior ones. It is also a fact that the upper castes alone, and these not by any means universally, possess that degree of material comfort and prosperity without which no demand for education, even of the rudest kind, can exist. Either of these facts would alone suffice to account for the disproportion between population and attendance on the part of the upper and the inferior castes respectively. But in this part of India the two facts generally run in parallel lines; and thus the result is the more assured.

In India, education, (that is vernacular education as distinct from English), is invariably sought for from one or other of the two following motives;—either because it is necessary to the practice of that calling to which a youth is attached by caste or the traditions of his caste, or because it is necessary to the study and practice of the religion to which he was born. In all countries these two motives,—worldliness and piety,—are prominent among others more or less powerful. In this part of India they are, I am persuaded, the only two motives that exist; and I feel sure that the problem of vernacular education would be better understood, if this fact were recognized. The only Hindu castes, then, who value education in some form or other, are Banyas (including Katris and a few other trading castes), Brahmins, Kayasths, and, to a less extent, Chattris, or the landlord-class. Baniyas and Katris value it, because, without being able to write and count, they could not carry on their business as traders, bankers, and money lenders. Brahmins value it, because, without studying their particular books, they cannot exercise the functions of family priest, reciter of Puránas, or astrologer. Kayasths value it, because the hereditary tradition of this caste is to abjure manual labour and to earn their livelihood as writers, village accountants, pleaders, agents, estate-managers, &c. Chattris value it (but to a less general extent than any of the preceding), because it helps them in the management of their estates, if they happen to be landlords, and because they are glad to read the *Ramáyana* at their houses, if they happen to have the leisure and taste for such recreations. To these we might add a few of the more prosperous members of the higher artizan castes, that is, Sunárs and Thateras, who, like Baniyas, keep shop-accounts, or, like Chattris, might have some taste for reading religious books at home. We might also add the small and decayed caste of Bhats or bards, who, though they have fallen irreparably from the high and honored estate they once held in the courts of Chattri princes, still look to education with the lingering hope of recovering through its means the privileges which they have long since lost. Thus much for the Hindus. Among the Mahomedan community the demand for education is more general than among the Hindus, owing to the fact that their religion contains no privileged priestly caste like Brahmins, and is not less democratic in this respect than Christianity. But even amongst Mahomedans the demand for education is chiefly felt among that class of men who are, by profession Moharrirs, Hakims, Moulvies, or religious teachers, or aspire to become so. Thus, in every instance that can be named, whether we look to Hindus or Mahomedans, the incentives to education are to be found either in the demands of religion

or in the demand of some secular calling, to the practice of which instruction in some form or other is indispensable; and it is only those castes or classes, upon whom one or both of these motives operate, that attach any value at all to education. The said castes and classes had established schools of their own several centuries before the Government came into the field as an educating agency. These are the indigenous schools. Baniyas, Katris, and Kayasths of a certain class, had established their Kaithi and Mahajani schools; and from the curriculum of these schools every study that is not directly conducive to the purposes of trade and account-keeping, is carefully excluded. Kayasths of another class, and the Mahomedans, to whose fortunes they had linked their own, had established their Maktabas or Persian schools; and the managers of these schools are not less careful to exclude all irrelevant matter than are those of the Kaithi schools. Mahomedans of the specially religious class had established their Quráni schools. Brahmins had established their pátshálás, in which Sanskrit is not merely the chief but the exclusive study. The more prosperous Chattris had entertained private tutors to teach their sons the *Ramáyana*. The Government schools have not succeeded (except to a very small degree) in reaching any castes or classes but those for whom, and by whom, these indigenous schools had been brought into existence several centuries before. This has been clearly proved by the statistics shewn above. The castes and classes named are the only portion of the Indian population, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, whose attachment to education is genuine and sincere; and even these castes and classes usually prefer the indigenous curriculum, with its exclusive studies and simple appliances, to that prevailing at Government schools, but generally accept the latter as an alternative to the former, because the Government schools cost them little or nothing in comparison with the expense of paying for their own teachers, and bear the prestige of the Government name,—to which name a mysterious importance is attached, which no one would be able to define, if he were asked. All the other castes and classes attend the Government schools either by compulsion or by an illusion. Sometimes they are compelled to attend by the landlords or other men of influence in the village, or by the nearest local official, or by the schoolmaster himself; all of whom (and especially the one last named) are interested in securing an attendance sufficient to justify the cost. Sometimes they attend of their own accord in the vague hope that after leaving the Government school they may, by some lucky stroke of fortune, obtain a Government appointment. Were it not for the pressure

exercised by neighbours, local officials, and teachers, and for the illusory notion spontaneously entertained by the students themselves,—a notion of which every one concerned takes good care not to undeceive them—I believe that all the low, and inferior castes would stand as much aloof from the Government schools as they do and always have done from the indigenous ones. Their attachment to our schools, if it can be called by such a name, is neither sincere nor deep-seated, and their attendance, as the statistics show, is precarious and temporary. Education does not help them to earn their bread, and therefore it is regarded with indifference, if not with aversion. To suppose that such men can desire knowledge for its own sake, and apart from the vain hope of its improving their material condition, is inconceivable. The parents cannot afford to sacrifice the petty earnings, which their children can make in the fields or bazaars, for the sake of a primary education which from sheer disuse they at once begin to forget after leaving school: and the children themselves are much too ill-fed in body to feel any anxiety about food to the mind. These castes have been illiterate from the beginning of their existence, and I think they are destined to remain so, until some radical improvement takes place in their material status, so as to give rise to new tastes and aspirations and new capacities for appreciating the dignity of knowledge and making use of its advantages. Until this much-desired change has become an accomplished fact, (and there are no signs of its approach at the present time), the attempt to extend education among them is (I think) as vain as to build a house upon sand.

It seems, then, that there is no demand in this country for what is called mass-education. The explanations which I have offered may be accepted or not. But there is no denying the fact, (whatever explanation may be made of it), that the inferior castes, who make up the mass of the population, stand aloof from our schools, even in places where the said schools have been lying open at their doors for one whole generation. In the thirteen villages at which these investigations were made, the inferior castes far outnumber the upper ones; and yet almost all the students have come from the latter. The lower castes have been encouraged in every possible way to attend our schools; but with few exceptions (and these chiefly under pressure or illusion) they have declined the offer. The horse has been brought to the water; but it has refused to drink. Even among the upper castes the demand for education is very far from being universal. Among Brahmins and Chattris there is a large proportion

(not less than one half, and probably much more) who have, from time immemorial, sunk to the level of Sudras in point of intellectual aims, and who as labourers, carriers, petty-tenants, &c., have as little desire or need for education as men of the lowest castes. Among the trading castes, there are several (such as Tamolis, Bhunjas, Kujras, &c.) whose trade is too petty to require even that slender amount of education which is patronised by Banyas and Katris, and who therefore keep no written accounts of what they buy and sell. But all the trading castes put together, literate and illiterate combined, contribute only 6 per cent. of the total population of Oudh; and hence the males of a school-going age make up only about 0·5 per cent.; and of these about one-half (for the reasons just given) are content to remain illiterate. Among the high caste Mahomedans there is a considerable proportion whose intellectual aims are no higher than those of the depressed Brahmins and Chattris amongst Hindus. Probably the Kayasth or writing caste is the only caste in India, amongst whom the demand for education can be considered universal. But all the Kayasths of Oudh put together, male and female, young and old, make up only 1·3 per cent. of the total population, and hence the males of a school-going age make up the merest fraction. All things considered, the demand for vernacular education, even among the upper castes, is qualified by many limitations, and among the inferior castes it cannot be said to exist.

Allusion was made a few pages back to 303 entries in the school registers which were found to be fictitious. This is not the place to enter into a minute explanation as to why and how such entries came to be made. The truth is, an Inspector or Deputy Inspector can no more prevent false entries being occasionally made in school registers, than a Magistrate can prevent false evidence being given in his court. In both cases self-interest, (or rather what is supposed to be self interest), is the motive which leads to the practice; and in both cases the officer in charge does what he can to prevent or discover it. The teacher, being an ill-paid man, and having many persons depending on him for support, thinks very seriously about his pay. His salary, as he knows, depends partially, though by no means chiefly, on the attendance which he is able to shew in his books, and so, when persuasion fails, he is tempted to resort to fiction. In the attempts made by the inspecting officer to check this practice, no assistance is rendered by the inhabitants of the village, unless there happens to be some private enmity between the teacher and one of his neighbours, and in this case the neighbour will turn informant. It would appear that, as a general rule, the villagers do not think

much the worse of a teacher, if he employs a little strategy ;* and it is well known that they will sometimes give him warning of the inspecting officer's approach, if he (the teacher) has not heard of it already. Fictitious registration at the Government village schools is one of the normal conditions of their being. The practice has been admitted in almost every annual report that has ever been published in the North-West and Oudh. For example, in the report for 1881-82, para 240, the following remark is made by the Director :—"The returns shew a decrease of more than "1,000 students in Government 'lower schools,' &c. * * * The decrease may be attributed to a "great extent, at least to stricter registration," &c. There is, therefore, nothing strange in the discovery of 303 fictitious names out of a total of 3,327.

The practice of fictitious registration appears to warrant three inferences : (1) It would be obviously impossible for such a practice to prevail or continue, if the boys were not in league with the teachers, and if public opinion outside the school house did not consider it excusable. Hence, there is not much ground for hoping that our primary schools can be the means of raising the moral tone of village society. (2) The prevalence of this practice is only another indication of what has been already proved from the returns of caste and population, namely, that the schools in question do not meet any general want, and are not appreciated by the masses of the people. If the schools were really wanted by the community at large, there would be no occasion for the persuasion and pressure which are now so frequently employed, and which, when they fail, are discarded in favour of fiction. (3) The proportions of fictitious names castwise to the total fictitious

* There are four different kinds of stratagem which have come within my own experience, and there may be many more :—(1) Sometimes a boy has two names ; one being the name pronounced over him by the purohit or family priest with the usual ceremonies about six days after birth ; and the other a nick name or pet name, by which his parents and others habitually call him. In such a case, two names can be made to do duty for one student. (2) Sometimes the same name is borne by several different boys in the village. In this case any ex-student, who happens to bear this name, can be brought in for examination, and be made to personate a fictitious

student entered under the same name in the attendance list. (3) Sometimes a boy who is in regular attendance at some indigenous *maktab* near at hand, is persuaded to have his name entered as a student of the Government school, and is presented as such for examination. (4) Sometimes the name entered in the register is a pure invention on the teacher's part, and answers to no person in the world.

No doubt this is a very imperfect list of the ways and devices of Hal-quabandi strategy, but it may serve to show how difficult it is to eradicate the practice.

enrolment correspond very nearly with the proportions of real names castewise to the total real enrolment :—

		Real.	Fictitious.
Mahomedans	...	21·06 per cent.	17·86 per cent.
Brahmins	...	22·10	29·41
Kayasths	...	15·28	13·57
Chattris	...	8·22	9·34
Trading castes	...	15·23	17·86
Artizan castes	...	7·46	3·33
Cultivating castes	...	3·81	2·34
Pastoral castes	...	1·84	1·97
Serving and Professional castes	...	2·30	1·97
Miscellaneous castes	...	2·70	2·35
		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The teachers have evidently been guided by a wise instinct as to the best way of not exciting suspicion. Knowing, as they naturally would, the castes which are most likely to attend school and would therefore be most expected to do so, they have assigned most of their fictitious students to the five castes standing at the head of the list, namely, Mahomedans, Brahmins, Kayasths, Chattris, and the trading castes. The correspondence is so close that it cannot have been the result of accident. It is in fact the result of a laborious tabulation of over 3,000 names, the outcome of which was altogether unforeseen by those by whom the tabulation was made.

Sec. III.—Occupations of ex-students.

The reader's attention is now invited to the *side-headings* of the statement given several pages back, near the commencement of the preceding section. These side-headings describe the occupations of the ex-students, as distinct from the castes of their parents, and it is to the consideration of this question, (the occupations, &c., of the ex-students), that the present section is devoted.

If the original intention of caste were strictly acted out, the occupation of a son and the caste of his father would be convertible terms. But this has long ceased to be the case in India.

From the analogies afforded by other nations in past and present times, it seems most probable that the distinctions of Indian caste were primarily based upon the distribution of hereditary functions. Functions were made hereditary to ensure that they should be efficiently performed, since, in the early stages of industry, the only mode in which skill could be acquired and transmitted was by filial imitation and paternal influence; and this mode of transmission has by no means become obsolete in the most advanced types of modern industry, nor will it ever become so. In order to give the fullest effect to the hereditary principle, certain safeguards

were added. Families exercising the same craft or trade, wherever their place of residence might happen to be among the towns and villages of India, became gradually united into distinct clans or tribes; and each of these established for itself certain peculiarities of worship, tradition, and marriage rites, to which members of other clans were not admitted.* Hence intermarriage between clans exercising different functions was prohibited, and even intercourse in the matter of eating from the same dish was treated as an offence against society. Thus caste, in the full sense of the word, implied three sets of restrictions,—restrictions on occupation, restrictions on marriage, and restrictions on social intercourse,—the first being the essential purpose of caste, and the other two merely its safeguards and accessories. But in India the fundamental principle, transmission of functions, has long lost much of its original power, while the sentiment of clanship or tribal isolation has retained its old vigor undiminished. Thus caste is now determined by limitations of marriage and social intercourse much more than by limitations of function. The original purpose is falling more and more into the background; and the accessory elements have come prominently to the front.

Among the 3,024 ex-students, whose case we investigated, the most curious discrepancies between caste and function were found to exist. Those of the Brahmin caste were found in almost every shade of employment, from family priests, river-priests, Purán-readers, fortune-tellers, religious mendicants, &c.,—(all of which functions come well within the original status of the caste), to landlords, tenants, field-labourers, warriors, shop-keepers, bankers, writers, grass-cutters, cattle-grazers, cart-drivers, watchmen, cooks, &c., anything in short but what would entail ceremonial pollution with the consequent liability to loss of caste. The occupations of those ex-students, who belong to the Chattri caste, are equally various and mixed, though Chattris still retain their original prominence as the landlord caste. Kayasths have begun to give up the pen,—the once exclusive function of this caste,—and are now

* The highest of all the Indian castes—the model on which the others were formed—was at first merely a body of men distinguished by profession or calling. The word *Brahma* simply meant hymn, prayer, devotional exercise; and *Brahman* originally meant one who composes such hymns, &c. Afterwards it came to mean the superintending priest at a sacrifice, as distinct from the three other orders of priests. Finally it came to stand for all varieties

of the priestly caste. The Hindu Scriptures admit in several places that *Brahman* originally signified not a difference of blood, but of functions. For example, see Muir's Texts, vol. I, p. 140. "Bhrigu replies:—There is no difference of castes. This world having been at first created by Brahma, purely Brahmanic, became afterwards separated into castes in consequence of works," &c.

taking to agriculture, in which capacity some appear as landlords and others as tenants. One even appears in the humble and laborious capacity of a field-labourer, (the ordinary status of a Chamár or Pási); and another has emigrated as a coolie to Mauritius. There is scarcely any caste which does not now appear as a tenant-agriculturist, however incongruous such employment may be with its original functions. In this category I found members of the Pási or pig-rearing caste, of the Luniya or salt-making caste, of the Bári or caste of leaf-plate-makers, of the Bhát or minstrel caste, of the Goshayen or hermit caste, of the Ahir or pastoral caste, of the Baniya or trading caste, of the Behná or thread-making caste, of the Nái or barber caste, and many others, not to speak of the Brahmans, Kayasths, and Chattris already alluded to. The castes whose proper function it is to cultivate the land (namely, Muráo, Kácchi, Kurmi, Lodha, Máli, &c.) contribute only 80 out of the 518 ex-students now engaged as tenant-farmers, or less than sixteen per cent: they are thus far outnumbered, within their own speciality, by castes whose original function had no connection with theirs. To crown the confusion, we have Baniyas, Halwais, and other castes of shop-keepers working as agricultural labourers, a Tamoli (betelnut seller) attempting to learn English, Bháts (or bards) driving carts and holding the plough for hire, a Bhunja (or seller of parched grain) labouring in the fields, a Darzi (tailor) who has turned school-master, a Halwai (confectioner) who has risen or fallen to the same status, Kurmis who have turned native doctors, a Nái (barber) who has become a clerk in a public office, a Kalwár (spirit-seller) who has turned carpenter, another Kalwár who has descended to a field-labourer, an intellectual Kasái or butcher, an English-learning Pási or swine-herd, dancing Mahomedans, wrestling Brahmins, and a singing Baniya. To what extent these discrepancies are the result of education, or of the struggle for existence, or of inheritance from parents, I could not determine. Each of these causes has no doubt contributed its quota to the general medley.

Most of the parents of our ex-students, to whatever caste they may belong or belonged, are or were engaged in agriculture. But most of their sons have taken to other callings. As the Government village-schools were established chiefly for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and indirectly for the improvement of agriculture itself, the aversion to agriculture displayed by our ex-students is a fact that deserves special notice.

Under the head of "Agriculturist" I include all, who either till the soil with their own hands or employ labour to do so. The term applies, therefore, to three different classes of men;

landlords, tenants, and hired labourers. There are few men in Upper India, whatever caste they may belong to, who are not connected with the land in one or other of these senses, or in two of them combined; and there is a large number of men, who though their main occupation is non-agricultural, are yet engaged in agriculture (in one sense or another) as a secondary pursuit. Mr. Williams, in his Oudh Census Report for 1869, remarks as follows:—"Of the total Hindu population in Oudh, 61·1 per cent. are agriculturists, and 38·9 per cent. follow other professions and trades; as against 61·96 per cent. of agriculturists to 38·04 per cent. of non-agriculturists in the North-Western Provinces. Again, of the total Mahomedan population in Oudh, 56·1 per cent. are agriculturists and 43·9 per cent. are non-agriculturists; while in the North-Western Provinces the figures are 39·6 per cent. and 60·4 per cent. respectively."* These two results, elicited quite independently of each other, by different men and in different years, show how closely the economic and industrial condition of the people in the North-West resembles that of the people of Oudh; and how large a proportion of the inhabitants in both provinces is engaged in agriculture.

It should be observed, however, that the figures just quoted from the Oudh Census include the inhabitants of cities as well as those of villages and small market towns; whereas the places about which I am writing come under the latter denomination only. Moreover, it is not quite clear whether by "agriculturist" Mr. Williams meant one whose sole occupation is agriculture, or whether he included under that term one who combines agriculture with other forms of industry. Probably, too, during the 13 years which have passed since the Census Report of 1869 was written, the population of the North-West and Oudh has been growing more agricultural than it was then: † for it is generally believed that the native industries, other than agriculture, have continued to decay, and that the pressure of population on the land has gone on increasing. I believe that in the thirteen villages, in which my enquiries were made, and in almost all other villages of the North-West and Oudh, the percentage of men engaged in agriculture, either exclusively

* Oudh Census Report for 1869, Vol. I, page 35, paras 130, 131.

† Since the above remarks were written, the Report of the new Census of the North-West and Oudh, by Mr. Edmond White, has been

published. In Section XIX, p. 117, he writes: "Of the males returned with occupations, 69 per cent. belong to the agricultural class." The percentage shewn by Mr. Williams was smaller by 8.

or in combination with some other calling, is not less than 80 per cent. of the total rural population.*

Now the avowed object, as we have already remarked, for which the Government village schools were established in the North-West and Oudh, was the education of agriculturists. It was for the maintenance of these schools, that the "school-cess," (called in Oudh the "rural cess,") consisting of a local tax proportioned to the rent of landed properties, was levied; and it is for this reason that tuition fees have not been charged to the sons of agriculturists, while it has been considered just to charge them to the sons of shop-keepers, artisans; and others.† The education thus provided was not intended to make men abandon the pursuit of agriculture, but rather to make them more efficient and more intelligent within that calling, and to enable them to protect their rights and interests as landlords, or tenants, or labourers for hire. The best result that a teacher could show, (to adopt the language of Mr. Growse), "would be a long list of boys, who after learning "to read, write and cypher, had settled down contentedly to "their hereditary occupations, and had proved the value of their "education, by turning out their work in a more intelligent style "than their fathers had done before them"‡

It would appear, however, from the statistics shewn in the tabular statement given above, that this is not the end which is actually attained as the result of village education. The first three side-headings of that statement show that, of 3,024 ex-students, 75 are now engaged as proprietors or part-proprietors of land, 518 as tenants, and 49 as field-labourers,—which gives a total of only 642 ex-students engaged in agriculture. It was clearly ascertained that none of the remaining ex-students, 2,386 in number, have any connexion with agriculture either as a main or as a secondary calling, but are either doing nothing or are engaged in some pursuit or pursuits, of which agriculture forms no part.§

* Mr. H. C. Irwin, in his *Garden of India*, Chap. II., p. 31, says:—"The land of Oudh, the cultivation of which affords their *only* means of subsistence to nearly three-fourths of the people," &c. This implies that nearly 75 per cent. are engaged in agriculture only.

† This is true of the North-West Provinces. In Oudh, however, tuition fees are levied from agriculturists also, so far as they can afford to pay them.

‡ Extract from a minute on the

Education question by Mr. F. S. Growse, C. I. E., Collector and Magistrate of Bulandshahr, Meerut division. This minute was placed before the Education Commission during their tour through the North-West Provinces.

§ The total balance, after deducting the 642 agriculturists, is 2,582. But from this we have still to deduct the 196 ex-students, who have died. This leaves the balance of 2,386 shewn in the text.

The proportions, then, between the ex-students and their parents, if we compare them profession-wise, are as follows :—

	<i>Agriculturists.</i>	<i>Non-Agriculturists.</i>
Parents.	... 61 per cent.	39 per cent.
Their sons.	... 21 per cent.	79 per cent.

Thus, if the son of an agriculturist goes to school, the chances are about 3 to 1, that after leaving school, he will not take to agriculture, but either do nothing or seek for some other kind of work. Even this estimate is probably below the mark; for (as I have explained already) there is reason to think that in the villages of the North-West and Oudh, not less than 80 per cent. of the total village population is partially or wholly engaged in agriculture. I am certain, too, that many, probably more than half, of those 642 ex-students who are now engaged in that pursuit, would leave it if they could, and accept of any kind of light work or service which would bring them in a steady salary of from Rs. 6 to 8 per mensem.

The rest of the side-headings show the present occupation or condition of those 2,386 ex-students who have no connexion with agriculture. Three hundred and eighty-three, (or 12·6 per cent.) are keeping shops; 167 (or 5·6 per cent.) are practising some kind of handicraft; 85 (or 2·6 per cent.), most of whom are Brahmins, are engaged in the administration of religious rites; 248 (or 8·3 per cent.) are engaged in some form of literary service, as accountants, salesmen, mohurrirs, teachers at Government schools, teachers at indigenous schools, &c.; 417 (or 13·9 per cent.) are engaged in some of the many forms of non-literary service, as peons, watchmen, house servants, cart drivers, camel keepers, washermen, tailors, &c.; 115 (or 3·9 per cent.) have gone off to indigenous schools to study Sanskrit, Persian, or Kaithi, or the native system of arithmetic, after having acquired all that they could learn or all that they cared to learn at the Government school; 240 (or 8 per cent.) are still studying at Government vernacular schools either in their own or in some other village; 31 (or 1 per cent.) are studying or attempting to study English; 68 (or 2 per cent.) are earning their bread in various kinds of occupations not already named, such as dancing, singing, wrestling, cattle-grazing, &c.; 296 (or 9·8 per cent.) are doing nothing, but are living on the labours of others; 137 (or 4·6 per cent.) may possibly be doing something, but their occupation or present condition was not known to any one in the village. One hundred and ninety-six (or 6·5 per cent.) are known to have died.

It must not be supposed that all of these have remained in their native villages after leaving school. No less than 859,

or more than 28 per cent. have gone away ; and particulars as to their present occupation or status could only be learnt from persons in the villages. There has certainly not been much inclination on the part of our ex-students "to settle down contentedly to their hereditary callings,"—one of the main results that village education (according to Mr. Growse) is intended to produce. A few of the ex-students are now in prison ; but it is only those of the Brahmin caste that enjoy this bad distinction.

Another fact to be noticed is, that school-attendance has in many cases not been continuous, but has been interrupted, once or more than once, by intervals of several months' absence, and then renewed again. No less than 912, or more than 30 per cent. of the ex-students about whom I am writing, belong to this category. Some have rejoined as many as six times in the course of their educational career ; and, on comparing the class registers of one year with those of another, I found that some students at the time of finally leaving school belonged to a class lower than that in which they had studied at a former period. Sickness is no doubt one cause, on account of which a student's name might be withdrawn for a time and then re-entered. But this alone will not explain the facts to which I have just alluded. The other causes at work are the following :—(1) If the attendance of the student is voluntary, that is, if he aspires to obtain some kind of literate employment, (for this is the only motive for which secular instruction is sought for in these provinces), he rejoins school again and again, as often as he can, in order to keep up his knowledge. For from the moment that he leaves school, he becomes aware of the fact, that outside the school-house he has nothing to read, nothing to write, and nothing to count, and finding that he is rapidly forgetting everything that he learnt,—the inevitable result of living in a state of society where there is scarcely any scope for the utilization of knowledge,—he returns to school and rejoins the ranks of students. (2) The other case is that of a student whose attendance was not really voluntary from the first. Such students (and their number is by no means small,) do not attend because they desire to do so, but because, (as I explained several pages ago), they are pressed by the influential men of the village, or by the nearest local official, or by the school master himself. They leave the school whenever their presence can be spared, and only rejoin it when their presence has again become necessary, that is, when the total attendance has become so slack as to threaten the existence of the school, or damage the credit of those who are interested in maintaining it. It is not to be wondered at that such students pay as little attention as possible to their studies,

and sometimes finally leave the school from a class lower than that in which they had been enrolled at a former period.

The number of ex-students, who, instead of returning to the plough or the workshop, are at this very time continuing their studies at other schools—indigenous, Government vernacular, or English—is another indication of the aversion, with which manual labour is regarded by a man who considers himself educated. These amount altogether to 386, or 12·8 per cent. of the whole. This, at the present time only. If we could discover the number who, in all the years preceding the present, continued their education, or attempted to continue it, after leaving their village school, the percentage would be very much higher. If to this percentage we could add those who remained idle, neither working with their hands nor continuing their studies, the percentage would be larger still. Even at the present time, the number of ex-students who are following no occupation is 296 or 9·8 per cent. Does not this give some countenance to the opinion expressed by the Tahsildar at Talimabad? “*Bas ; Kharāp ko jāte hain.*” Does it not justify the impression formed by Major Grigg respecting the young Kurmi at Bach-rāwan? “It struck me at the time that it had been far better, “had the youth never seen the inside of the vernacular school.”*

This disinclination to physical labour on the part of educated men is usually ascribed to a semi-barbarous Eastern prejudice, to which no consideration should be shown. I am informed, however, by natives on whose intelligence and accuracy I can rely, that field labour under an Indian sun is very exhausting for most months of the year to those who have not been inured to it from childhood, and that a youth, whose boyhood has been spent under the shelter of a school-house, and whose muscles have been relaxed by study, does not possess the physical strength and endurance which field labour (if it is to be remunerative) demands, and, in short, that an educated man is not able to compete as a tiller of the soil with his illiterate neighbours. If this is the case, we ought to feel pity rather than contempt for the young Kurmi who, after completing the curriculum at school, was forced “to mortgage his estate to obtain the wherewithal to pay the labourers employed to till the ancestral lands.” The tropical sun is perhaps the physical explanation of the curse pronounced on labour in the book of Genesis, and of the deeply-rooted conviction as to the antagonism between labour and learning, which has prevailed from the earliest times in

* These two cases were described in detail in the previous article, as the reader will probably remember.

all countries of Southern Asia, from Palestine to China. The compatibility of manual labour *in manhood* with the cultivation of the mind in *boyhood* is one of the greatest blessings, which our own temperate climate affords; but this should not lead us to misjudge the peasantry of tropical countries like India, which in this respect are far less favourably situated. In the East the faculties of the mind and body ripen at a much earlier age than in the West: and hence a boy, after leaving school, cannot take to the plough with the same physical energy or with the same mental inclination as one who has never seen the inside of a school-house.

Even in England, however, although the physical energies of the boy-student are not impaired by a few years' study at the village school, and although the sun is invariably the friend and not the enemy of the working man,—yet even there the taste for farm labour has been considerably weakened of late years by the spread of education among the agricultural classes. "The farmers complain much," as my informant writes, "of the compulsory system established by the Board Schools: it has greatly affected the labour market: farm labourers have become scarce, and they have not the same skill that they used to have; and, as a rule, they have no liking for work." My attention has also been drawn to an extract from the XVIIIth Volume of the "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society" of England published in 1882,* which runs as follows:—"There is a very general complaint among farmers that the present system of education operates prejudicially to the interests of agriculture. Boys, it is said, are kept at school at an age at which they might be usefully employed upon the farm, and be thus acquiring habits and tastes which would fit them for farm service. As it is, the standard of education is so fixed that not only are the first years of industrial training lost before a boy can attain it; but when he does attain it, he acquires with it a desire for what he regards as more suitable occupation; so that the class which was formerly trained into farm service is now gradually absorbed into other industries. Farmers very naturally complain of this; as in districts, where there are school boards, they have to pay for education which not only deprives them for the present of the labour of boys and obliges them to pay men's wages for boys' work, but tends to drain from the land the sources of future labour."

* This volume records "the abstract conclusions arrived at by the "Royal Commission on Agriculture."

The most natural remedy for this state of things would be to apply "the half-time principle" to the instruction of the sons of farm labourers, and by thus shortening the time to lower the standard and confine it to a strictly elementary course in reading, writing, and cyphering. By this means half the day would be given to farm work and the other half to schooling. But, admitting the expediency of such a compromise in a country like ours, it is not easy to see how the same rule could be usefully applied to the agricultural classes in India. For here, in India, the irrepressible question still crops up,—of what use is a strictly primary education to the tenant farmer or farm labourer, even when he has acquired it? The English cultivator, if he learns to read only a little, can take part in public worship on Sunday; but in India there is no literate worship in vogue. He can read the Bible at home (the easiest book in the language); but in India the books which answer nearest to the Bible (the Puráns, &c.), are written in a difficult and almost obsolete style, which none but well educated natives can understand. He can read the newspaper at the village clubs; but in India there are no such clubs or reading-rooms, and no newspapers are ever seen in villages. He can read his grocer's bill, or see the shop-keeper's name on the door; but in India tradesmen do not write bills for village-customers or put their names on shop-doors, and farm-labourers are to a large extent paid in kind, not in cash. He can read notices on matters affecting the parish in which he lives; but in India no notices are ever seen in villages except those which come from the Government court, and these are expressed in terms which only a well educated man can interpret; moreover, it is not tenants and labourers, but landlords, who are concerned in such notices. He can read the announcements put forth by rival candidates at the time of a general election; but in India no such announcements appear for there is no political life. He can read a letter received from a distance, if it is written legibly in a simple style; but in India villager, whose status is below that of a landlord or tradesman, seldom or never receives a letter throughout his whole life. In England, for the last two or three centuries at least, there has been a leaven of intelligence and enlightenment permeating the whole structure of society and making its way downwards more and more from the thinking classes above to the working classes below; but in India, (at least in Upper India), there has been

* * This is the remedy suggested *Fortnightly Review* for November 1882, p. 617, in article on "British Agriculture in 1882."

nothing of the kind. * In England the most elementary books available to the working classes are of the richest, most varied, useful, and attractive description, written (as they often are) by the best men of the age, the leaders of modern thought and research; † but in India there is no primary literature, but what is of the most meagre and paltry kind, and no vernacular literature above it, but what is difficult, fantastic, antiquated, and (so far as modern research is concerned) obsolete and useless to the last degree. In short, in England, a very elementary degree of instruction will carry a man a long way and through a great variety of paths, if he chooses to use it; while in India, it will carry him nowhere. Of

* I have been obliged to qualify this remark by adding the words *in Upper India*, because in Bengal (or as it is called the Lower Provinces) the case is somewhat different. Here there *has* been a leaven of intelligence working downwards from the upper to the lower classes for the last 50 years or more. The extraordinary spread of English education has given a great impetus to vernacular literature, not only raising its tone and giving it new directions, but adding greatly to its quantity. The Educational Department in Bengal used at one time to be blamed for having begun with colleges and high schools and neglected the masses, while that of the North-West was eulogized for commencing with elementary schools. Time, however, has now decided which course was the right one. Primary education in Bengal is now far a-head of that in the North-West. There are more primary schools, more books, better books, and more readers. The leaven of intelligence which began from the top is steadily working its way down, as it did in England, and a general spread of intelligence is the result. One of the best things that English colleges and schools did in Bengal was to oust Urdu from the Government courts, and substitute Bengali, the language of the people, in its place. Thus, in the Lower Provinces the instruction which the son of a peasant can acquire in a village school, opens out to him the language of the courts, besides giving him a respectable literature in addition. Things are on a very different footing in Upper India. Here English education has made no impression; vernacular literature is stationary; Urdu still reigns in the courts; and Kaithi, the character chiefly used by the people, is thrust aside.

There are other causes, however, which have contributed to the spread of primary education in Bengal. The working classes are not so poor as they are in Upper India. The soil is more fertile: and the extremes of heat and cold are less severe.

† This remark has been borrowed from the evidence given by Dr. French, the Bishop of Lahore, before the Educational Commission. He says:—
“When a man like Dr. Whately devoted his original and transcendent powers to write books for little children, bringing down fragments at least of the deepest truth to the level of the most popular and childish comprehension, and men like Thirlwall and Whewell (not to speak of Faraday and Huxley) delighted to cause science to talk intelligently and charmingly to children, we seem to have indications supplied us, and high hopes advanced and inspired, of what may yet be accomplished by the Governments taking advantage of the new devotion and enthusiasm which has taken possession of the leading young aspirants to honors in our English Universities,” &c.

what use, then, is a strictly primary education to a working man in India, even when he has gained it? This is the question that lies at the root of all schemes for extending mass education in this country. Let those answer it who can.

Agriculture is the chief, but not the only, industry in which the working classes in this part of India are engaged. Next to agriculture we should place the various kinds of handicrafts,—rope-making, weaving, oil-making, pottery, carpentry, masonry, basket-making, shoe-making, the arts of the tinman, the brazier, the ironsmith, and the goldsmith. All of these are more or less represented at the villages and market towns in which Government vernacular schools have been established. Education is not less detrimental to the successful practice of these arts than it is to agricultural labour. In both cases the acquired disinclination to manual work is the same; but in the case of the handicrafts it is not the tropical sun which acts as the chief deterrent, (for most of the handicrafts are practised under shelter), but the want of manual skill. Dr. Birdwood has pointed out that in India every thing is handwrought;* and in his chapter on "the master handicrafts of India," he draws attention to the contrast between the *manual* skill of the Indian artizan and the constantly increasing use of *machinery* in the arts and industries of Europe. If a child is taken out of his father's workshop, and is made to spend the best years of his boyhood in mastering the school curriculum, he loses the only chance that he ever had, or ever can have, of acquiring his father's skill. The capacity for imitation is much stronger in early boyhood than in after years; and this (as every one must have observed) is especially the case in India, where the tastes and faculties of a child, physical as well as mental, are formed for life at a much earlier age than in the temperate zone. Early and rapid development, followed by a long period of stagnation, is the law of nature in the East; and this is as true of the individual to-day as it has been in times past of eastern nations generally.

The best and largest workshops in Oudh are those of the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway at Lucknow. In these there is abundant scope for intelligent workmanship, combined with artistic skill. In order to find out what part, if any, education has played in adding to the intelligence and forming the characters of the best workmen employed, I went through the several departments of these workshops, and had personal conversations with the men, under the guidance of one of the chief European officers of the Company. The following are a few particulars, which I noted down

* Part II, "Industrial Arts of India," page 1.

with his assistance, respecting the best workmen under his control :—

Mahomed Ali, a Shaik of the Sunni sect. Jamadar of coolies. Totally illiterate, but intelligent and trustworthy.

Chedi, a Lohár by caste. His work is that of a fitter. A "first-class leading hand" (to use the phrase of the Railway workshops); has about forty-five men working under his orders, he himself (like the other leading hands) receiving his orders from the European foreman or superintendent. Has never been at school. He can read nothing; but he can jot down the technical terms of his art in the Kaithi character, and he did not learn this little at school, but picked it up by self-study and private tuition.

Raghu Nath, a Brahmin by caste, perfectly illiterate. Has been in the workshops since he was eight years of age: a fitter,—not a leading hand like the preceding, but a first-rate workman.

Ram-ud-Din, Lohár by caste. Boiler-maker. A first-class leading hand, and has about ninety men working under him. He informed us that he had never been at school, but had once commenced learning the Hindi character with his father. He cannot now read or write anything, and is totally illiterate.

Laltá, a boiler-maker like preceding;—not a leading hand, but an excellent workman. Totally illiterate. Has been employed for about fifteen years continuously in the workshops.

Sheo Din, a fitter. A first-class leading hand, with some 70 men under him. Has been some 10 years in the workshops. Was never at school in his life. Totally illiterate, except that he can scribble a little Kaithi, the knowledge of which he picked up by himself.

Bulli, another fitter. A first-class leading hand, with about 20 men under him at the present time. Has now the repairs of four engines in hand. Could once write a little Kaithi which he learnt at home, but has now forgotten even that, and is totally illiterate.

Khirode, a Muráo (or cultivator) by caste, and his father is cultivating the fields to this day. A first-class leading hand, with fourteen men under him at this time. A native of the Lower Provinces. Was never at school in his life, but picked up a little Bengali by himself, just as the natives of Upper pick up Kaithi, if they care to know it.

Ram Khilál, a turner, and by caste a Lohár. A first-class leading hand, with about 150 men under him. Was never at school, but has taught himself a little Kaithi, in which character he can transliterate the technical terms of his art, and take shorthand memos of orders, &c., which he wishes to record.

Sohodar, a blacksmith, and of the Lohár caste. A first-class leading hand, with from 350 to 400 men under him. Is totally illiterate, and cannot even write his name.

Ram Kissen, of the same caste and function as the preceding. A very good workman. Totally illiterate.

Nizam-ud-din, a Shaik of the Sunni sect. A brass-moulder. A first-class leading hand, with 25 men at present under him. Totally illiterate.

Lodi, a Brahmin by caste. A bolt machineman. Commenced his service with the Railway Company as a supplier of drinking water to the workmen of the various castes. Now, a first rate workman. Totally illiterate.

Kedi Ram, iron moulder, a Kayasth by caste. A first-class leading hand, with a large number of men under him. A native of Moorshedabad. Left school at a very early age on account of the death of his father, but can still write the vernacular neatly,—the only man in the workshops who was found able to do so.

Karim, a Pathan. A moulder of ten years' training in the workshops. Was never at school in his life, but a good workman.

Santu, a Barhai by caste. Pattern-maker. A first-class leading hand, with some 15 or 20 men under him. He not only makes patterns in wood, but draws models in first rate style on paper. In the art of drawing he was purely self-taught. Was never at school in his life. A native of Fyzabad, Oudh.

Mehi Lal, another Barhai, a native of Mahona, in the Lucknow district, where there is one of the best Vernacular schools in Oudh. Was never at school in his life. Has been ten years in the Railway workshops. A first-class leading hand in carriage-building, and has some 80 men under him.

It would be unnecessary to add to the list : for I have already described all the "leading hands" that are employed in these workshops. These are the most intelligent, the most skilful, and the most trustworthy workmen in the Company's service. Not one of them (with the exception of the Kayasth, who left school in early boyhood) has ever seen the inside of a school-house. My guide and I could not discover a single man or boy in the workshops, who had studied at a vernacular school in any part of these provinces, or elsewhere. Men are employed and paid, as he explained, according to their intelligence, honesty, and skill; and the question as to whether a man has been educated or not, is never raised or considered to be worth raising. *

A number of little boys varying from eighty to a hundred are employed in light work in the same workshops, and are receiving two or three pice a day each. Not one of them has seen the inside of a school-house. Professor Huxley has somewhere expressed the opinion, that the most illiterate man, whose work has taught him something of the laws of nature, is more educated in fact, and has a keener appreciation of the ^{value of} than one who has merely learnt to read and write at an elementary school. Probably, if the professor were now in Lucknow, he would affirm that the railway workshops, which are employing some 80 boys and some 2,000 men a day, are doing more to educate the masses of this city than the municipal schools. He would be still more convinced of this, if he looked to the good which these workshops are doing, in teaching punctuality, application to details, thoroughness of workmanship—in short, in forming the character, which after all is the main result that education is intended to secure.

* He explained to me, however, that the Company attach considerable value to a knowledge of English, as all their rules and regulations, and

all their technical terms are on the basis of this language. I actually found two men who knew English.

Sec. IV.—Examination of ex-students.

The third, and perhaps the most important question, to which I endeavoured to find an answer, was :—"What amount of knowledge have the students retained since leaving school?"

The only way to obtain a definite answer to this question was to call together at each of the 13 villages as many of the ex-students as were willing or able to come, and to examine them one by one in certain standards specially prepared for the purpose. This was accordingly done.

It has been already shewn that the total number of ex-students from these 13 schools was 3,024, and that 859 of these, or nearly one-third, had left their homes in search of employment, or for further education. This left 2,165 ex-students within reach of the proposed examination. Out of this number 1,037 came to be examined, leaving 1,028 who declined or were unable to appear. The examinations which were held included, therefore, a little more than half of all the ex-students who were still living at their own villages. It is to be regretted that so many as half remained unexamined; but one thing is certain. Those who consented to undergo the test were, as a rule, much more likely to pass it, than those who declined; for the chief reason that led them to decline was the dislike to having their ignorance exposed. The results, therefore, which I shall have to record respecting the better half who were examined, are decidedly more favourable than they would have been, had the inferior half been examined with them.

To expect that a village schoolboy would retain, after he has left school, a recollection of the events and dates which he learned in history, or remember the names of distant places and countries which lie entirely outside the range of his ordinary thoughts, would have been unreasonable. The chief use, which the elementary study of history and geography can be said to possess to a village student, is that it helps to open his mind and contributes something to the material on which his intellectual faculties are trained. The strength thus imparted to his reasoning powers can be, and is, retained, even if the material upon which they were strengthened has been forgotten,—just as the muscles of the body retain the strength that they have acquired by use, although the process of acquiring it is not remembered in after years. I therefore excluded these subjects altogether from the examination, and reserved only those which (to use the language of the late Mr. Mill) constitute the "instruments" of knowledge, as distinct from knowledge itself,—namely, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The object was to find to what extent these instruments of knowledge had been retained: for if even these are lost, it cannot be

said that anything in the shape of knowledge has survived. A man who has so far forgotten what he learnt at school that he can neither read, nor write, nor cypher, has in fact become as illiterate as if he had never seen the inside of a school house.

The standards, then, which I selected for the examination were the following :

A. Reading—1st. or lowest standard : to read one or two sentences from a newspaper printed in the examinee's own vernacular.

2nd Standard : to read a short letter written in ordinarily good style and in the Nagri or Urdu characters.

3rd Standard : to read a business paper, written in a legible hand, such as a kabuliyat (agreement or lease given by a tenant-cultivator to a landlord), or a pattá (the counterpart to the preceding), or a tamassuk (mortgage), or a baináma (deed of sale), &c.

B. Writing : three standards, of a graduated scale of difficulty, corresponding to the above ; the first being dictation from a newspaper ; the second, the composition of a short letter to a friend ; the third, the composition of a business paper or letter.

C. Arithmetic. 1st standard : to work out a question in Simple Long Division.

2nd Standard : to work out a question in Compound Long Division.

3rd Standard : to work out a question in Simple Rule of Three, or Simple Interest, or Partnership ; the question to involve the use of a Vulgar Fraction.

In explanation of this scheme of standards it should be pointed out that Primary Vernacular schools in the North-West and Oudh have from the first been divided into five classes, of which the three lower ones constitute the "Lower Section," and the two remaining ones the "Upper Section." Before leaving the Lower Section a boy finishes the four Simple and Compound Rules, reads and practises a letter-writer adapted to ordinary use, and writes to dictation from this book, or from such easy colloquial prose as may be found in a newspaper. This course, therefore, covers the ground of the 1st and 2nd standards just described. In the Upper Section a boy finishes the remaining rules of arithmetic, reads two or three books containing collections of court papers and letters of business, and practises the composition of such letters. This course, therefore, covers the ground of the 3rd and highest of the three standards. All other subjects that are taught in the Upper Section (such as history of India, general geography, grammar, poetry, and mensuration of surfaces), were, for the reasons already given, excluded from the scope of the examination.

It must be further explained that the examination in writing was confined to the Nagri and Persian characters. The other vernacular characters, Kaithi and Mahajani, (both of which are much in vogue in these provinces), were excluded altogether from the scheme. The Nagri character for Hindi students and the Persian character for Urdu students are the only forms of the Vernacular which our schools are allowed to teach;* and as the object, for which this examination was held, was to test the value of the teaching given at Government schools as distinct from that given at indigenous ones, it was necessary to restrict the examination accordingly.

On the same grounds the examination in Arithmetic was restricted to Simple Long Division in the lowest standard, and to Compound Long Division in the second standard. Neither of these rules is taught in indigenous schools or by private tuition;† and the inclusion of these two rules in the Government curriculum is considered, (like the exclusion of Kaithi), to be a mark of the superiority of Government schools over indigenous ones. Even Multiplication is not taught in native schools on precisely the same plan as in our own: and the only two rules, in which the two systems entirely tally, are Addition and Subtraction.

Such, then, was the scheme of standards prepared for the examination; and the result was as follows:—Out of 1,037 examinees, 172 (or 16 per cent.) passed in one or more of the three subjects, (reading, writing, and cyphering), and in one or other of the three grades of difficulty. All the remaining examinees, 869 in number (or 84 per cent. of the whole) failed to pass in any one subject or in any one standard of difficulty. The degrees of failure, as I need scarcely add, were not uniformly equal. Some could read really nothing, others could read a little, but not without making two or three blunders in every line. The same in writing, and dictation.

The number, who passed in reading and writing respectively, was almost equal, as might be expected,—163 in the one, and 166 in the other. The number who passed in Arithmetic was 123, or about 40 less than those who passed in reading and writing.

* In the schools of the North-West, the teaching of Kaithi has never been allowed from the first. In Oudh schools, it was not allowed at all in the early days of the department, and lately only in the lowest classes.

† Multiplication and Division are

taught conjointly by means of Fractional parts, and the Multiplication Table by whole numbers is carried up as far as 40 times 40, and in some cases much higher. The tables are committed to memory; and the calculation of any given problem is made very rapidly.

Details as to the castes of the pupils who passed are shewn in tabular form as follows:—

	Reading in standards.			Writing in standards.			Arithmetic in standards.			Total number of passed examinees.	
	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.		
Mahomedans of high caste ...	20	26	16	19	26	17	22	18	6	62	
Brahmins ...	8	7	9	6	9	9	2	5	6		26
Chattris ...	5	2	5	5	3	4	4	5	1		
Kayasths ...	9	9	9	10	10	9	12	7	6	29	
Trading castes ...	13	8	4	11	8	4	7	11	4		26
Artizan castes ...	5	3	0	5	3	0	3	1	0		
Cultivating castes ...	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Pastoral castes ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Serving castes ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Miscellaneous castes ...	2	1	1	4	1	0	2	1	0	5	
Total	62	57	44	61	62	43	52	48	23		172

In this statement the same system of caste-divisions has been observed as that employed in the preceding pages. The first five consist of the upper castes, (namely, Mahomedans of a certain stamp, Brahmins, Chattris, Kayasths, and the trading castes, chiefly Baniyas) : while the last five consist of the lower castes, (namely, the artizan castes of all kinds, the cultivating castes, the pastoral castes, the serving castes, and miscellaneous castes not included in any of these). It will be observed that the first five contribute no less than 155 pass-men, or 90 per cent. of the whole : while the remaining five contribute only 17 pass-men, or 10 per cent. of the whole. This corroborates the conclusion which was established by the statistics previously shown,—that it is only the upper castes, and only particular members of these, who attach any real value to education, and that all the remaining castes are indifferent to it, and only attend school, if they attend it at all, either by compulsion or by an illusion. The statement given in section II showed that the higher castes contribute 82 per cent. of the school-goers and the lower 18 per cent. The statement now given shews that the higher castes contribute 90 per cent. of the passed examinees, and the lower castes 10 per cent. In other words, very few boys of the inferior castes ever go to school at all ; and of these few, fewer still remember anything after they have left it. Only one student of the cultivating castes passed an examination in reading and writing.

The total number of pass-men from the inferior and upper castes combined was, as we have shown already, only 172, or 16 per cent. of all the 1,037 ex-students who were examined. The real result, however, was a good deal worse ; firstly because the 1,037 who underwent the examination were more likely to pass than the 1,028 who held aloof from it ; and secondly, because the number 172 includes those who left school recently, as well as those who left it long ago. The former should of course be deducted : for until a man's knowledge has been submitted to the test of time, we cannot assume that he would be able to read or cypher six or eight years hence.

If, then, we distinguished the pass-men from each other by the different dates at which they left school, the result is as follows :—

Pass-men who left in 1873 or previously	...	...	...	75
" " 1874-76	...	...	...	20
" " 1877-79	...	...	...	37
" " 1880, and since	...	...	...	40
Total.				172

Deducting the 40 pass-men who left school in 1880 or since, the total is reduced to 132. If we further deduct the 37 who left

school in 1877 or since, the total is reduced to 95. Ninety-five pass-men out of 1,037 examinees gives only about 9 per cent; and this can hardly be considered a satisfactory return for all the trouble and expense incurred in producing it.

In point of fact it is not possible that any student can permanently retain what he learns at school, unless he is either engaged in some kind of occupation which keeps him in constant practice, or studies of his own accord some religious book at home. In the absence of one or other of these conditions, the question of his retaining what he learnt is merely a question of time. There are very few of our ex-students who belong to either category; and hence it should be no matter of surprise that 865 out of 1,037 could neither read, nor write, nor cypher even in the lowest and easiest standard prepared for the examination. I made a note of every ex-student, who (so far as I could learn) had either obtained some kind of literate employment since leaving school, or practised the study of religious books privately at home: and it was found that the total number of men so engaged almost coincided with the number of pass-men. The result is herewith exhibited in the following form:—

			Pass-men.
Those who left in 1873 or previously	{ Literary service or occupation...	54	
	{ Study of religious books ...	16	
Total.		70	... 75
Those who left in 1874-76.	{ Literary service or occupation ...	11	
	{ Study of religious books ...	5	
Total.		16	... 20
Those who left in 1877-79	{ Literary service or occupation ...	18	
	{ Study of religious books ...	6	
Total.		24	... 34

Thus in each of the three periods shown above, (for there was no need to take into account the fourth and most recent period, namely, 1880-82), almost every instance of passing is accounted for either by the occupation of the ex-student, or by private reading at home. Cases to the contrary do sometimes occur, as the above figures show; but these are so rare and exceptional, that they do not affect the validity of the general rule; * and

* The following examples may be quoted as instances of men, who passed the examination, in spite of the fact that they neither had any literate employment nor studied religious books at home. At Goshayenganj

there was a Tamoli (seller of betel-nut) who practised nothing but the simplest account-keeping in his shop, and who studied no Puran at home, and yet this man passed high in reading, writing and cyphering.

(it will be observed) they chiefly occur among the pass-men who left school in 1877-79, and not among those who left at an earlier date. I enquired of many of the ex-students who failed, how it was that they had so completely forgotten the instruction they had received at school; and the almost invariable answer was:—*Kam nahin parta*, "We have had no occasion to use it": which is good as saying that to persons situated, as most of the villagers in this country are, education is useless.

With one exception there is not a single newspaper that ever finds its way to any of the 13 villages at which these enquiries were made. Particular care was taken to investigate this point. The one exception noted is Amethi, and here newspapers are sometimes seen, not because any one goes to the expense of subscribing for them, but because one of the residents happens to be nearly related to the proprietor of the *Oudh Punch*, who receives several newspapers *gratis* in exchange for his own. Perhaps it is not generally known how very small and unimportant the vernacular press is. In the North-West, Oudh, and the Punjab the number of vernacular papers of all kinds is 81, with an aggregate of only 20,500 subscribers; while the total population of the three provinces named exceeds 60,000,000. Of these 81 papers 67 are published weekly or bi-weekly. There are altogether only two daily newspapers, and these count only 1,700 subscribers between them.* The best newspaper in Oudh (the *Oudh Akhbār*) does not pay its expenses, as the proprietor has informed me: such is the dearth of readers in Upper India. At the close of the year 1882, the total number of vernacular newspapers published in the whole length and breadth of India, was only about 270, with an aggregate of only 110,000 subscribers,—an insignificant number for a country which is said to possess a population of over 250,000,000 souls. Those persons, who are inclined to measure the educational wants of India by those of England, would do well to compare the above figures with the statistics of the cheap daily press in our own country. "The daily circulation of the *Daily Telegraph*,

It turned out that his shop was next door, and in fact contiguous, to the school house, and that he had been in the habit, ever since he left school, of taking his place among the boys, when he had the leisure, and keeping up his old studies. Another singular case was that of a Mahommedan butcher at Amethi, who astonished the audience by passing well in reading and writing. This man must either have an extra-

ordinarily retentive memory, or he must have had opportunities of private reading, which he did not care to disclose.

* These figures are taken from a notice on the "circulation and influence of the native press," which appeared originally in the *Englishman*, Calcutta, and which was reprinted in the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, on 28th February 1883.*

"recently certified by public accountants, averages over 260,000.
 "The weight of paper used each morning is 21 tons, which laid out
 "in one long line would reach 260 miles." * * * *
 "The amount of paper used during the year 1880 for the *Morning*
Standard was 3,412 tons, equal to a length of 36,609 miles,
 "and for the *Evening Standard* 865 tons, equal to a length of
 "13,377 miles,—the two quantities making a total of 4,277 tons
 "and 46,986 miles of paper in the year, or an average of 13 tons
 "and 160 miles a day." * * * *
 "The circulation of the *Daily News* rose in a single week
 "from 50,000 to 150,000 per diem, and its present sale must
 "be about 200,000 a day, if not more.*" Quotations to this
 effect might be multiplied to almost any extent. It is not only
 in the metropolis and the large provincial towns that cheap
 newspapers abound, but almost every small town has its own
 local organ, and almost every village has its reading room, to
 which the farmer and farm-labourer can resort. To this state
 of things India presents no parallel; nor can she be expected
 to do so for centuries to come, perhaps never.

What, then, is the *raison d'être* of the Government village
 schools. The avowed object of their establishment (as we
 explained above) was the education of the agricultural classes
 * who pay the local rate or cess; for it is by this cess that the
 schools are maintained. But when we inquire as to the precise
 nature of the benefit intended to be conferred, it is not so easy
 to find a distinct answer. The only definite exposition, which I have
 myself been able to discover in all that has been written on the
 subject, is that which was given by Raja Siva Prasad, C. S. I.,
 late Inspector of Schools in the Benares Division :—"The Baboo
 "would convince his readers that our schools have not answered
 "their avowed object of educating the agricultural classes. The
 "Government has made great exertions to protect the rights
 "in the land by defining their nature and extent, and by devising
 "a system for their complete registration. The efficiency of
 "this system depends on the ability of the people to comprehend
 "it, and to take precautions that whatever affects themselves is
 "correctly shown in the registers: and hence the need of village-
 "schools. I can assure the Baboo, that if he will only take the
 "trouble to examine these registers (the village jamabandis)
 "he will find every one of the 28,312 agriculturists mentioned
 "in the Inspector's report borne on them, either in his own name
 "or in that of his father or guardian." (Quoted from para. 2)

* Extracts from *Journalistic London* : by Mr. J. Hutton, published by Sampson, Low & Co.

the reply, dated Benares, 20th January 1869, given by Raja Siva Prasad, then Inspector of the Benares Division, to the Report on the village schools of the North-Western-Provinces, by Baboo Bhudeb Mookerjee, published in Calcutta, 1868.)

Now, no one has ever doubted that the name of every tenant is borne on the registers kept by the Patwari; for this functionary is compelled to register *all* such names in virtue of his office; and he will accordingly do this for educated and uneducated tenants alike. But is it true that "the efficiency of the system," that is, (I presume), the correctness of the registers, depends upon the tenants being able to read them? I think not; and for the following reasons: (a). The Patwari's registers are not shewn to the tenants, before they are filed in the Tahsil office: so the tenants have no opportunity of reading the registers, to see whether their respective holdings have been correctly represented there or not. (b) Men who have studied no further than to what is called the Lower Primary Standard, (and these constitute more than 80 per cent. of all our village students), would not be sufficiently educated to understand the registers, even if they saw them; and even then, the form of the vernacular, in which the registers are kept, might not happen to be the same as that which the tenant was taught at school: for in these provinces the two forms of the vernacular are as different as Chinese and Greek, and the Patwari may write whichever he likes best. (c) A man, who has studied to what is called the Upper Primary Standard might be trusted to test a Patwari's registers, provided, firstly, that he could get a chance of seeing them, and provided, secondly, that they were kept in that form of the vernacular which happened to be known to himself. But such men almost invariably renounce agriculture as soon as they leave school; so the argument does not apply. (d) Lastly, an officer (called the Qanungo) has been especially appointed by Government to see that the Patwari's registers are correctly kept. The special function of this officer is to take the registers to the fields and consult the villagers, and see with his own eyes that no false entries have been made. The Qanungo in his turn is supervised by the Tahsildar, and the Tahsildar by the Deputy Collector or extra Assistant Commissioner. In the face of these facts it is rather startling to be told that the efficiency of the registration system depends upon the tenant, and not upon the machinery provided by the State.

The Educational Committees in the North-West Provinces have pressed their opinions very freely for the last 10 years or more as to the status and objects of the village-schools which they have been called upon to administer; and these are published annually in the Director's reports. All kinds of propositions are put

forward by the different writers in reference to agricultural primers, sanitary primers, &c., &c. But I do not recollect to have ever once seen even a passing allusion to the subject of a Patwari primer or the testing of a Patwari's register. If the testing of these registers is the one great object for which village-schools were established, it is strange that no mention has been made of the fact for the last 10 years by the revenue officials who direct the educational committees.

The village-schools have indeed been a most conspicuous failure, if (as is alleged) the avowed object of their establishment was to put the Patwari in the power of the cultivator. I proved in Section II. that the cultivating castes proper, who make up 14·2 per cent. of the total population, contribute only 3·9 per cent. of the school-goers. I proved in Section III. that agriculture is the last occupation that our best village students, (those who alone would be able to test a Patwari's register), desire to enter or retain. I have proved in the present section (see statement a few pages back) that only *one* out of all the ex-students from the cultivating castes is at the present time able to read and write. These cultivating castes supply by far the best tenants to be found in Upper India: and yet they are unquestionably among the most illiterate. They are the backbone of the country,—the source from which the greater part of its wealth is produced; and I cannot but regard it as a fortunate circumstance, that they have remained steadfast to the useful traditions of their race, and have not been de-industrialized, as they certainly would have been, if they had come within contact of scholastic influences.

Sec. V.—North-West and Oudh compared.

In the preceding pages it has been assumed that what is true of Oudh is true of the North-West Provinces also. I cannot speak from much personal knowledge of the latter province. But the extracts, which I am about to quote from the published reports of District School Committees, will shew that the assumption was not unfounded. For there is no proposition of mine in reference to the village-schools of Oudh, which does not find an echo in the reports of these North-West committees. The authors of these reports are revenue officials of local knowledge and experiences; who are eye-witnesses of what they relate, and whose descriptions of their respective districts are given quite independently of each other. The value of their testimony is therefore beyond question.

In saying this, however, I do not wish to imply that the gentlemen, from whose reports I am about to quote, have thought

out the entire subject of primary education from the same point of view as myself, or come to the same conclusions. But this raises rather than lowers the value of their testimony: for writers are seldom so instructive, as when they are writing without bias and throw out remarks incidentally, from which others may draw inferences not intended by themselves. To avoid prolixity, I shall quote exclusively from the reports of 1881-82, the last that have been published. It will be seen from these quotations that the District officers of the North-West have expressed the same views as myself on almost every question of importance, such as the castes attending school, the ephemeral character of many of the schools, fictitious registration and its causes, the proportion of students enrolled in the lower and upper classes respectively, the general indifference of the people, the passion for service as the chief motive for attending school, &c. It will thus be seen that under a widely different system of control, (the control in Oudh having been purely departmental, and that in the North-West by committees), the results in the two provinces are practically the same. This was only to be expected: for whatever system of control may be applied, it stands to reason that primary schools founded by the State cannot be made to run in any groove other than that which the intellectual wants and economic capacities of the community compel them to accept.

I. The following extracts describe the experiences of district officers in the North-Western Provinces on the subject of caste.

Saharanpur.—"I spent a considerable part of the cold weather in Nakur, and inspected most of the schools in the Tahsil. I was struck by the fewness of the schools. This is no doubt chiefly due to the apathy of the pupils, who are for the most part Gujars,* and this caste is always backward in availing itself of education." (p. 2. B. of Report for 1881-82.)

Muttra.—"Brahmin and Baniya children reap most benefit from the Government schools. Kayasths and Mahomedans, too, are well represented. Chamars have not a single boy at school. So there is a large field for the new district committee to cover in the matter of extending rudimentary education downwards." (p. 8. B.)

Agra.—"There are several causes which stand in the way of the improvement of our schools. The chief of them are the following:—First, caste prejudice, which excludes the majority of children from education: second, the difference of the court

* The Gujars, like the Jats, Gaddis, taking largely to agriculture, like Ahirs, &c., were originally a purely pastoral clan; but they are now many other castes whose original functions were different.

Population.	Province.	Villages which never had a school.	Villages which still have a school.	Villages which once had a school, but have none now.
Below 1,000	North-West	77,808	1,805	1,744
	Oudh	4,159	507	313
Between 1,000 and 1,500	North-West	1,269	805	474
	Oudh	866	250	126
Between 1,500 and 2,000	North-West	329	458	144
	Oudh	280	136	76
Between 2,000 and 3,000	North-West	117	427	87
	Oudh	91	137	32
Above 3,000	North-West	76	333	21
	Oudh	22	63	7
Total	North-West	79,599	3,828	2,470
	Oudh	5,418	1,093	553
Grand Total		85,017	4,921	3,023

It will be seen from these statistics that it is not population, but caste, which determines the possibility of opening and maintaining schools. Out of the 3,828 village-schools existing in the North-West at the present time, 1,805 or nearly half are in villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants, male and female; while the other half are in villages, the population of which ranges from 1,000 to over 3,000. In the same province there are 1,791 villages with a population ranging from 1,000 to over 3,000 that have never had a school or asked for one; while no fewer than 726 villages with the same amount of population have been unable to maintain the schools which they once had, the supply of students having been insufficient to justify its continuance. The corresponding figures for Oudh are not dissimilar in proportion to the smaller area of the province.

No statistics are given in the Director's annual reports as to the castes attending the primary schools in the North-West Provinces. But careful statistics were collected by Babu Bhudeb Mookerjee in 1868 at the 80 village-schools which he visited and examined in the Meerut Division. The result which he published was the following:—*

Number of schools visited.	Number of scholars attending.	NAMES OF CASTES.					
		Brahmins.	Chattris.	Kayasths.	Banyas.	Muhammedans.	Other castes.
80	1,849	544	328	135	224	357	261

In this statement the Babu has mentioned the five upper castes separately. In doing this he has adopted exactly the same method as myself. But all the remaining castes, which were classified by me under five separate main heads, he has grouped together under one general head as "other castes." The reader will observe that the proportion of these five upper caste pupils to the whole is 86 per cent. which very nearly coincides with the percentage discovered by myself at the thirteen schools which I examined in the Lucknow district, namely 82.

* See page 17 of his report, published in Calcutta in 1868.

II. The next point proposed for comparison is the shifting character of many of the village schools. When schools of this kind were first opened in the North-West, the theory, upon which their location was determined, was that of equal distribution. Each Tahsil, or revenue sub-division, was parcelled out into Halquas or circles, and in or near the centre of each of these a primary school was established for the enlightenment of its own and the surrounding villages. The schools thus established were therefore called Halquabandi, and this is the name which they have retained to this day. The plan upon which the Visitor-General acted has been thus described by Mr. Cann, who was Inspector of Schools in the Meerut Division in 1869: "The Visitor-General's plan of distributing the schools over a newly settled district was to call together the zemindars of each Pergannah and spread before them a map of their Pergannah. Upon this, after explaining to them the amount of school cess available, and the number of schools which might be supported by it, he placed at equal distances the proper number of pice; then seeing what villages likely to be suitable were near these, and taking the advice of the assembly as to any change they might show to be advisable, he located his schools."

But after the first few years of trial, the theory of equal distribution completely collapsed. The following figures are taken from the same report by Mr. Cann, dated 21st January 1869:—

Pergannahs.	Number of Halquabandi Schools.	
	1860-61.	1866-67.
Iqias	16	15
Sardhana	27	17
Basuli	28	18
Gunaur	21	10
	92	60 *

Thus in the course of 6 years, 32 schools out of 92 had failed; and even these figures (as Mr. Cann points out) do not shew the

* Mr. Cann's tabular statement included figures for 3 more Pergannahs; namely, Rurki, Nakur, and Moradabad. I have omitted them, because

Mr. Cann explains that the vast discrepancies between 1860 and 1866 were owing to the recent collection of the local cess.

full extent of the changes which took place within this brief space of time; for "changes in the position of schools may and do take place without creating any difference in the number." In fact, it was as impossible then, as it is now, to maintain schools in places where there is a marked absence of Brahmins, Kayasths, Katris, Chattris, high caste Mahommedans, and Baniyas.

The Circle theory has long since been abandoned in the North-West, and was never attempted in Oudh from the first. In some parts of districts large tracts may be found without any trace of a school in them; in others, schools may be found in clusters of four or five together, with only two or three miles' interval between them. The schools, however, still pass by the name of Halqua-bandi,—a misnomer, which, as it cannot be admired on grounds of euphony, must have been retained on the well known Ciceronian principle of *lucus a non lucendo*. We must suppose, then, that they are now called circle schools, because they don't go in circles. Even now, in spite of the abandonment of the circle theory, and in spite of all the experience gained since the first experiments were made, a considerable number of the schools have not been able to obtain a firm footing, but are shifting about from place to place, like unclean spirits "seeking rest and finding none." The following statement shows the extent, to which schools have been moved from one locality to another in both provinces within the last ten years:—

PROVINCE.	Number of Halqua Schools existing in 1872.	Number of Halqua Schools closed since 1872	Number which have survived since 1872.	Number of new schools added since 1872.	Number of Halqua schools existing in 1882.
North-West ...	3,545	1,220	2,325	1,503	3,828
Oudh ..	1,076	367	709	884	1,093
Total ...	4,621	1587	3,034	1,887	4,921

Thus in the North-Western Provinces there were altogether 3,545 village schools in the year 1872. Of these 1,220 (or 34 per cent) have been abolished since that year on account of insufficient attendance, leaving only 2,325 (or 66 per cent.) which have survived. One thousand five hundred and three new schools have been opened since then, which gives a net increase of 301 in the number of schools since 1872. In Oudh out of 1,076 schools existing in 1872, three hundred and sixty-seven (or 34 per cent.) have had to be closed; and 709 (or 66 per cent) have been able to hold their ground. The equality of the result is another

indication, among the many already mentioned, of the extent to which the intellectual wants and economic condition of the two provinces coincide.

The following are a few extracts from the reports of the North-West committees of 1881-82. These will shew that mobility, and not permanence, is still the characteristic of many of the village-schools under their control:—

Saharanpur.—"Four Halquabandi schools have been transferred from places, where the attendance was poor, to villages where it seemed likely they would be better appreciated."

Muzaffernagar.—"Of the 111 Halquabandi schools which were in existence at the beginning of the year, six have been closed, and two new ones have been opened."

Meerut.—"The principal question discussed was the late President's new scheme for reducing the number of schools. His proposals were communicated to the Director of Public Instruction, who however declined to sanction the radical revolution suggested. As he sanctioned the reduction of schools found notably useless, four schools have been closed in this cold weather."

Bulandshahr.—"Three schools have been closed and set up elsewhere."

Aligarh.—"During the year there were six schools done away with entirely, and eleven had to be transferred to other villages owing to the paucity of scholars." (This implies that seventeen schools were abolished within that year only).

Multra.—"It was found necessary to transfer 26 teachers owing to local disagreements or other reasons necessitating their removal."

Agra.—"The number of schools in Agra is, I think, sufficient for the area of the district. A very important branch of the committee's duty has been the proper location of the schools."

Mainpuri.—"There are 123 Halquabandi schools with 3,767 boys on the rolls, as against 129 with 3,792 last year. Thus, with six schools less, there are only 25 scholars less."

Etawah.—"It was found necessary to close eight Halquabandi schools during the year, as the attendance was very poor and the progress made unsatisfactory. * * * * With proper management and judicious location, a hundred Halquabandi schools would seem to be ample for the requirements of this district, and I do not think the number should be increased at any time unless under exceptional circumstances."

At this day, then, after thirty years' experience, "the proper location of schools" is declared to be one of the most important of a committee's duties. In contrast with this picture I

would ask the reader to compare the facts announced in the Report on Primary Education in England and Wales for 1881-82:—"It is a somewhat remarkable proof of the *bona fide* character of the great efforts which have been made "under the voluntary system to meet educational deficiencies, and of the strong hold which that system has upon the "country, to find that of the 7,237 schools established with the "aid of Government grants in the course of the last 50 years, "not more than 153 have ceased to exist."* In England, then, out of 7,237 primary schools maintained by private enterprise, only 2 per cent. have ceased to exist within 50 years. In the North-Western Provinces out of 3,545 primary schools established by the State, maintained entirely by public funds, and inspected and controlled by the most influential officers in the district, 34 per cent. have ceased to exist within 10 years. The extent to which the demand for primary education differs in India and England respectively, may be gauged by this remarkable contrast.

III. The next point, in which a comparison may be drawn, is the standard to which instruction is carried in the village-schools of the North West and Oudh respectively. The following statement shews the number of students enrolled in the different classes at the close of the year 1881-82, according to the official report last published for the united provinces:—

	Lower Section (classes VII, VI, V) (1.)	Upper Section (classes IV, III) (2.)	Total of 5 classes (3.)	Percentage of (1.) to (3.)	Percentage of (2.) to (3.)	
North West.	118,738	23,061	141,799	83.7	16.3	100
Oudh.	37,299	8,026	45,255	82.4	17.6	100
Total.	156,037	31,087	187,054	83.3	16.7	100

Thus, in the North-West, the number of students in the Lower Section is 83.7 per cent. of the whole, and in Oudh 82.4 per cent. The equality of the proportions is again remarkable. Considering what a very meagre course the Lower Primary is, the result is one of which neither the department nor the committees have any reason to boast.

But out of the 83 per cent. who never enter the Upper Section, it is only a small proportion that enter the highest class even of the

* Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1881-82, p. viii.

Lower Section. In the lowest or alphabet class the proportion of students is usually 45 per cent. of the total enrolment, in the next lowest, about 23 per cent, and in the last (that is the highest class of the Lower Section), about 15 per cent. Now it is only in the class last named that a student completes the four Compound Rules of Arithmetic. All the rest, numbering about 68 per cent. of the whole, are mere beginners, and their knowledge, if it stops there, is worth nothing. Yet this is the proportion in which our students leave the Halabquandi schools year after year.

The following extract from the report by Mr. Darrah, Secretary of the Badaun District School Committee, North-Western Provinces, explains the high percentage in the alphabet class:—

“It was, and I fear is still, but too common a custom for a teacher to gather together all the little children of a village and enter them in his lowest class, notwithstanding the fact that they are often too young to learn any thing. The parents are often glad for a child to be looked after for a part of the day; and the teacher benefits by having an additional name in his roll.” (p. 17 B.)

Mr. Thornton, the Secretary of the Moradabad Committee, North-Western Provinces, explains the preponderance of students in the Lower Section, and the impossibility of preventing it, in the following terms:—“Nearly a year ago we were informed by the Inspector that no school could be considered up to the mark which did not possess a third class:” I had a list of schools not teaching up to that class made out, and the teachers were enjoined to start a third class whenever possible. But subsequently there appeared great difficulties in the way of enforcing any hard-and-fast rule on the subject. At many schools I found it unquestionably true that parents remove their children to do practical work after a certain age; so that it was not the teacher’s fault that there was no third class. At others the level of intelligence is so low, or causes operate to break the regularity of attendance, so that the teacher can scarcely keep up even a respectable fourth class.” (p. 17 B.) These remarks entirely bear out my own experience. The value of the small earnings of child-labour among a very poor population is one proof out of many others, that among such a people the improvement of primary schools is as impossible as their extension.

The Secretary of the Meerut Committee writes as follows:—“To make education popular I should drop history and geography teaching, usually bad and in any case useless, and insist on a

* The third class is the highest to which village or Halabquandi schools are expected or allowed to teach.

"more thorough practical acquaintance with Arithmetic. The future cultivator ought to be able to tot up the rent of his small holding, or the price of a load of grain readily." (p. 5 B.) This is as good as saying that Government village-schools are not wanted at all. For every tenant can, by natural instinct and by tradition, that is, without the help of school instruction, tot up the rent of his holding, &c. But if school instruction is required at all for such a purpose, it can be obtained at the Indigenous Kaithi patshálás, where elementary Arithmetic is taught upon a shorter and quicker method than at Government schools.

IV. In both provinces the fictitious registration of students by the teacher is a practice which no one has ever yet succeeded in putting down entirely.

Moradabad.—"The decrease (in the number of students) arises, in all probability, from the rectification of the school registers which has been attempted to be effected. Formerly the teachers used to enter in the register numbers of boys who never attended at all, not to speak of those who had left off attendance, or attended with the greatest rarity. Efforts have been made to check this, but I do not suppose they have been attended with more than partial success. It must be acknowledged that the village teacher's register forms a very poor criterion of the local taste for education." (p. 17 B.)

Badaun.—"The Deputy Inspector explains the decrease by saying that he made the teachers strike off the names of a large number of pupils whose attendance was merely nominal. Either they did not come at all, except at long intervals, or else they came and merely sat in the school without attempting to learn anything." (p. 17 B.)

Shahjahanpur.—"In the past cold weather, when schools were examined, it was found that in the Halquabandi schools generally the attendance registers are not accurately kept up, and the teachers were repeatedly punished and warned. The attendance statistics must, I fear, be accepted with caution." (p. 22 B.)

Fictitious registration is not unfrequently accompanied with absenteeism on the part of the teacher :—

Banda.—"The teachers are much given to the practice of absenting themselves without leave, and are punished when they happen to be detected." (p. 28 B.)

Agra.—"Although absenteeism among the teachers has greatly decreased, as compared with previous years, yet it is here and there occasionally found. The Tahsildars were requested last year to render their help in the removal of this evil, but have been unable to do so. Hence the appointment of another Sub-Deputy is recommended." (p. 9 B.)

If there were anything like an earnest or general demand for village schools, neither absenteeism on the part of teachers nor fictitious registration would be tolerated by the villagers; and the work would go on spontaneously without the help required from Tahsildars or other district officials.

V. In Oudh the attitude of influential natives towards the spread of primary education is one of almost total indifference. If a native gentleman sets up a vernacular school at all, it is invariably one on the indigenous model,—a maktab for teaching Persian, or a patsála for teaching Kaithi. Instances of this kind are very numerous to this day. But in the whole history of education in Oudh, there are only three cases in which natives of influence have set up vernacular schools on the Government model; and of these only one has survived. The late Maharajah of Bulrampur set up ten village schools on his estates in the Gonda district; but there was no vitality in the work, and the schools died out after a few years. The late Taluqdar of Baragaon, Sitapur district, established one school at Baragaon on a larger scale; but after it had existed for about ten years, he closed it on finding (as he officially reported to me) that most of the ex-students had forgotten how to read and write a few years after leaving. The only native aided school in Oudh still surviving is that at Mohanlalgunj in the Lucknow district.

The indifference displayed by the native community in the North-Western Provinces has been a subject of frequent complaint, as the following extracts shew :—

Meerut.—“ Mr. Davis has furnished some notes of his inspection. * * * * * He points out that the carelessness of parents “is a great cause of inefficiency. The President proposed to “remedy this by appointing committees in each village, who would “inspect the school regularly. This may do some good, but no “mechanical devices will create an interest where it does not “exist. I have seen villages where the Government teacher complained that he could not get children to attend, and the “indigenous school was crowded.” (p. 5 B.)

Manipuri.—“ It remains to be seen whether the increased “power given to the (native) members of the district committee “by the new decentralization scheme will infuse in them any vigor; “but knowing the people here from a residence among them “of over two years, I am afraid that the scheme, so far as education is concerned, will fall dead.” (p. 12 B.)

Etawah.—“ I am glad to say that the Tahsildars seem to have “been aroused to their sense of duty (in the work of inspection.) “* * * * * Constant supervision like this must have the very best “effect in maintaining the efficiency of schools. As for the

"non-official members of the committee, I regret to say, no help of any kind has ever been received, nor do they, as a rule, evince any real interest in the matter. They would seem to care no more for the welfare of village schools than they do for Greek." (p. 13 B.)

Badaun.—"Mr. Whish in his report last year remarked that the native members of the committee were beginning to take an interest in the subject, and to exert themselves in examining schools and encouraging education. I regret to have to notice that the interest displayed before the late Secretary proved evanescent. A few members ordinarily attended the meetings of the committee, but not one of them seemed to care in the least what became of the schools, or to know whether one teacher was better or worse than another." (p. 19 B.)

In 1879-80, owing to an extraordinary outbreak of fever in the autumn and winter months, the total attendance at village schools in the North-West and Oudh fell off by 20,000. Since then, though there has been no unusual sickness or scarcity, the numbers have not recovered, as they would have done long ago, had there been any earnest demand for education on the part of the people.

VI. In both provinces it is not the interests of agriculture, but the passion for service, which gives to our Primary schools such vitality as they possess: * I have already said so much on this point in connection with Oudh, that I need only now quote from gentlemen acquainted with the North-West:—

Muzaffernagar.—"In the number of pupils borne on the rolls, in their average attendance, and in the amount of fees—

* Babu Bhudeb Mookerjee gave the following remarks on this point in p. 53 of his Report on the Village Schools of the North-Western Provinces, published in Calcutta on 1868:—

"The simple interests of the agricultural classes, on which the educational system was designed to be established, appeared on trial to be too weak for the purpose. For it may be easily imagined that, rude and primitive as the village people were, they could not readily understand the connection that subsisted as cause and sequence between a knowledge of letters and the defence of their rights in land. To simple and unsophisticated people, to be able to defend his rights does not seem to require any long or roundabout preparation. It is left by them invariably to common sense, to traditional instructions handed down from parents to children, and to the example and advice of friends and neighbours. Very few men, even in the higher circles of society, study the laws of their country simply to have a clear knowledge thereby of their duties and rights. Every human effort is made with a view to some positive good. The defence of one's rights is but a negative one. The acquisition of knowledge, especially at the rudimentary stage, is a very great effort; and in the eyes of the unlettered masses, knowledge, as power or accomplishment, has no value whatever."

“realized, there has been during the year under report a distinct and satisfactory advance. The Deputy Inspector attributes the improvement to the impetus which has been given to it by the appointment during the year of 57 ex-pupils to posts in the public service. In so far as the fact indicates that education is valued rather as a means than an end, it is not altogether a satisfactory symptom of progress.”—(p. 3. B. of Report for 1881-82.)

“The system of Primary instruction aims at converting all the rising generation into mere office clerks. * * * * * At present the only attendants at our village schools are boys whose parents hope to secure for them some kind of Government employment. * * * * * What Primary instruction is given is regarded not as an end in itself, but only as a preparation to higher studies. A little reflection must shew that this is precisely what is not wanted,” &c. (Extract from remarks sent to the Educational Commission by Mr. Growse, Collector and Magistrate of Bulandshahr.)

Proof of the correctness of the above view might be drawn from the irrepressible tendency of village school-masters in the North-West to teach above the Primary or Halquabandi standard. This tendency had reached such a pitch in 1874-75, that the Secretary of the Badaun Committee reported in that year that “the difference between these (Tahsili and Pergannah schools) and “Halquabandi schools was merely nominal.” Accordingly very stringent orders were issued by the (then) Lieutenant-Governor for keeping the two classes of schools distinct. Yet to this day there is a large number of Halquabandi schools in the North-West teaching up to the middle class examination, and Inspectors and Committees have failed alike to repress them. Every annual report that is published draws attention to the evil, and declares that it is being gradually overcome. There must be some strong reason why this extra-educational tendency should have ever sprung up, and why it has been so tenaciously adhered to: and it is not difficult to see what the cause has been. The middle class examination is the great passport to employment in the public service; and the teachers at Primary schools have made this examination their aim, in obedience to the clamour of students and parents.

VII. Whatever opinions may be held as to the good which these Primary schools may have done, there can be no difference of opinion as to what they have cost. What the expenditure was in the North-Western Provinces prior to the year 1865, I have no means of knowing. From April 1865 to March 1882, the combined expenditure in both provinces, as shewn

in the annual reports, has exceeded 92 lakhs of Rupees, or in English money it has come up to nearly a million sterling.

From 1st April 1865 To 31st March 1882.	North-West Rs.	Oudh Rs.	Total Rs.
Primary Vernacular Schools	67,58,807	16,83,666	84,42,473
Normal Schools	5,70,545	2,11,261	7,81,806
Total ...	73,29,352	18,94,927	92,24,279

It has been customary to extol the cheapness of Vernacular schools as compared with English ones. But the comparison has not been as justly made as it is intended to be. In the first place, in reckoning the cost of Vernacular schools, we are bound to take account of Normal schools: for without these no Vernacular schools could be opened or maintained by the State. The expenditure on Normal schools alone since 1865, (in the North-West and Oudh), has come to over 7 lakhs of Rupees. No such item, however, can be debited to the cost of English schools; for these supply their own teachers, or are supplied with them on the results of the University examinations. Again, in calculating the average cost per pupil at Vernacular schools, we ought to deduct at least 60 per cent. of the enrolment or attendance; for (as I have recently shewn) at least 60 per cent., and generally more, learn practically nothing. The same cannot be said of English schools. Then, again, even among the 40 per cent. that remain, a very large majority (as I proved in section IV of this article,) become illiterate within a few years after leaving school; and so their education counts for nothing. Relapses into ignorance occur very rarely, or at least with much less frequency, so far as I have seen, among the alumni of English schools. Fictitious registration is practised to a considerable extent at Vernacular schools, and in reckoning the average cost per pupil fictitious students are counted with real ones; but I have seen nothing of this practise at English schools. And lastly, fees are either not collected at all at village schools, or (if they are) they make up a merely nominal item: but the fee receipts at English schools constitute a considerable and (I should add) a growing portion of their income, and this item tends to reduce the average cost per student to the State. If all

these facts are taken into account in calculating the average annual cost per pupil at village schools, Rupees 40 would be nearer the truth than Rs. 4 at which it is usually estimated.

If we take an exhaustive survey of all kinds of literate employment, that are open to men educated at Vernacular schools, it will be seen that there are very few requiring any kind of training, but what can be, and in fact has been, given at indigenous schools or by private tuition. The exceptions to which I refer are those marked with an asterisk in the statement given below; and even these, (if we except the Patwári), cannot learn all the mathematics that they require at a village or Primary schools but must go to a Secondary school, either Vernacular or English, for the purpose.

I. Religious functions :—

- (a). Brabmins among Hindus ;
- (b). Moulvies among Mahommedans.

II. Secular employments of the higher grade :—

A. Private :—

- (a). Ziladars, rent-collectors and estate-managers in the service of rajas, taluqdars, and wealthy landlords generally ;
- (b). Vakils, pleaders who hold a certificate entitling them to plead in the public courts ;
- (c). Hakims, medical practitioners on the old or native system ;
- (d). Mukhtars, pleaders of a lower status than vakils.

B. Public :—

- (a). Revenue and judicial officers of all kinds, police inspectors, &c.
- (b). Clerks in Vernacular offices, (such as sarishtadars and record keepers,) darogas in jails, &c.
- (c). Hospital assistants, compounders, dressers, &c.

III. Secular employments of the lower grade :—

A. Private :—

- (a). Merchants, money-lenders, and shopkeepers of all kinds ;
- (b). Men employed by merchants and tradesmen ; such as the Gumashta, who acts as salesman and local agent,—the Rokaria or cash-keeper,—the Charandar, who conveys merchandize from one place to another,—the Dallál or broker who brings customers to the shop,—the Arhatia, or commission agent,—the Manib, who supervises all the different Gumashtas and reports to his employer ;
- (c). Mohurrirs or private clerks to zemindars or landlords ;

- (d). * Contractors, for the making of roads, construction of buildings, &c.
- (e). Men connected with the Vernacular press, such as compositors, lithograph-writers, proof correctors, book-binders, contributors to newspapers, &c.
- (f). Petition-writers of all kinds.

B. Public:—

- (a). Mohurrirs and Nazirs in Government offices of all kinds; "Literate Constables" in the police department, &c.
- (b). * Patwaris, or village accountants.
- (c). * Amins, or land-surveyors for settlement work; Qánungos for the supervision of Patwaris.

IV. Teachers at Vernacular Schools:—

- (a). Government schools;
- (b). Indigenous mukhtabs and patshálás.

The above list is, I believe, exhaustive. It is obvious that the teaching at Halquabandi or Government village schools is irrelevant to *I, Religious Functions*, and that it is not nearly high enough, for, *II, Secular employments of the higher grade*. It is obvious, too, that it is of no use for tradesmen, &c., under *III. Secular employments of the lower grade*, because all tradesmen and their employés in these provinces use Kaithi or Mahajani, which our schools do not teach. All the remaining men coming under heading III., write Urdu or Persian, and these languages and characters can be taught in the best of the *makhtabs* not less perfectly than at Government village schools, and sometimes a good deal better. In point of fact, almost all the ziladars, mukhtars, tahsildars, darogas, mahurrirs, nazirs, &c., employed in these provinces, whether by private persons or by the State, have been educated in *makhtabs*, and not in Government schools. The only classes of men, therefore, for whom the indigenous training is insufficient and in some respects unsuitable, are contractors, (those at least who take large contracts,) Patwaris or village accountants, Qánungos who supervise these accountants, and Amins or men temporarily employed for settlement purposes. These require more mathematics than a *maktab* can give them; and all except the Patwari require more than a village or Government Primary school can give them.

I hold, then, that if two or three good vernacular schools, teaching above the village or primary standard, had been established by the State in every Tahsil (or revenue sub-division,) they could have amply supplied all possible requirements of the above nature, and that every thing else in connection with vernacular education could have been left to private enterprise. Before the establishment

of British rule, the indigenous teachers of all kinds (Moulvies, Gurus, Lalajis, Pundits, &c.,) were able to provide, and did in fact provide, all that was required for the efficiency of trade, agriculture, religion, and the industrial arts; and as the conditions of native life have remained substantially what they were, it follows that the same teachers could still supply all possible requirements of this nature, if the field were left open to them again. A landlord, for example, who has been educated on the native system of Sabák (literature) and Siyák (computation or arithmetic) is quite as well able to keep his rentroll, watch his Patwari, and read a court paper, as one educated at a Government school. An artizan who sells his own wares, a grain dealer, and a general tradesman, can learn all that they require for the keeping of shop accounts better at a private Kaithi school than at a Government village school; and for making short reckonings, and bargaining with a customer *impromptu*, the native arithmetic is a more useful instrument than our own. It has been fully proved by experience that a Government Primary school can only exist in places where indigenous schools existed already, or would exist again, if the Government school were withdrawn.* It is only among certain castes and classes that indigenous schools have

* Probably it is not generally known to what an extent Government Primary schools interfere with private enterprise. Elaborate statistics regarding the locality of indigenous schools were collected in Oudh throughout the 12 districts in 1874; and it was then proved that 76·2 per cent. of the indigenous schools or private teacherships existing at the time were in the very same village or market town with Government schools; that 18·8 per cent. were in places only 2 miles distant; and that only 5 per cent. were in places entirely out of the reach of Government schools. The Government schools pursue the indigenous schools, as the shadow follows its substance.

I lately examined a village school at Bikapur in the Fyzabad district. The school had been opened nine months before. The progress made by many of the pupils would have been very remarkable, had it been the result of nine months' teaching. The schoolmaster of course set it down to his own hard work. But it turned out, on my making further enquiries, that prior to the establishment of this school there had been no less than four private *maktabs* in the place and neighbourhood, and that the most forward boys in the school had come from these *maktabs*. I then enquired what had become of the four Moulvies or tutors. They had all been dispensed with, and no one could say where they had gone to. The schoolmaster seemed rather proud of his achievement. "Ever since I came here, they have all had to go." The department, however, has little reason to be proud of defeating private enterprise by public money.

Instances of this kind are endless. There is an application in the Lucknow district, which is still pending. In this village the local zemindars and pattidars have hitherto kept a private tutor of their own, to whom they pay only Rupee 1 a month with board. If a village school is established, they will be saved even this.

sprung up ; and it is only among the same castes and classes that Government schools can be or have been maintained. The indigenous methods are no doubt extremely faulty from our own point of view as instruments of intellectual culture. But intellectual culture is precisely what the people do not want to have. They care for no education whatever, but what is necessary to religion or to success in wordly business : for it is upon the basis of these two sentiments that indigenous tuition has rested for the last 1,000 years or more. Interference with private enterprise, unless very decided advantages are to be gained thereby, (and these are by no means apparent in the present case), is the last principle to be adopted as the mainspring of an educational policy :* and it appears that the founder of the Halquabandi schools in the North-West Provinces (the model of those founded in the Punjab and still later Oudh) was not fully satisfied as to the utility of the system, after sufficient time had been gained for contemplating the results of its working.

J. C. NESFIELD.

* The educational programme, with which the North-West Government at first set out, was to aid and improve indigenous schools only. But too much was expected in the way of improving them after English models : the teachers did not wish to be improved ; and the success with which the revenue authorities collected the local rate, (called at first voluntary subscriptions), was a temptation too strong to be resisted. Hence Halquabandi schools were established. This was at the time when Mr. Stewart Reid, C. S., was Visitor-General,—a title since changed to that of Director of Public Instruction.

Mr. Reid, however, does not seem to have been thoroughly satisfied with the result. Several years afterwards when Govt. village schools were about to be opened in Oudh, in the middle of 1866, he wrote demi-officially to Mr. Handford, the then Director in Oudh, to the following effect :—"Were I to begin again, with ample funds at command, I would expend a goodly sum in aiding indigenous schools, making, of course, the adoption of our school-books and system of school discipline a *sine qua non* for the receipt of assistance from the State." (Dated Fyzabad, 12th July 1866.) It appears to me that the imposing of such conditions cannot but be destructive of all attempts to encourage private enterprise or conciliate indigenous teachers. It might have been possible to give them some kind of aid or reward for results adapted to their own methods of teaching. But we cannot, by the introduction of our grammars, readers, histories, and geographies, or by the application of our complicated grant-in-aid rules, change the foundation on which indigenous tuition has rested from time immemorial.

ART V.—ADAMOLI'S NOTES ON A JOURNEY FROM
PERM TO TASHKEND.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," April 1883.)

ACCORDING to the opinion of Adamoli the Kirghizes are both physically and morally a primitive race and must be treated like children, with kindness or severity, according to circumstances, to obtain from them any possible thing required, but it is necessary to be long acquainted with them and to know them well, as Gorbakofski, the Governor at that time, did. He liked the Kirghizes very much, but occasionally treated them harshly, by which means he succeeded in obtaining their respect and love. When Semiretchenski was still a portion of the Omsk Government, the people of Kokand made constant raids, which made it necessary to restrain them by taking possession of the first fort on the boundary, which was Piskpek. After this had been done, the Khan of Kokand proclaimed a holy war against the Russians, sending an army of *Sarts* and of Persian slaves to attack them. At the news of the approach of these forces, 40,000 yurts of Kirghizes from the Semiretchenski hastened to Kokand to join the army of liberation. This happened in 1860. The Russians, who were only 700 in number, encountered this immense mob in the steppe adjoining Usmagask, and completely routed it. Nor could the result have been different, considering the arms used by the Kirghizes, and their manner of fighting. In spite of the great inferiority of their weapons, and in spite of the falling of their combatants on every side, the Kirghizes, however, approached the Russians to within a distance of fifty paces, but these last fifty paces they could never make; had they done so, their immense mass alone would have sufficed to destroy all their foes. The battalions of Persian slaves were somewhat organized, and had machlocks, but fired them without taking aim. They discovered, however, one stratagem which nearly proved fatal to the Russians. They set the withered herbage of the steppe on fire and enveloped the enemy in flames. The ammunition wagons of the artillery galloped across this circle of fire with impunity, but it was a miracle. The victory having been gained, all the Kirghizes again returned as if nothing had happened, and their chiefs waited on Gorbakofski to make their submission. The General went alone to receive them, and, as his first salutation, he boxed their ears most liberally and sonorously. After this

paternal admonition, he no longer molested them and abstained from all further enquiries. By this rough and primitive procedure he first inspired the Kirghizes with respect, and by not punishing them further, he gained their affection.

In Vernó, as already observed, the Kalmucks and the Kirghizes were not numerous, but usually the most industrious and cunning people in the country. The Kalmuck boys were already manifesting their natural instinct for gain, by suspending a crucifix from the neck, assuming the airs of catechumens, and asking for alms by making the sign of the cross freely. The Kirghizes, on the other hand, simple and primitive as they were, asked for charity honourably, alighting from their cows, and prostrating themselves on the ground so as to touch it with the forehead, but not using any Jesuitic astuteness or rhetorical artifices. The Kirghizes also bear pain with heroic stoicism as appears from the case of one, narrated by the doctor of Vernó, who had to amputate one of his legs and also one of his arms, injured by the explosion of a bombshell which the Kirghiz had found and set carelessly on fire.

In various houses Adamoli saw candlesticks and other objects cut out of a stone named *kalabdash*, which can be worked into very elegant shapes, and would appear to be a kind of *soap-stone*. In the whole of Vernó there was, however, not more than one man who knew how to work this stone. Our traveller was of opinion that besides this stone, many other wonderful discoveries could be made in the mountains, if they were only allowed to be explored.

At Vernó the travellers separated, Tchaikofski being obliged to remain there in order to join his brother at the lake Issikol, and the two friends parted with regret. After leaving

To Tashkend.

Vernó the road ran at a distance of four or five wersts from the foot of the mountains, which presented nearly the same aspect as those of Vernó, and rose so steeply, that the eye could with a single glance embrace all the zones of the different vegetations. Numbers of rivulets were divided into channels or *ariks* for irrigating the fields; but, the soil not being porous, the water could not filter through it even in the slightest manner; accordingly the brooks were dammed up artificially, and then allowed to inundate the fields so as to promote the vegetation. The harvests of wheat and millet were not yet ripe, but just beginning to yellow; lastly, there were also fields of sunflower, the seeds of which the Russians like very much. In the neighbourhood of Vernó could be seen poppy-fields cultivated by Chinese, for the manufacture of opium.

As far as Kastek the land was mostly occupied by Russian emigrants, and but few *yurts* could be seen. In a few villages there were Russian or Kozzak colonists. Having reached Kastek in the evening, Adamoli was compelled to stop, it being impossible to pass over the mountain in the night; and, there being nothing worth seeing, he lay down in his carriage, after taking a walk in the surrounding deserted country, and slept till morning. Then the ascent began through a rising valley on a rugged and most horrible road, no progress on which could have been made with five horses attached to the carriage, unless the soldiers who were working on it had every now and then assisted them. This portion had been made accessible for carts only a week ago, after freeing the road from the incumbrances which the rains of the last spring had lodged upon it: during which season the above-named doctor of Verno had been compelled actually to travel three weeks round the mountains to reach Tashkend.

On the mountain, *haults* of Kirghizes, all with their cattle, were often seen. Many were descending to change their pastures and their caravans always presented a picturesque sight. Their women ride on horseback with a kind of white, tube-like hood over their heads and shoulders, inclined to one side. They were horribly ugly; but their girls, with a mass of little tresses of hair protruding and dangling from their embroidered bonnets, would have looked amiable, if they had been only a little, very little more passable. The hair on the top of their heads under their bonnets is cut short, and their boots which reach half up the leg, have such high heels, that it appears almost impossible they can walk with them.

After passing Kastek, Kirghizes were met who had been under the dominion of Kokand, and their importance ceased in comparison to that of the Sarts, the inhabitants of the town. As far as Kastek, on the contrary, the Kirghizes were before the arrival of the Russians the only natives and absolute masters of the soil, roaming at large through the boundless steppe, paying homage sometimes to one, and sometimes to another Khân, always, however, nominally only, and constantly enjoying entire liberty. Their staple food is always milk, either in a pure form, or as a mixture of cow, sheep, and camel milk, or in the shape of cheese. With milk they also cook millet and barley, which they bruise with a wooden pestle of a peculiar form, resulting in a kind of much-liked porridge. They have large hemispherical cooking pots, to which the porringer of varnished wood already mentioned is added to constitute nearly all the utensils needed by a Kirghiz for his culinary operations.

As we have observed already, *Kumis*, is a luxury enjoyed only by possessors of large herds of horses, the mares of which are not ridden but kept for reproduction and for their milk only.

The chief feature of independent Kirghiz life was cattle lifting. Four or five men quietly approached during the night the cattle they desired to steal, and which were usually guarded by a single herdsman. One of the robbers remained standing alone in the direction which the stolen cattle were to take, whilst the others drove it towards him from a distance, howling and poking it with long staffs till it fled and blindly followed the first Kirghiz who galloped in front, in the direction of the *haul* to which the beasts were intended to be taken. If the herdsman succeeded by his shouts in attracting the owners of the stolen cattle, their chief aim was to break the line of the direction and to cause the cattle to follow their own. The Kirghizes have also a sport called *Baiga*, which consists in following each other on horseback and robbing a sheep; the man who is the last in catching the animal becomes the victor, but it is usually divided and each competitor obtains a piece of it.

At noon our traveller reached the top of the passage of Kastek, where the flora and the temperature reminded him that he was high above the level of the sea. Now the road began to descend on the other side of the mountain to the Fein valley, along its arid and gravelly bed; although but fifteen days ago it would have been impossible to cross the mountain torrent which then rushed through it. At Tokmak there was a Kozzak stanitza, said to have two years ago contained 200 Russian and Kozzak habitations, of which, however, our traveller saw very few, but on the contrary many *yurts*, and a new bazar, which belonged to the Sarts.

Tokmak was at that time the last place which Russian peasants had reached; further on, merely soldiers and merchants of that nationality could be found in the forts and towns, but the soil yet belonged to the natives. The post-stations were so constructed as to be able to resist an attack; consisting of a little square bastion, surrounded by a fosse, but manned only by two Kozzak soldiers, the rest being Tartars and Kirghizes.

Aulieh Ata is reached by coasting along the Alexandrova mountain at a distance of four or five wersts from it, constantly passing over the *ariks* or channels that irrigate the millet, corn, and panic fields of the Kirghizes, whose *yurts* peep out here and there on the plain at a good distance from the road, which was, however, more than hitherto dotted by Kirghiz cemeteries. There were tombs of every size, cylindrical turrets, but usually a simple heap of earth merely, although family tombs were surrounded by battlemented mud brick walls. Occasionally a

picturesque little chapel with a façade and cupola flanked by turrets could also be seen, to show how much the minds of the indifferent Kirghizes had been influenced by the neighbourhood of the Sarts who are fanatic Musalmans. These chapels were also constructed of bricks dried in the sun, or at the utmost scorched by fire made of withered herbs, and then plastered with mortar. Here the road became again somewhat rugged, and, after crossing a water-course, the fore wheels of the carriage struck with such force against the boulders, that it would certainly have been overturned if the travellers had not all jumped into the water and supported it on both sides.

That whole day's journey was performed in an uncultivated lonely country, with scarcely a green field here and there. Two old Sart forts, namely Tchoudovar and Merke, were also passed near the road, but they consisted of nothing more than heaps of mud. A curious cart, with extremely high wheels very wide apart was seen in which Sarts conveyed some of their baggage; it was drawn by one horse on which the coachman rode. Bustards, storks and other enormous birds, hovered about at some distance. During the night the cart again stuck fast in an *arik* from which it was extricated by the Kirghizes of an adjoining *haul*. During the whole night only one post was made, and the next day the aspect of the country was the same as before, but the temperature was different, because the mountains along which the travellers coasted were much lower; the harvests were ripe and being cut. The first day was really warm, but never unpleasantly so, on account of the clouds as well as on account of the air coming from the mountains; the nights were, however, always rather cool and dry. Herds of camels and of horses were seen grazing in the arid steppe.

At one station the travellers (now apparently reduced to two, namely, Adamoli and Waller) had a visit from a rich Kirghiz whose pantaloons of embroidered leather they admired, and he in his turn wondered at their table and tea requisites, touching them all with his hands. At last Aulieh-Ata, an entirely Sart town, with nothing European in it, was reached. This was the first oasis of verdure after Verno, where the poplars and willows with their abundant foliage presented a delightful sight, especially in a country where, during a journey of several hundred versts not a single tree can be seen. From the Irtish to Verno the traveller had beheld nothing that could properly be called a tree. Then came a desert till a few poplars were perceived at Merke. Even at Aulieh Ata, the trees were not very numerous, but the site of the town was picturesque enough. On an elevation washed by the river, there is a rock with walls and battlements, relieved

by angles and towers, on the tops of which are umbrellas fixed to shade the sentries. In the plain, on the banks, and in the gravelly and very broad bed of the river, great numbers of Kirghiz *yurts*, with cattle of every species, could be seen; the willow groves on the flanks of the rock concealed the Sart town. The bazar where Adamoli went to purchase provisions was a broad, straight road with footpaths on both sides; along which little porticoes of plastered cane-work, supported by sticks of poplar, serving as columns, extended; and these porticoes give entrance to the small shops in which the wares, such as eggs, bread, vegetables, apples, melons, sacks of rice, various kinds of corn, dried fruits, the flesh of sheep, and garments, are displayed and openly exposed for sale. Barbers were shaving their customers in public, whilst the shopkeepers, dressed in white coats and little caps, but very few with turbans on their heads, were anxiously expecting customers, but never making the least sign to invite them.

Adamoli was delighted with the beautiful physiognomies of the Sarts of Aulieh Ata, but knew not whether they were *Uzbeks* or *Tajiks*; they had lively and deep eyes, black beards and shaved heads. All the streets of the bazar were covered with mats supported by horizontal and transverse poles, for shading the customers; but the other streets of the town consist only of bare walls on either side; with loop-holes here and there at long intervals; the doors have carved posts, but are always kept shut; inside, there are, however, little yards and gardens. Everything is of chalk-earth,—the bazar, the walls, the houses, the footpaths; and no other material can be seen. In a willow-grove in an *arik*, there are baths protected by mats, and carpets spread out for performing the genuflections after bathing.

After Aulieh Ata, stations were no longer met with for changing horses, but only *yurts*, which, however, often presented a new aspect. The Kirghizes had surrounded their tents with walls, either for defence, for their cattle, or for storing the produce of their fields. But they construct their habitations according to the fashion of the Sarts, that is to say, of sun-dried bricks and straw. These are no longer the Kirghizes of the steppe, but they still retain some traits of their original primitive character. After leaving Aulieh Ata, not more than one tree was met with on the road, and it was a poplar. At the station of Mashial a carriage was seen which belonged to a Mr. Davidoff, a Russian, who worked a Coal-mine which had been discovered at a short distance. He had it worked by Kirghizes and was sending the coals to the Sir Deria [Yaxartes] for the Government steamers.

The Russians use these coals also for household purposes from Tchekend to Tashkend; they contain much sulphur, but are after all much better than the fuel of the Sarts, who use the dried dung of animals for burning.

The village of Menkend announced itself from a distance by its trees and abundant vegetation, which covers the hill. The road led through fields of rice, of hemp, and of vegetables, protected by low walls. At last strong trees with tall trunks were reached, and the travellers passed between the high walls of the houses on both sides of the road, descending on the other side of the hill, after which they crossed the river with some trouble, and at last found the yurt of the station.

Late in the afternoon the journey was resumed and long files of camels were seen passing, with the bridles of those who followed tied to the tails of the animals that preceded. The undulation of their movement was such, that the mere sight of a camel with a man riding it, was according to the opinion of Adamoli, enough to make one sea-sick. He was delighted with the sunset he witnessed on this occasion, and calls it the most imposing and the most characteristic spectacle of that portion of Asia. The sun imparted a red tinge to the vapours, to the clouds, and to the dust scattered in the atmosphere; the long file of camels was silently disappearing at a long distance on the horizon; here and there columns of cow-dung smoke were rising from a few *yurts* with cattle around them, and the white ridges of the Tian-Shan spurs appeared in vague outlines on the eastern sky.

On the 1st August at 8 P. M. the travellers reached Tchekend, where they heard to their great amazement that General Kaufmann (the same who died at St. Petersburg in May 1882) with his retinue had been expected for two days, but had not yet arrived on account of the bad state of the roads, and the immense difficulties of the journey. The natural consequence was that no horses could be had, because five or six carriages were already waiting to get some, and had the precedence; hence nothing remained but resignation, getting one's supper, and going to bed. The next day Adamoli paid a visit to the military commandant, Colonel Terkoski, and his wife, to whom he had a letter of introduction. There he was kept to dinner, and after it, all started together to a *tamasha* given by Sadik Nazar, a Sart, to the Russian officers, for having received, through General Kaufmann, a diploma from the Emperor, exempting him from paying taxes, and conferring upon him a certain military grade. When Tchekend was not yet under Russian dominion, Sadik Nazar occupied the highest post, represented the Khan, and had the right of

life and death over all the inhabitants. He was, moreover, extremely rich and possessed a splendid house. When the Russians approached, he sent all his magnificent furniture, carpets, dresses and vessels to Bokhara for security. When he afterwards demanded back his property, the Amir refused to restore it.

The party of guests, consisting of Adamoli, two ladies in *lineikas*, and various officers on horseback, passed in a real atmosphere of dust through the fort, went down to the Sart town, and, after traversing various streets of the bazar, reached at last the house of Sadik. The company first entered a yard shaded by poplars, watered by *ariks*, protected by high walls, and floored with mats; then, passing through a corridor, a second yard was reached, at the other extremity of which the dining table was laid out, on a dais resembling the stage of a theatre. This was reached by footpaths along the walls, the lower portion being a garden with common flowers, where also servants were standing around the *samovar* (the gigantic Russian tea-pot). The trees around overshadowed with their branches the very high walls; and everything—the walls, the footpaths, the soil, being smooth with chunam, looked like stone. On the stage the carpets were soft, like those of Persia, and of the same kind. An *arik*, with a reservoir in which big vessels full of *kumis* and melons were immersed for cooling, imparted an air of freshness to the scene. On the table were laid out fresh grapes and raisins, dried plums, pistachios, walnuts, and certain large circular, thin cakes, intermixed with European articles, such as sardines, confectionery and liquors. The master of the house in his *khalat* and little bonnet, received his guests with a cordial *aman* and shook their hands. When he reached the carpets, he left his slippers, and appeared in Tartar boots without soles; this also his friends did who wore the same costume, as well as the servants. Adamoli was just about to ask the Colonel how the ladies could obtain a sight of the guests, when he discerned above the walls among the foliage, a number of little heads looking at the company with very big black eyes. A Russian lady who penetrated into the recesses of the harem, assured our traveller that these ladies are very beautiful indeed, but so insipid, that they become tiresome. They can say nothing more than *aman*, touch every article of *toilette* which they can see, and ask for it. The doctor's wife at Verno mentioned, however, to Adamoli, that some women were beginning to revolt, and going to the judge to demand permission to walk out without veils, like European females; but this is doubtful. A sudden shower of rain compelled the master of the house to take his guests into an inner garden, also rich in trees, flowers,

and *ariks*, but having a verandah supported by columns and carpets, in which they took comfortable shelter. In this garden bustards, like those at which Adamoli had shot in the steppe, were strutting about, but the falcon which had captured them kept proudly aloof, standing solitarily in a corner of the verandah. The ladies were at the extremity of the garden concealed by a mat, but their presence was betrayed by their laughter and chattering. On the table were European candles, or at least what had appearance of such, and the garden was illuminated by small earthen vessels with lights in them. The dinner of which the chief of the district, the doctor, various officers and a few ladies partook, consisted of a most abundant supply of pilmenia, pilaw, tea and European wines. A Tartar officer who served as interpreter did the honours of the table; the host himself neither ate nor spoke, but superintended his servants, and when the guests departed he shook hands with them; otherwise, however, he was as if non-existent. He had a scanty black beard, lively and deep eyes, beautiful hands, and was tall and lean, like all Sarts. The guests were, on their return home, preceded by a Kozzak with a lighted torch to guide them through the narrow and rugged Sart roads.

On the morning of the 3rd August our traveller rose early to have a look all round. The Sart town is situated on the banks of the little river that irrigates its gardens, and is dominated by the fort, an enclosure of walls with battlements and barracks, upon a barren, dusty and naked hill. The Russian town, being on the same level with the fort, was necessarily also full of dust. Near the town of Tchemkend there is a public garden with a spring of very limpid water in it, which, being very rare in the country, is much admired, and pitched there, were many tents of the Russians who flee from the burning hot town to pass the summer there under the shade of willows and poplar trees, and also a few bathing places in partly natural reservoirs, protected by mats, could be seen. As the commandant had issued an *ukaz* (written order) that our travellers should be given horses before everybody else, they departed, followed by the growls of their competitors who were obliged to wait.

It being the Emperor's festival, the travellers left Tchemkend with the booming of cannons ringing in their ears, and the post horses conveyed them through an uninterrupted desert to the first post-station which, although not finished,

Tashkend. was elegantly constructed of the usual sun-dried-bricks, and intended to serve as a model for all the other post-stations in Turkestan. Meanwhile, the Kozzaks of the post lived in a wretched *yurt*. At the next station,

in front of a caravanserai, the travellers met a captain, with whom they had quarrelled at Tchemkend for horses, the axle of whose carriage was broken; accordingly they overtook him chuckling a little among themselves at his ill-luck. Near this station there is a spring of dirty and nauseous water, but which must be drunk for all that. Further on there was a tomb of a curious form, but on entering it, nothing could be seen except a sarcophagus of mud-bricks. Whilst the travellers were at the next station, just getting horses harnessed to their carriage, the abovenamed captain overtook them, and, having an imperial *padaroshna* with him, enjoyed the right to a *troika*; they were considerably annoyed. This station, and that before reaching Tashkend, were the only two posts at which the travellers were compelled to wait long for want of horses. This pleasure had been reserved to them for the end of their journey. At this penultimate station, the travellers took another lunch for want of something better to do. They purchased from a Sart who happened to pass by on horseback, a fish which he had caught in one of the deepest and clearest *aviks*; and the peculiarity of which was said to be that its *caviar* was venomous.

Long before Tashkend can be reached, its vicinity is announced by gardens. From a long distance the horizon is limited by the tops of poplar trees arranged in lines, which look like so many files of soldiers. First a meagre little field, surrounded by a dwarf wall, but enjoying the last remnant of the water that irrigates the oasis of Tashkend, was passed. Gradually, however, the fields became greener and succeeded each other without interruption for several wersts. They were planted with vines, maize, cotton, and mulberry, peach, apricot, nut, poplar and pomegranate trees, but all this vegetation appeared through clouds of dust which covered the road.

Then the travellers crossed the *Bosu* (blue water), which had excavated for itself a rugged bed among banks crowned with trees, and looked picturesque enough; they passed also awhile along the ancient walls of the town, where they encountered a guide sent by Struve to meet them, and arrived at 5 P. M., on the 4th of August, in the yard of the said diplomatic adjutant of General Kaufmann, where Adamoli left his carriage (*tarantas*) which had served him as a house during one month and twelve days, and for which he had conceived a kind of affection. But he was soon consoled for his loss, for the little palace of Struve afforded comforts equal to those of civilized Europe. He had, in short, elegant apartments, a tent to sleep in in the garden under mulberry trees with most abundant foliage, with an *avik* running near, which fed a reservoir for bathing; servants, interpreters,

Kozzaks, a good horse, and the most exquisite fruits. Here our traveller donned a semi-Asiatic dress, and made acquaintances among the Sarts and Tartars.

At that time the Russian town was only two years old, but, being the capital of Turkestan and the residence of the Governor-General, had already assumed great importance. Life and death depended on the nod of the Governor-General, who would probably not be able to rule the population accustomed to the iron despotism of the Kháns without possessing such authority. According to the opinion of Adamoli, our theories about forms of Government and administrations based upon reason and morality ought entirely to be discarded, these two principles being in Turkistan supplanted by fanaticism, superstition, and obstinate adherence to old usages, against which reasoning is of no avail whatever. The great reason or argument there, is force, which must serve for introducing the first rudiments of civilization, and has so far been successful, that the people of the Khanates of Kokand, of Bokhara, &c., have become so convinced of the superiority of the Russians, as to make any opposition to their intentions chimerical.

The paucity of the Russian troops in comparison with the large tracts of country they have conquered, is perhaps the chief reason why they make no change in the local Governments, and leave them pretty nearly as they find them; Russians are only appointed to be chiefs of districts and commandants of towns, conforming themselves to the usages of the country and not introducing anything new. Among these officers there are all kinds of men, who, however, do nothing to improve the country. They may be divided into two classes, namely, ambitious men who come only to get promotion and to fight; and knaves who are sent to Turkestan as a punishment for more or less venial errors. It was rumoured that the whole conquest of Turkestan was due only to the ambition of Governors-General, who could find no better occupation for acquiring celebrity than to take towns and to conquer territories; thus, they surrounded their name with a halo of glory by pretending to have achieved wonderful exploits with few troops, whereas, in reality, they always marched only against flocks of sheep. For all that, however, the bravery of the Russian troops in Turkestan is not to be despised, and Adamoli is of opinion that they would prove excellent soldiers against foes of quite a different stamp; he saw them manœuvre near the town most beautifully in the presence of General Kaufmann, and the grandson of the Amir of Bokhara, who was going to St. Petersburg with a large retinue. He was pleased to see the troops in uniforms suitable

to the climate, namely, blouses of white cloth, wide pantaloons of the same, boots and caps.

The little prince of Bokhara was twelve years old, and expected to remain in St. Petersburg to complete his education. One day he displayed in the public square the elephants and horses intended as presents for the Emperor. His physiognomy appeared to be extremely intelligent under his immense turban, but could be seen only from a distance. The ambassadors from Bokhara who accompanied him, paid a visit to Struve, and were not different from all the other Sarts.

The Russian town of Tashkend consisted of elegant little brick houses with some architectural ornaments; all, however, consisted only of a ground-floor, and were situated in extremely broad streets planted with avenues of yet slender poplars. It is also intersected by *ariks*, and has little gardens with stupendous elm and nut trees. It would be pleasant enough if it were not for the dust which spoils every thing; no idea can be formed of it; it penetrates everywhere, and sometimes covers whole portions of the town like dense clouds. The population consists entirely of military men with their families, and the civil element was represented only by a few retail traders.

The town touches on one side the walls of the ancient Kokand fort, and on the other loses itself in the arid steppe. The chief places of resort were the *café-restaurants* in which all the officers dined and got drunk on *champagne* as long as they had money. Country-wine and even country *champagne* also could be had at the *café*, but it was almost undrinkable, although sold at the exorbitant price of a rouble per bottle. The *minuruk* was another public place of resort. It consisted of a grove of immense apricot trees under which tables were arranged; it contained also a *restaurant*, journals, and a pavilion in which every Sunday evening a ball took place. It is on the outskirts of the town, and in the evening some persons are always found there. There was even a hotel at Tashkend, but only in miniature. Ladies were extremely scarce, and unmarried ones were more than sure of finding husbands.

On the evening of the 10th August our traveller was invited to dinner by the family of Massa-hat-hay, a Sart of much influence in the country, a great friend of General Tcherniaief,* and therefore, disliked by his successors. His independent position allowed him, however, to disregard this and to maintain relations of friendship with all the Sarts, who repaid it with every kind of civility. The guests went accompanied by

* The same who is at present Governor-General of Turkestan.

interpreters, and were received by the son, nephews, and other relatives of the host, who had gone to Mekka on pilgrimage, and was travelling to the fair of Nijni, whence he was not expected back for three months at least. They passed through two small yards, from which various lodges and cabins are entered. They then ascended by a staircase with immense steps, and were received in the apartment of one of the host's wives who could of course not be seen. Passing through a small room serving as ante-chamber, they entered a beautiful apartment with three windows, laid out with carpets of various colours. The ceiling was painted in brilliant red, blue, white and yellow colours, with sufficiently minute arabesque designs. The side wall, through the middle of which the door opened, was covered with tolerably good white stucco ornaments, the surface, however, being sky-blue as usual in Italy. Opposite to this was the wardrobe of the lady, contained in great chests of varnished tin, and placed in two square niches protected by curtains, between which there was a rude image representing the Kaabah of Mekka, with an Arabic inscription below. On a stretched rope a number of silk-dresses of every colour, and some of them very rich were suspended. Jewels, strings with tassels, and earrings, as well as other ornaments for the head, made of embroidered silk, hung about the room and made a fine show. Opposite to the windows, a number of small niches of elegant forms and coloured stuccoes, contained the whole tea and table service, with a small provision of fruits for the day. The dinner was served on a round table not more than a span and a half high. Around it were placed chests covered with pillows for the Europeans; but they found it more comfortable to squat on the carpets, and had all these encumbrances removed. The dinner began with all kinds of fruits of the country, such as grapes, apples, melons and cakes; then came a big dish with small pieces of chicken roasted in grease which were of course eaten with the fingers; then a soup of rice, flesh, vegetables and sour milk; lastly, a good dish of really excellent *pilaw*. The three Europeans were given wooden spoons for eating, but all the others, only with their hands ate, and between each course tea was drunk *ad libitum*.

After leaving this place they paid a visit to Muhammad Rasul, another most influential man, and at that time an elder of the town council of Tashkend. He also had invited them to dinner, which was a rather melancholy one, because they had already elsewhere performed that ceremony; but they were after all compelled to accept some fruits, a cup of tea, and *kumis*. It was rather difficult matter for Adamoli

to obtain information in this place, as it had to be filtered through two interpreters, a Russian and a Tartar, but his third companion prince Oronloff (an old acquaintance of his from Washington), asked a string of questions about the town, its expenses, &c., till Struve requested him not to alarm the people by his too great inquisitiveness, because they would at once become shy and take him to be a spy of the governor. No information could be got about the expenses of the town, for fear it might serve as a pretence for enhancing the taxes. On taking leave of their kind host, they were obliged to promise him that they would come on another occasion to dine with him, in his garden outside the town.

The Russian town extends to the west of the Sart portion, and is on the opposite side bounded by the desert, whilst on the northern and southern side it is limited by groves and gardens. It was built on most arid soil, and, besides three or four isolated trees, and the group of apricot-trees of Minuruk, in its whole circuit no signs of previous vegetation occurred. This desert on the western side of the Sart town had been caused by an invasion from Kokand when Tashkend was independent. When, hostilities broke out between Tashkend and Kokand, the Khán, after having invaded the territory from the mountains in which rises the Tchirtchik river that divided the two States, marched upon Tashkend and pitched his tents just there to besiege the town. His troops then devastated the gardens, felled the trees, and destroyed the *ariks*, so that nothing was left except the grove of Minuruk, which contained the tents of the chiefs. Not only, however, when Tashkend was independent, but also under the dominion of Kokand, it happened that the troops of the Khan took up their position in that locality to levy some extraordinary tax. This is the reason why on this side, beyond the now ruined walls, nothing can be seen except an uncultivated plain. Neither is it known why the Russians selected this spot for building their town, but probably they would not have taken the trouble to purchase the garden of the Sarts and took possession of this abandoned locality without ousting anybody from his property. They were also protected by the fort which commands precisely this side. Afterwards, the town began to extend towards the north and the south, by the erection of houses in gardens purchased from the Sarts. Most people, however, contented themselves with buying or only renting a garden rich in trees, in order to pitch tents therein summer, and to return to head-quarters in winter. Among others the Governor-General himself resided in a garden south of the town, where an elegant pavilion had been built for him. A small palace was,

being constructed for him on the banks of the Bostu, where also two gardeners were engaged in forming a kind of park among the rich vegetation, excavating grottoes, raising little mountains, constructing kiosks, and making little bridges in order to embellish the locality.

There were but few public monuments in Russian Tashkend. The little church, painted red and white, and rising from a platform, had a silver cross on the top, and was surrounded by a colonnade to shelter the faithful who could not find room inside. It stood alone in an immense Square.

The bells are suspended from a horizontal beam, supported by two posts erected on one side of the Square. There is also an extremely modest fountain, fed by the water of an *arık* which passes through a filter. Around the Square numerous saplings of poplars had been planted.

The club which superseded the Minuruk in winter, and served to give amateur theatrical representations, was inhabited by the son of the Amir of Bokhara during his sojourn at Tashkend.

Houses were built in Tashkend with enviable facility. Near the building site, a hole is dug, the earth taken from it is mixed with straw, and bricks are made which are laid out to dry in the sun. The bricks having become dry, walls are built of them, using diluted earth from the same hole instead of mortar. The roof which does not slant much, is supported by slender beams. It is formed of alternate layers of canes and mats, the whole being of the thickness of thirty centimeters, but the last layer is always of earth which becomes in spring covered with vegetation. The roofs are all repaired in autumn, but in spite of this precaution the water very often filters through in winter. A brick-kiln was in course of construction, and the small number of burnt bricks manufactured were used in exceptional cases, the majority of the people continuing to build according to the old system.

For the purpose of providing the town with eatables, a bazar was formed on the side of the Sart town where the two nationalities meet; this is called the little bazar, but another much larger one was being opened in the centre of the Russian town itself, and daily acquiring more and more importance; on Sundays great fairs were held in it, on which occasions the bazar of the Sart Tashkend was deserted.

The fort of Tashkend was nothing but an enclosure within which long barracks in straight lines were being built for the purpose of lodging the troops in winter. In summer they were encamped outside, on the banks of the Satar, in certain extremely long

huts covered with mats. The fort of Tashkend had, however, already assumed a European aspect with its bastions, fosses, slopes, counter-slopes, fascines, &c., which greatly detracted from its beauty, the ancient walls with battlements having been much more picturesque. At that time the Russian town contained not more than six hundred houses, belonging to as many civilian owners, who were partly in the employment of Government, and partly merchants, who deal in everything, but their supply of goods depended entirely upon the arrival of caravans. When Adamoli arrived, shoes were so scarce, that none could be purchased for a treasure; afterwards all the shops had a plentiful stock of them, but plates and tumblers could not be got.

E. BEHATSEK.

ART. VI.—SOME GHAZALS OF NAZIR AKBARABADI.

The Hindustani poet of modern times who has best succeeded in reaching the heart of the people is Shekh Mir Walī Muhammad of Agra, better known by his *takhallūs* or *nom de plume* of Nazir of Akbarābād. He died 30 years ago or so. After Kabir there is no one whose sayings and writings have such a widespread celebrity, or are so generally appreciated by the common folk. On the other hand, the *literate* profess not to understand him and affect to despise his poetry. All his compositions, however, are suggestive and original, and well worth study for the sterling good sense that underlies the poetical forms. The Nawal Kishor Press at Lucknow has issued a *Kulīāt-i-Nazir*, or Complete Works of Nazir, and from this edition I give here free metrical renderings of a few of his *ghazals* by way of an introduction to him :—

I.

PURE OF HEART.

One morn I chanced upon a maid so sweet
That Love himself had fallen at her feet :
Soft cheeks of peach and full lips ruby red,
Teeth bright as pearls and laughter-loving eyes,
A form to make men wish all virtue dead
And angels long to bear her to the skies.
"Thou fairest flower of all mine eyes have seen,
O tell me where thy wayward feet would'st bend !"
That I awhile may be thy slave, my Queen,
And thou awhile may'st know me for thy friend."
She gazed with wonder in her wondrous eyes.
"May be thy face is new, may be forgot,
So thy desire is cause for my surprise,
But if thou wouldest walk with me, why not ?"
"I come," I said, "all things are right with thee,
Too pure of heart to think impurity !"

II.

LOVE THE TYRANT.

O fall not lightly at a stranger's feet !
O be not eager for the lover's part !
Young lips are soft and young hands prone to meet,
And where hands go there follows soon the heart.
Where dwells the glamour of enchanting eyes
That is the place, mine heart, for thee to fear ;
Fly thou thence, as the wild hart bounds and flies :
To beard the hounds what boots it to the deer ?
So strength to battle in what victim lies,
While yet the magic tyrant, Love, is near ?

III.

IF LOVE BE UNREQUITED.

When once love sees, and seeing love is glad,
 His secret lives a secret but in name;
 So in the moonlight, when the moon was sad
 For her own beauty put to utter shame
 At my love's coming in her beauty clad,
 We stood love's shame-faced captives where she came.
 We happy were, until a wrong chance led
 Our heedless feet adown wrath's foolish way
 And she in anger at my anger said:
 "Since then thou art not one with me, why stay?"
 And so my lot is grief till love be slain.
 O thou that seest truth where truth may be
 And oft hast spoken truth, speak truth again,
 And say, fair friend, what now is left to me?
 "If thou must love, and loving her is pain,
 Go, friend, elsewhere and take thy heart with thee."

IV.

THE LOVERS' QUARREL.

"Oh say, my love, why dost thou drive me forth?"
 "I drive thee forth, since strife doth weary me."
 "But why a rival bring to fan my wrath?"
 "Now, nay, thy foolish wrath is blinding thee."
 "Ah, love, my heart is sad that this hath been."
 "Thou sayest sooth," soft smiling said my sweet.
 "But why thus hold thyself as very queen?"
 "And should I not, when thou art at my feet?"
 Bear with me, love, that I may show mine heart."
 "What need for it, since I its secrets know?"
 "Ah, why dost take my words in evil part?"
 "The cause is this; thine heart thou dost not show."
 "I go—I love not this," I said, and she,
 "Go, but thine heart will bring thee back to me."

V.

THE DIWALI FESTIVAL.

The full tale of her splendour and delight
 And fair Diwālī's glory who shall tell?
 When every street and busy lane is bright
 As those emblazoned halls where riches dwell:
 When every brimming cup is filled with wine
 And sheen of myriad lamps fills every street,
 When hearts are glowing with a joy divine
 And all the ways are thronged with beauty's feet.
 There lover to his mistress shyly saith,
 "Now tell me, sweet, what thing thou would'st desire?"
 But she false answer gives with faltering breath
 And they twain war with words in playful ire.
 Here rakes are gambling in the garish light
 And losers frown and fevered winners smile
 That chance hath favored them for this one night
 And fortune made them happy for a while.
 So dwells Diwālī fairest in men's eyes
 What though Dasahra strive to wrest the prize.

VI.

HOW LOVE IS WON.

Go seek thy love as oft as thou would'st seek,
Not with bold speech, but shyly with thine eyes:
Fools cry aloud when but the eyes should speak,
And think, fond fools, that hearts are won by sighs.
Go meet her so that she but guess thy will,
Keep doubt afar by frank unconscious ways;
Soon will she thirst for speech,—be prudent still,
That love unbidden lurk within thy praise:
For this the elders in their wisdom teach,—
Fair love is won by stealth and cunning speech.

VII.

SPRING.

O thou that mak'st sweet spring that sees thee glad
For joyous envy of thy sweeter charms,
Just as thou art, in golden splendour clad
Come to me close and hide thee in mine arms.
Just as thou art, they soft lips closer bring
To grant the kisses that my lips will ask:
Our one desire to revel in the spring,
To cull the spring-tide flowers our only task.
The vernal songsters trill their sweetest lay,
The garden waits us and all life is bright,
Where cooing ring-doves murmur to the day
And nightingales sing blithely to the night.
Then be thou happy that the spring is gay
That I be happy for my love's delight.

R. C. T.

ART. VII.—ABOUT INDIGO PLANTING AND INDIGO PLANTERS.

IT is an old story how the cultivation of indigo was commenced in India under the Honourable John Company's auspices, sometimes avowedly on its behalf, and sometimes indirectly, one or two of its servants being usually the largest shareholders in the factories that were first started. Usually these gentlemen held office in the districts in which these factories were situated: it was, indeed, mainly because of their official influence and power that it became possible to establish and maintain the factories. It is related of the oldest concern in Tirhoot that its vats and boiling and press-houses were demolished twice by a jealous zemindar, and his obedient, and, on these occasions, not at all unwilling following, and that at last sepoys were sent from Patna to coerce the refractory neighbourhood to submission, and to teach all and sundry implicated in the work of demolition a lesson, accompanied by a significant hint not to demolish any more. They did their work thoroughly and effectually, after the manner of that bygone time, and twelve months afterwards the building of number three factory was completed—and that triumph of perseverance under difficulties endured. Then, conceiving it now to be his turn, the ex-Parisian exquisite, Marquis of something or other, who had been driven from *la belle France*, and had drifted in some unexplained fashion to India, began to taste the sweets of revenge. He organized a troop of sepoys and *bud-mashes* of his own, and sent them forth to harry the neighbourhood and compel his neighbours to whatever seemed good to him; and his factory was a fortress in case of accidents. But there were no "accidents." The memory of the troops from Patna endured and availed much. Tradition has it that this old French Marquis built for himself a convenient nest in the topmost branches of a tall tree that grew not far from the entrance to his Indian castle, and arranged a staircase of ladders up to it. To this observatory he would repair almost daily, telescope in hand, hair duly powdered, ruffles on cravat and at wrist, coat silver-laced, and, thus gorgeously arrayed, watch the operations of his swashbuckling myrmidons, or admire the beauties of growing indigo, as far as his point of vantage gave him opportunity. After the building of his third factory he was never disturbed or opposed again, by neighbours, or by any body else. The raid of the troops established him firmly and permanently. Thereafter, all the days of his life, he lived and ruled an absolute monarch. In later years,

when the Hon'ble John Company's servants had at any rate no overt and direct connexion with indigo, there was an Englishman in lower Bengal who had somewhat similar experiences, followed somewhat similar courses, and prospered and accumulated a very handsome fortune, and secured for himself a very fine estate. He is said to have found the Soonderbuns a convenient part of the country to deport refractory ryots to. Yet again, within the memory of many old Anglo-Indians still living, there was a man up-country who made his very name a terror to the neighbourhood he lived in, and made himself, if not a terror, at least rather more than a nuisance, to unfortunate Magistrates and others of that ilk who were supposed to keep the peace and uphold the dignity of law and order in his part of the world. He was, all his life long, a law unto himself, and did pretty much as he pleased, the supremacy of the British Government, and all laws and regulations notwithstanding. He was the last of the old freebooting planters whose rule of conduct was :—

“That he shall take who has the power,
And he shall keep who can.”

With marvellous talent—of a sort—he managed for many years to outlive his day and generation, ignoring the march of progress, and waging war very successfully against the reign of law, and the dispensation of latter day good government and orderliness that encompassed him, and that had established itself to more or less extent in the indigo districts everywhere, outside his territories. Death, however, proved too strong for him at last. After being more than once left for dead on the field of battle by *lattials* who supposed that they had battered all the life out of him, the old heathen really did one day go over to the majority, dying hard, but dying in his bed, more or less decently, much as more ordinary folk do. His like there has never been in India since ; happily there is never likely to be.

The old heathen we have referred to above was a man who lived out of his time. He was exceptional altogether. He ought by rights to have been a buccaneer, two hundred years ago, and filled his cup full of atrocities at the expense of some bygone generation. He must not be considered the type of a class. But that such a life as he led should have been possible in British India in the last half of the 19th century is suggestive of many matters worth thinking about. Therefore we have made mention of it here. We return now to the men who immediately succeeded the old freebooting planters of the early years of the century. They inherited many of the traditions of the men who went before them, were inclined to be autocratic, *subberdust*, self-assertive, not

disposed to brook interference whether on the part of Government officials, or breathless philanthropists, or ignorant politicians, or any body else for that matter. It seemed to them that, within their own domain (*dehat* they called it) they were sovereign lords, or at any rate liege lords very largely constituted indeed, and endued with almost plenary powers, and any attempt at interference with this sovereignty of theirs they were apt to resent bitterly, and with probably unpleasant results to the aggressor. But to their subjects, to the men who yielded willing obedience and homage, they were kindly disposed and considerate, careful always that they should be secured the due enjoyment of such comforts and blessings as pertained to their lot in life. They were able to see that a man called to be a king has duties, and lies under obligations of sorts, more than lesser men, and they carried this idea into practice, in the actual business of life, in a manner quite original, altogether their own. They expected and demanded from their vassals feudal service, assistance in the way of *lattials*, sometimes a general muster of all able bodied men subject to their dominion. That was when they had a big quarrel on hand with some rich and powerful zemindar, or when, by way of relieving the tedium of mofussil existence, they wanted to fix a quarrel on somebody else, somebody "worth the shot" as the homely saying is. Expecting ready, unquestioning service from their dependents they, for their part, were always willing and ready to espouse the cause of, and to fight for, all faithful followers if these were hurt in any way, or felt themselves aggrieved. They never allowed the men who did their duty by them to be put upon in any way by outsiders. Moreover, they were generous in remissions of rent in a bad season, in the assessment of rents always lenient. The relations between planter and ryot—between landlord and tenant that is to say in effect—were patriarchal, homely and genial in those old days. If the ryot found himself in any trouble he went naturally to the planter to be delivered, whether the trouble was police oppression, or debt to a bunniah, or want of money to marry his son or his daughter suitably; and the planter always helped him. On the other hand, if the planter felt himself aggrieved in any way, or found himself thwarted in his plans by anybody, he called his ryottee following to his assistance, and that following never disappointed him. It was a mutually helpful arrangement which doubtless very often proved inconvenient and worse, to people the planter had a grudge against, or wanted to get something out of, an arrangement opposed to the reign of law and order, and

what ought to have been the paramount authority of Government. But then Government was powerless in the far mofussil as to this matter of law and good order, quite unable to carry its legislative exactments into practical effect. It was for the planter a choice between helping himself, and being bullied and cheated. Naturally enough, he chose the former alternative. It was, with very few exceptions, an arrangement decidedly advantageous to the ryots in those old, unconsolidated days, when the civil service was undermanned, when there were no sub-divisions, and not as many magisterial districts even, as there are now; when justice, as administered according to law, lay as far away from the poor man's reach as heaven does almost, and a venal, tyrannical police ruled the mofussil roast much as it suited their cupidity and their lust of oppression to rule. The interloper planter saw that his ryots were properly defended in the courts if they happened to get into trouble, and he either coerced the police of his district, or had that easily bribed conglomeration of all rascaldom in his pay, and so secured to his subjects peace and freedom from their dreaded inquisition. This in itself was no trifling boon to these English Government ruled people, was verily and truly a far reaching, and most real and appreciable benefit. How many of their descendants now-a-days would feel inclined to "jump for joy" if they could count upon as much, and as efficient protection; for now-a-days the police are all powerful, and the harpies who belong to the force are to the full as cruel and uncrupulous as their predecessors of an older generation were. Crying over spilt milk is, however, quite useless as far as mofussil policemen are concerned. If it were not so, all the crying about their iniquities would have been met with some adequate, some practical, response from the Government long ago. When the ryots of Bengal and Behar cry out, as they so often do about police spilt milk, do they ever remember, or consider, we wonder, for how much of it they have to thank themselves—themselves, and idealists and grievance-mongers of sorts to whom they, in their ignorance and proneness to credulity, fell such an easy prey?

In the terrible mutiny time, indigo ryots, in lower Bengal and in Behar alike, held fast to the planters, brought them news of the mutineers' movements and doings, protected them, carried on the necessary factory work when their masters were obliged to seek safety in temporary flight, were in every way helpful and eager to show their good will and gratitude. Shahabad was the only notable exception. It certainly speaks well for the cordial relations that existed between planters and ryots in all the other indigo districts, that at such

a supreme crisis, they held fast by their old masters, and never seem to have thought even of trying to throw off their easy yoke, much as they were cajoled, and bullied, and threatened, with a view to that end. It must surely be presumed that they knew they had been well treated and were satisfied and grateful, or surely they would have taken advantage of the splendid seeming opportunity vouchsafed them, forced upon them almost, to upset the old order of things, to free themselves from all existing obligations whether of debt or service, and to start anew in life on thoroughly independent lines, with more or less modicum of *loot* to grease the wheels for the start.

They were tempted with such bait—bait which at that time it was very dangerous to refuse; but they do not seem to have had any inclination to rise to it. In spite of all temptations and manifold evil examples round and about them, they remained faithful to what was their salt, and in a most exemplary manner careful of the interests of the men who before the trouble began had been careful of their interests, who had always befriended them in their need, and to whom they had so long been accustomed to look for protection and guidance. Alas, in a short year or two, these kindly, comfortable, mutually helpful relations were sadly, ruinously altered. In Lower Bengal the very men who had withstood the blandishments of their own countrymen, and turned a deaf ear to suggestions of mutiny and plunder, succumbed without a second thought to what they deemed the desire of the victorious English Raj—a desire to ruin the planters, and stamp indigo out of the land, as they imagined it. Interested emissaries went about the country, telling the easily-gulled villagers that Government wanted to do away with indigo-cultivation in India altogether, and inciting them to repudiation of their contracts with the planters, and renunciation of the feudal service which, although it was now represented to them as a bondage grievous to be borne, they had certainly never before thought or dreamt of regarding from that point of view.

Further, they were urged by specious argumentation to declare a general hostility to the planters who had been for so many years their friends and benefactors. They were Orientals, and very ignorant and credulous, these village folk. They took not much thought of any thing beyond what they were led to believe was the wish of the all-powerful English Raj; and moreover by plausible tales and arguments, and promises of sorts, they were led to believe in all sorts of good things coming to them under the new dispensation—a sort of millennium for Bengalee peasants that was forthwith to be. Persuaded by fear of the great English Raj, by greed, by cunningly devised promises, they waxed contumacious,

repudiated their contracts, and refused to grow indigo and pay rent. The planters, for their part, tried to enforce performance of contracts, and payment of rents and dues, not always, or often, indeed in a strictly legal manner. To such manner they had never been used. It had seemed easier to them; and more convenient for all parties concerned, to dispense with it. So the contest began. Then came Mr. Ashley Eden's proclamation to the ryots that nobody need grow indigo who did not choose, a public notification which was of course held to mean that any body who chose might repudiate his contracts and debts to the planters, was, as a matter of fact, ordered by the *Sirkar* to repudiate all such obligations.

The results of this proclamation—of Sir John Peter Grant's grievance-mongering tour in Jessore and Krishnaghur, the inception of Act X of 1859, are matters of history well thumbed and discussed, and need not be dwelt upon here. It suffices to say that between them the ruin of the indigo interest in Lower Bengal was effected.

The wreck of the Bengal factories gave a great impetus to the cultivation of the dye in Behar, especially in Tirhoot, Chupra, and Chumparan. In these districts many new concerns were started, many old ones doubled and trebled the amount of land they had in cultivation. Some of them were worked on what is known as the *zerat* system. Practically, they were all worked on the feudal system, much as factories in Lower Bengal had been worked, with just a few modifications and up-country adaptations. The Behar planter was more of a middleman than planters had been down country, and had to pay a very high price in order to secure the lease of villages suitable for his crop, to the zemindars; making advances to them instead of to the ryots, and paying them yearly in the way of rent more than he could ever hope to realize for himself, often very much more. He trusted to his far larger outturn of indigo, to high cultivation, and high prices to recover this initial loss. He could always afford to pay more for the lease of a suitable village than outsiders could, because the crop of which he had virtually a monopoly, was such a valuable one. It was to his interest to work on friendly terms with his ryots, because, if for no other reason, he was in the main dependent upon them for labour, and for the use of their ploughs and carts. He was willing, therefore, to let his ryots enjoy their holdings at very low rates of rent for this consideration, willing to advance money or seed-grain to them in their time of need, ready always to help and protect them, as long as they in their turn helped him in the way he wanted. In short, it was the

old feudal relation about which we have been discoursing, only changed in little matters of detail. This was at first, before competition grew keen and factories were built where there was really no room for them, and planters grew greedy and exacting, taking up more land for indigo cultivation than the village could afford to spare from food crops, and its own needs. Feudalism of a healthy, helpful, in any wise desirable sort, was obviously impossible under such conditions. The relations between planters and ryots in Behar at last grew to a condition of antagonism in some places, a more or less strained condition all over the province. Whilst this was ripening for mischief, and Sir George Campbell was devising possible remedies, there came the famine of 1874, and with it, and into the remotest parts of Behar, an influx of prying, open-eyed officials, and visitors of sorts, who saw, and sympathised, and duly reported to Government. Even Sir Richard Temple, faint, although he was to see every thing rosy hued and to show gratitude and good will to the planter friends who helped him through his famine exaggeration, was obliged to take some notice of what these visitors of sorts reported, and when, soon afterwards, he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to give some heed to what his predecessor in office had left on record on the subject. He dropped a hint or two in the proper quarters, and some weak, half-hearted attempts at reform were made; but nothing much was really done; nothing much could have been expected from his half-heartedness, and content with superficiality—nothing, that is to say, beyond what is known in the vulgar Anglo-Indian tongue as “eyewash.” It was reserved for Sir Ashley Eden to revolutionize the indigo system of Behar, as years before he had set the ball of revolution rolling in Lower Bengal. Happily, however, in Behar, the needful reforms were effected without ruin to any body, but quietly, comfortably, and with considerable advantage ultimately to every body concerned. The planters, as soon as they heard that Sir Ashley Eden was to be ruler over them, bethought them that it was then high time to set their house in order really and thoroughly. They took counsel together, therefore, and one result of their deliberations was the establishment of the Behar Planters’ Association. It has been, and is, a great success, this Association. It lays down certain broad rules for the conduct of planters and the management of indigo factories, especially as to the relations between planters and ryots, which all who desire the advantages of membership, must agree to, and abide by, and if individual members are thereafter found contravening the rules, backsliding, or behaving in any way likely to make

occasion for scandal against planters, they are forthwith called to account, and dealt with by a jury of their fellows. This plan has proved most effectual in the prevention and cure of abuses. We are, assured on the authority of Government officials and others that the working of the Behar factories is now every thing that could be desired, that the "commercial principles" Sir George Campbell wanted introduced into their management prevail now, and have quite superseded feudalism, and that the relations between planters and ryots, employers and employed, are as cordial as they can be expected to be in these latter days, when capital and labour are always more or less in opposition. In Behar now it is a law-abiding opposition, the sort of contrast many Englishmen consider wholesome for both parties, just as they think that, in the interests of good government in England, there ought always to be two parties, one "in," and one "out," one of them at any rate always in opposition. With politics in general, perhaps, we should rather say with party politics, the Behar Planters' Association does not greatly concern itself, if at all. It is a Planters' Association, pure and simple, not at all like so many of the etcetera associations now flourishing in India, and does not aspire to dictate to the Government about matters of State policy, of which it has no knowledge and with which it can have but very remote concern. Of course it has valuable suggestions to give about the proposed new Rent Bill; and it has forwarded to Government energetic protests against the Ripon-Ilbert Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, a matter with which it has very great concern. It gave loyal support to the Local Self-Government Bill until it became manifest that the Beharis did not want it, and that its introduction into the province was likely to prove mischievous. Its remonstrances and its counsels naturally carry weight with them, and cannot be ignored,—could not be ignored by the most perverse of English governments. That again points to one of the beauties and uses of the Association. A. B. C. and D. country gentlemen, let us say, may represent matters and memorialize, and complain to Government about something they want done, or something they want left undone; or they may air a grievance from this time till doomsday, and find their protests and their prayers quite unavailing—handed over to some pert secretary to dispose of as seems good to him. But let A. B. C. and D, those same country gentlemen, form themselves into an Association, give it some name, and assign to it some head-quarters, and their grievance will be forthwith enquired into; their complaints will be listened to respectfully; probably they will get what they want. Verily, as George Eliot

says somewhere—"the right word is a power." The Behar Planters' Association is a "right word," and a power from many points of view.

The Indigo Planter of to-day differs as much from the Indigo Planter of the olden time as does the new system from the old. It goes without saying that in these days of School Boards and high education everywhere, and more or less of æstheticism, more or less rampant all over the world, he is better educated, and a man of more culture than were those who went before him. Railways and steamboats and the Suez Canal, too, have brought him, in common with other Anglo-Indians of to-day, nearer to the old country, and renewal of the old ideas and gracious influences. He manages to take a run home now and again and renews himself, and he takes in English newspapers and reviews and periodicals, and makes a point of reading all the new books reported worth anything—at any rate, of reading as many as one man can in this age of many books. In the old, forgotten days of a four or five months tedious passage round the Cape, Indigo Planters came out here, for the most part, whether determinedly or undeterminedly at the outset, to spend their lives here. They made the best of those lives according to their lights, got what enjoyment they could out of them, that is to say, after the manner of Squire Western, and men of his stamp. They drank their country bottled beer, a dozen or more apiece at a sitting with as much impunity and satisfaction, as home-staying English Squires drank their three or four bottles of port after dinner. They were fond of sport, if it did not involve too violent exercise, fonder perhaps of a *hookah*. They were sad heathens it is to be feared, the older lot of them at any rate. They seem to have been very fond of practical jokes. Indeed, this fondness continued with their successors, long after their time. Men in Tirhoot still tell the story of Buggins and the ghostly black cat, a domestic animal carefully anointed with phosphorus, and let loose in his bed room at night with accompaniment of yells, screams, and the discordant notes of a brass *chillumchee* beaten with spoons and forks. Buggins was in his griffin-age, and was very much of a griffin at that time. He was persuaded at last that he was haunted by a demon in the shape of this black cat, and that the only way to get rid of his unwelcome visitor was to go and do *pooja* under a peepul tree near the bungalow—which he did accordingly. "Billee Taylor" was a great hand at practical jokes. He it was who managed somehow to get a youngster's old mare upstairs one evening, tying her to the head of that unsuspecting one's bed. That too confiding unfortunate had complained of suffering from

nightmare, and "Billee" said he was determined that, for once, at least the youngster should not be left to the wiles of mere imagination. Billee it was, too, who on the night of a Race Ball at the station, managed, in conjunction with another Irishman, to upset a lot of hackeries—enough hackeries to block it up—along the only road the dancers had to go home by. The record of his practical jokes is endless. He was supposed to spend at least half his time in their concoction and elaboration. There were others too, with a reputation in this respect scarcely inferior to his. The story of all their exploits would fill a volume, or more probably a great many volumes. The men of to-day find the hard battle of life quite enough for their energies, and are very little given to such pranks. When they have any time to spare, they get up sky races, or a pigsticking party, or they organize a volunteer meet, or go to the Nepal terai, or to Purneah, for *shikur*. Or, failing any such large opportunities as these, they hunt the wily jackal within factory limits, or get up scratch polo matches with their nearest neighbours. Some of the best polo players in India are to be found in the indigo districts.

In one respect the planters of the new school differ not at all from the men who went before them, for they are exceedingly hospitable. Happy the stranger who manages to get an introduction to somebody in the indigo districts. He is then free of the guild; and it must be his own fault if he does not enjoy himself and his visit. Horses, traps, dogs, guns, polo ponies are at his disposal, parties of sorts are made up for his delectation; he is made welcome everywhere he goes. Cynics have been found to declare that this is a result of the lonely life the Indigo Planter is for the most part compelled to lead. They declare that he feels so very lonely, and is so tired of his own society, that he is only too glad to secure the society of some gentlemanly stranger. But, like most cynical sayings, this is a gross libel. The Indigo Planter is hospitable by nature as well as traditionally, and is never happier than he is when making strangers feel at home in his factory, and his happy hunting grounds. In many ways surely, the old order has changed, giving place to the new; but not in the matter of a large, open-handed hospitality. The Indigo Planter has a well defined and very well founded objection to loafers; but even to them he will grant such hospitable entertainment and aid as they stand in need of, as Sir George Campbell found out when he was on his way to Durbhungah in the famine time, and, presenting himself on foot one morning at a factory on the way, quite unattended and ill-clad and unkempt as usual, was mistaken for a vagabond at first. But, all the same he was very hospitably treated.

ART. VIII.—FOLKLORE OF THE HEADLESS HORSE-
MAN IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

MR. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S., writing privately to me, on the 26th February 1883, from Awagarh near Jalesar, North-West Provinces, said : " that at about the close of 1882 there appeared an apparition in his neighbourhood, called Rúnd or Dúnd, which frightened and disturbed the native population a good deal. This apparition was a horseman who appeared at night, mounted, but without his head on his shoulders. He carried it before him instead on the pommel of his saddle, and in each hand he carried a sword. His habit was to stand before a man's door and call out to him by name. If he answered, he was sure to die of fever, or some other disease, before long."

The superstition caused so much terror about Awagarh, that the people would not answer the village watchman's challenge at night, as it was reported that several deaths had occurred from unwittingly answering the Dúnd.

An old Thákur told Mr. Crooke that he had known several previous instances of the appearance of the Dúnd, who was in fact generally to be found on the prowl. The Thakur also said, that in the old days these creatures, whom he supposed to be *Rákshusas*, or giants, always attended at battles, and were to be seen charging the enemy, headless as they were.

The proper way to get rid of a Dúnd, the people said, was to throw over him a piece of a particularly dirty cloth, and the idea suggested by a Muhammadan, that the whole story was concocted by the bad characters of the neighbourhood to facilitate thefts, was universally scouted.

Mr. Crooke subsequently ascertained two more facts about this headless horseman, viz., that he was connected with comets, and that in Calcutta a lane near Creek Row is called Gallá Kattá Kafirí Gali, or Headless Caffre (African) Lane, in which a headless negro is supposed to wander.

The notion of the headless horseman is very common in the Panjáb and all over Northern India ; and some more stories about him will now be given, and an attempt made to trace his mythological history.

I am told, that in the Granth, * or Scripture of the tenth and

* Framed in 1696 A. D., for political reasons in opposition to the original or Adí Granth. See Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, p. 91. It has never been translated and is very difficult to read.

last Sikh Gurú, Gobind Singh, who flourished between 1675 and 1708 A. D., there is an account of one Kharak Singh, a warrior of Jarásandh of Magadh Des, who is there said to have fought for his lord against Kishn after his head was cut off. Now, classically speaking, Jarásandha was the son of Brihadratha, king of Magadha (South Bihár) and father-in-law of Kansa of Mathurá. He constantly fought with Krishna for killing Kansa, but was himself eventually killed by Bhíma. Who Gurú Gobind Singh's Kharak Singh represents I am unable to say.

Among the Sikhs there is another well-known instance of the headless horseman or warrior, from whom Sirdár Jiwan Singh Shahíd of Sháhzádpúr in the Ambálá District is descended, and from whom he gets his family (more properly clan) name of Shahíd. The origin of the Shahíd *misal*, or clan, is usually thus given.*

Díp Singh and his pupil Sadá Singh, Jatt Sikhs, were attendants, or priests, at the well known Sikh shrine of Gurdwára, or Damdamá, at Talwandí near Bhattindá in the Patiálá Territory. Díp Singh and Sadá Singh fought the Musalmáns and were both killed in fights against them. Among their followers were Karm Singh and Dharm Singh, two Siddhú Jatt warriors from the Máujhá in the train of Gurbakhsh Singh, who followed him into the Ambálá District, where they conquered a good deal of territory. The villages of Sháhzádpúr and Kesrí fell to Dharm Singh and Karm Singh respectively, but eventually they both came into the hands of one descendant, from whom springs the present Sirdár Jiwan Singh, Shahíd of Sháhzádpúr. The *misal* of which Karm Singh and Dharm Singh were leaders, got their *soubriquet* of Shahíd or Martyr, as being the followers of Sadá Singh, the Martyr, who was so called because he fell fighting against the Musalmáns, and was said to have fought for a mile after his head was cut off.

Sir Lepel Griffin is more circumstantial.† He says that the Shahíd *misal* was one of the smaller Sikh confederacies, and obtained its name (*Shahíd*, martyr) and origin in the following manner:—Gurú Gobind Singh, flying from his enemies in the time of the Emperor Aurungzeb, took refuge in the little village of Talwandí, in the jungle to the south of Bhattindá. Here he remained ten days, and after the Gurú's death, a temple was raised in Talwandí to his memory, and the name changed to Damdamá, which signifies "a breathing place," (but?). The first *Mahant*, or priest put in charge of the shrine was Díp Singh, who was killed in action with the Governor of Láhor, and became a *Shahíd*, or

* Wynyard's *Ambálá Settlement Report*, 1859, p. 19, sec. 83.

† *Rajas of the Panjáb*, 2nd Ed. 1873, pp. 42-3.

martyr. Sadá Singh, his *chelé* or disciple, succeeded him at the shrine. He, however, like his predecessor was fonder of fighting than praying, and attacked the Muhammadan Governor of Jalandhar, and at Adhikolá was killed in a skirmish, his head being severed from his body. He is said neither to have fallen from his horse nor to have given up fighting, but to have galloped a long distance and cut down many of the enemy before he died. Hence the family, or rather the followers of the *Mahant* of Damdamá took the name of the martyrs. Karm Singh succeeded Sadá Singh and took possession of the country about Ranniá and Damdamá, Khárá, Jarolá, and Faizullapúr. He was the real founder of the *family*, for he was the first to marry, and left, on his death in 1784, two sons, Guláb Singh and Mahtáb Singh, the former of whom succeeded him, and was one of the first chiefs to offer assistance to the British, as a *saniad* of Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 4th January 1804, proves. Sirdár Guláb Singh died in 1844 and Shiv Kirpál Singh, then only six years old, succeeded. * He has estates worth Rs. 30,000 a year, and is still the guardian of the Damdamá shrine, which brings in about Rs. 1,000 a year in offerings. Dharm Singh, the brother of Karm Singh, had a share in the original territory, but he died without issue, † and his widow was married by his brother.

However, Gurú Gobind Singh seems to have founded and built the Damdamá shrine himself before the death of Aurungzebe—which occurred in 1707; ‡ but, letting this pass, from Griffin's remarks, we get at a succession—Díp Singh, Sadá Singh, Karm Singh,—between the dates, 1707 and 1784 A. D. Another vernacular account § says that Díp Singh was killed in a fight with Ahmad Shah Durrání (? Griffin's Governor of Láhor), whom he went out to fight in his wrath at this Muhammadan leader's proceedings in the Punjáb. So his death must be placed about A. D. 1762, and Sadá Singh's somewhat later.

But the belief in this miraculous ancestor of the Shahíd Sirdárs is by no means universal, and the following accounts are given as to the origin of the name. || One Díp Singh, a Sikh convert, lived at Pohú near Jalandhar, and, joining Gurbakhsh Singh of Lál-nagar and five (or seven) others, formed a *misal* of 12,000 Sikhs, and called themselves Shahíds, or the martyrs, in token of their disregard of death in the cause of religion. They occupied the country about Gurú Gobind Singh's shrine at Damdamá. Afterwards Ahmad Shah Durrání came and destroyed

* Jiwan Singh is Shiv Kirpál Singh's son.

† According to long established Ját custom.

‡ *Adi Granth*, pp. 92-93.

§ *Pothi Sri Guru Panth Parkás*, by Bhai Gyán Singh Gyání, Delhi Murtaza Press, 1880, pp. 676-677. Gurmukhí Text.

|| *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

the shrines and temples at Amritsar, and this so incensed Dīp Singh that he went forth to battle with the Pathāns. This fight resulted in the death of Dīp Singh and all his party, since when their self-given title of Shahīd has been generally recognised. Dīp Singh was, succeeded by Sadā Singh, his cousin, from whom the Shāhbazpūr Sirdars are descended. Gurbakhsh Singh lived in the neighbourhood of Anandpūr* in the Hoshiārpūr district near Rūpar, and met his death fighting the Musalmāns near Amritsar. He was succeeded by Sūbā Sing, whose descendants live at Pind Parkālī, near Anandpūr. This account, it will be observed, says nothing as to Sadā Singh's death and miraculous fighting without his head.

A local Ambālā account says that the Shahīds were a *misāl* of Akālīs† who settled at Damdamā. They had a fight with the Musalmāns at Amritsar, where their dead were buried in a pit over which a mound was made. On this mound an ancestor of Sirdār Jīwan Singh built a shrine, from which act of grace his family obtained the name of Shahīd. There is no mention in this account of Sadā Singh's martyrdom.

Yet other accounts of this *misāl* are to be found, which say nothing of Sadā Singh's fighting without his head. One‡ says that Gurbakhsh Singh and Karm Singh founded it with 8,000 followers, and were called Shahīds, simply because so many of them were killed in defence of their faith, and so they had made themselves more than usually remarkable as Sikh martyrs.

From all this it is pretty evident that some well-known legend has been fastened on Sadā Singh to account for his death, and the peculiar name borne by his followers or descendants. The fact of an exactly similar idea being found as far away as Jalesar from Ambālā shows that this legend is widely current.

I have thought it possible that these ideas of the headless Sikh warrior have originated in the story of the human sacrifice attributed to Gurū Gobind Singh, which with its attendant circumstances is thus related by Trumpp in his introduction to the *Adi Granth*§. As his mind (Gobind Singh's) was deeply tinged, owing to his early education by Hindū Pandits, with the superstitious notions of the Hindūs, he resolved, before embarking on his great enterprise, to secure to himself the aid of the Goddess Durgā, who was his special object of worship. After he had procured some Pandits from Benares he went with them to the hill of Nainā Debī.||

* The home of Gurū Gobind Singh.
† Worshippers of Akāl, the Timeless Being: a sect of zealots said to have been instituted by Gurū Gobind Singh. *Adi Granth*, p. cxviii.

‡ *Sikhān de Rāj dī Vithiā*; Gurmukhi text: Lūdiānā, 1868, p. 90.
§ Pp. xc, xci and foot-note 3 to p. xc.

|| Not far from Rūpar.

which is about eight miles (6 kos)* distant from Anandpúr. There he began to practise the severest austerities according to the directions of the Pandits. When he had gone through the course of these austerities the Brahmans began to offer up his burnt-offerings, throwing hundreds of maunds of *ghí*, raw sugar and molasses into the fire. When the burnt-offering (*hom*) was completed, the Pandits told the Gurú that he should now, in order to make a powerful offering, cut off the head of his own son and put it before the Goddess. Gobind Singh had four sons, and when he asked their mothers to give him one, they flatly refused. The Gurú asked the Pandits what was to be done now, and when the Pandits answered that the head of some one else would do, five (others say twenty-five) disciples offered their heads, one of which was cut off and offered to the Goddess. And thus the burnt-offering was made complete. The story goes that thereupon *Déví* appeared and said, "Go, thy sect will prosper in the world,"—*Jáh, terá panth jagat vikhe tur pávegá.*

When the Gurú returned from the hills to Anandpúr, he assembled the societies of the disciples, and told them that he required the head of a disciple: he, who loved his Gurú, should give it. Most of them were terror-struck and fled, but five of them arose and resolutely offered their heads. Their names (which have been carefully recorded, whereas the name of the poor victim offered to the *Naina Deví* is not mentioned) were Dharm Singh, Sukkhá Singh, Dayá Singh, Himmat Singh and Muhkam Singh. These five he took into a room, and told them, that, as he had found them true, he could give them the *Pákul** of the true religion (*sache dharm ki pákul*). He made them bathe and seated them side by side, dissolved purified sugar (*patásá*) in water and stirred it with a two-edged dagger, and, having recited over it some verses which are written in the *Akál Ustul*,† he made them drink some of the *sherbet* so mixed, pouring part of it on their

* The initiatory rite of the Sikhs, elaborate rite was Gobind Singh's which originally consisted in drinking *sherbet* with two or three others, invention: *Adi Granth*, pp. xxxv, note 4 and xci, note 1. and saying *Wáh Gurú!* The more

† The *Akál Ustul* or praise of the Timeless One, is in Gobind Singh's *Granth* and commences thus:—

Akál Purakh dī rachhā ham nai
Srab Loh dī rachhā ham nai:
Sarab Kālī dī rachhā ham nai
Sarab Lohī dī rachhā ham nai:

The protection of the Timeless Being is on us:

The protection of the All-iron is on us:

The protection of the All-time is on us:

The protection of the All-iron is on us. *Adi Granth*, p. xc.

heads and sprinkling the rest on their bodies. He then patted them with his hand, and cried with a loud voice, "Say, the *khálsá* of the *Wáh-Gurú*! Victory of (=to) the holy *Wáh-Gurú*!" (*Wáh-Gurú-Jí ká khálsá! Sirí Wáh-Gurú-Jí ká fate!*) After he had given the *páhu* to these five in this manner, he took it likewise from them, and in this way all the rest of his disciples were initiated, to whom he gave the name of the *khálsá*, adding to the name of each the epithet *Singh* (lion.) Then he gave the order that whoever desired to be his disciple must always have five things with him, which all commence with the letter *kakká* (k), viz., the hair (*kes*) which must not be cut: a comb (*kanghí*): a knife (*karad*): a sword (*kirpán*): and breeches reaching to the knee (*kachchh*). Otherwise he would not consider him as his disciple.

Dr. Trumpp adds in a foot-note that there can be hardly any doubt that this bloody sacrifice was really offered, as all reports agree on this point. The Sikhs, who felt very much the atrocity of such an act, would never have ascribed any thing of this kind to their *Gurú*, if it had not really taken place. At the same time we may learn from this fact that the *Bráhmans*, even as late as the seventeenth century, did not scruple to offer up a human sacrifice.

For the present purpose the point to be deduced from the above is, that the notion of cutting off the head, and so making a martyr to faith is, as regards the Sikh religion, derived from the Hindu rites of *Durgá* or *Deví*, and is intimately connected with the history of the most sacred and popular portions of the creed of the Sikhs. It has been already seen from his story of *Kharak Singh*, the soldier of *Jarásandha*, that *Gobind Singh* borrowed the idea of the headless horseman from the old *Bráhmanical* fables, and there is no doubt that we must go to them for the origin of the notion, as will be seen more fully later on.

But, besides the above, there are several other modern legends of the headless horseman, or something like it, current both among *Hindús* and *Musalmáns*, and one which the *Hindús* tell about *Battálá*, an old and still populous town near *Amritsar*, is worth relating here.

There is in *Battálá* a shrine to one *Bábá Chúdá Bhandári* frequented by the members of that sept of the *Panjábi Khattrís*, who hold him in much reverence, coming from great distances to worship at his shrine, as they consider their saint to be a god. The ceremony of ear-piercing for luck* is principally performed by them at this place. The origin of *Bábá Chúdá's* fame lies in the tale, that in some fight in the neigh-

* See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. x., p. 332.

bourhood he lost his head, that his headless trunk went on fighting, sword in hand, into the town, in the streets of which he fell, and that the people of the place raised the present tomb and shrine on the spot. The story is quite a modern one as Bábá Chúdá is stated to have met his death about 1730, probably during the irruption of Nádir Sháh in 1738.

But the idea of the headless warrior is far from being confined to the Hindús and Sikhs of the Panjáb. Ibbetson's *Karnál Settlement Report*, 1883, * mentions the worship there of Mirán Sáhíb in the following terms, giving some new and very interesting information about the so-called Panjábí Sayyids and other shrines. The country is covered with small shrines to Musalmán martyrs, properly Shahíds, † but called Sayyids by the villagers, the story of which is this:—There was a Rájá Tharú, in the Nardak, after whom several villages are still called Tharúá, who dwelt in Hábrí, where he used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides, and one night the daughter of a Bráhmaṇ suffered thus. Her father appealed for help to Mirán Sáhíb, a Sayyid, who collected an immense army of Sayyids, Mughals and Patháns, and vanquished the Rájá. The fight extended over the whole country to Delhi, and the Sayyid shrines are the graves of the Musalmáns who fell.

But a favorite prescription in sickness is to build a shrine to a Sayyid, whose name is often not even given, and when given, is almost always purely imaginary, so that Sayyid shrines are always being added to, and most of them are not connected with any actual person. Lamps are commonly lighted at the shrines on Thursdays, but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfilment of a vow. These often take the form of a fowl, or a goat, or especially a goat's head (*sire*) and become the perquisite of Musalmán *faqírs*. One of the Imperial *kosminárs* or milestones, has thus been transferred into a Sayyid's shrine by the people of Karnál city, and every Thursday evening worshippers collect there, and so do *faqírs* who profit by them. The speciality of Sayyids is blue flags. They are said to be very malevolent, often causing illness and death. Boils are especially due to them, and they can make cattle to miscarry. One Sayyid, named Bhúrá, who has his shrine at Bári in Kaithal, shares with Mansá Deví of Mani Májrá, the honor of being the great patron of the thieves in this part of the Panjáb, and a share of the booty gained by these worthies is commonly given to his shrine.

* P. 152, secs. 376 and 381.

† I would suggest *Sháhíd*, a common Panjábí expression for an up-

right man "a true man and good."

E. g. tú Sháhíd hain 'ki chor? Are you a true man or a scoundrel?

Mírán Sáhíb was a Sayyid of Baghdád of whom many wonderful stories are related. He is often said to be the same as Hazrat Pírán Pír of the Panjáb,* but this seems very doubtful. He led the army, described above, and had his head carried off by a canon ball (!) during the battle, but he did not mind a bit and went on fighting. On this a woman in one of Rájá Tharú's villages called out, "Who is this fighting without his head?" No sooner had she spoken than the body said "*Haqq Haqq*," (my God, my God!), and fell down dead. But as it was falling, it said "What, are not these villages upside down yet?" And immediately every village belonging to and called after Rájá Tharú throughout the country was turned upside down, and all their inhabitants buried, except the Bráhman's daughter. The walls are still standing upside down to convince the unbeliever. Mirán Sáhíb was buried in Hábrí, and is commonly invoked and worshipped by the Nardak people, as also is his sister's son, Sayyid Kabír. They have a joint shrine called Mámúbhánjá (uncle and nephew) in Sunpat.

So much for popular legend: let us turn a while to sober history. Pírán Pír is Shekh Abdu'l-Qádir Gílání (or Jílání, or Gíl), † who was born in Gílán or Jílán in Persia ‡ in 1078 A. D., and died in 1166, aged 88, at Baghdád, where he is buried. He founded the well-known order of the Qádiriá saints or *faqírs*. His full name and titles were Pírán-í-Pír, Pír-í-Dastagír, Ghāusu'l-Azím, Ghāusu's-Samdání, Mahbúb-i-Subhání, Mírán Muhayyu'd-dín, Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qádir Jílání, Hassanu'l-Hassainí. § Now 'Abdu'l-Qádir Jílání's nephew (*bhánjá*) was Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Raf'ái, who was the founder of the Raf'ái or Gurzmár *faqírs*; || and there was another Sayyid Ahmad Kabír, father of the great Sayyid (or Shekh) Jalálu'd-dín (or Jalál) Makhdúm Jaháníán Jahángasht of Multán, who flourished in 1308-1384 A. D., and of Sayyid Rájú Kattal, who died in 1403. All these are buried at Uchchá in Multán. This last Sayyid Ahmad Kabír was the son of Sayyid Jalál Bukhárí, who came to India, and followed the celebrated Shekh Baháu'd-dín Zakaría of Multán, who flourished in 1170-1266 A. D. This Sayyid Jalál is always being mixed up with his grandson Shekh Jalál Makhdúm.

It is to be observed that Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Raf'ái is, in the story, called nephew (*bhánjá*) of Pírán Pír of the Panjáb.

* See below for an explanation of this.

† Beale's *Oriental Biog. Dict. s. v.*

‡ Properly Kíl-o-Kílán. See *Fule's Marco Polo*, vol. i., pp. 51, f. f.

§ Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Higginbotham's Ed., p. 155.

|| Herklot's *op. cit.*, pp. 157 and

193.

He was really the nephew of Pírán Pír 'Abdu'l-Qádir Jílání, and so must have been living about 1150-1200 A. D., and, moreover, he never came to India. Whereas the Sayyid Ahmad Kabír, father of Makhdúm of Multán, flourished in the Panjáb a century later. I think these personages have been mixed up in the popular tradition, and that there is no doubt that the Mírán Sáhíb of the people is meant for 'Abdu'l-Qádir Jílání, but, of course, neither he nor his nephew were ever in Hábrí, or indeed in India at all.

Besides these Kabírs there is a saint called Sayyid Ahmad Kabír, grandfather of quite another Sayyid Jalál Búkhárá, who was a noble under Sháh Jahán and flourished in 1594-1647. This saint lies buried at the Bījaimandal in Delhi. There was also a Sayyid Kabír, who was buried near Sultárganj at Agra in 1619, and, lastly, a Shekh Kabír, called also Bálá Pír, who was buried at Chunár in 1644. One more point: the Manasá Deví mentioned by Mr. Ibbetson is a form of Deví or Durgá. She is represented as the sister of Seshá (Sesh Nág), and as counteracting the venom of snakes. She is also known as Jagadgaurí, Nityá and Padmávatí. Her shrine at Mani Májrá is not far from Kálká on the road to Simla.

To continue the tale as regards the Mussulmáns. At Pánípat the famous battle-field of Northern India, there is a well-known tale of a Binsirá, or headless man, which is usually told in this fashion. One Parjápat,* a Kumbhár or Potter, began to build the modern town of Pánípat, but as fast as he built them the walls and buildings fell down again at night. At last the astrologers and Brahmans told him, that until the head of a Sayyid was placed in the foundations there was no hope of the buildings standing.† It so happened that a Sayyid boy had lately arrived straight from Makká (Mecca). The people, therefore, killed him and placed his head under the foundations. This drew down on them the vengeance of his relatives, and it is said that the corpse of the murdered boy helped them against his murderers by fighting and doing much execution just as it was, without its head.

Muhammad Raf'í, the brother of the celebrated Wahhábí rebel, Muhammad Shafí of Ambálá, who was tried at the State trials of 1864,‡ told me a long story of a headless army at Bahraich in connection with the well-known saint of the North-West who is variously called Ghází Sálár, Bare Mían and Ghází

* See *Indian Ant.*, vol. xi., p. 117. to the stability of a building.

† Alluding to the universal idea ‡ Hunter, *Our Indian Mussalmáns*,
that a human sacrifice is necessary pp. 84 ff.

Mián. He was really Sálár Mas'áud Ghází, nephew of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and son of Sálár Sáhú. He was killed at Bahraich in an outbreak of Hindu fanaticism, on 15th June 1033 A. D., when only 19 years of age, and there is a large tomb to him there. He is now one of the leading saints in Northern India and the patron saint of the British cantonments, worshipped by Hindús and Musalmáns alike. His father, too, has a shrine at Bahraich, and is considered a great saint.* This Muhammad Rafí was always at great enmity with his infamous brother, and for many years was an official of some standing in the service of the kings of Oudh before the British occupation. In 1839-42 he was Kotwál of Bahraich and, while there, he met and kept in his service one Hakím Hassan 'Ali, who is the hero of the tale, the gist of which is as follows:—

“About 1837 there dwelt in Lakhnau, in the Yahyaganj Mohalla, one Hakím Hassan 'Ali, an upright and honest man, sprung from a well-known family of *hakíms* of the old days. He was a Suní. When only six or seven years old, he had the great misfortune to lose all his near relatives and guardians, and what money was left him was consequently dissipated by others, and he grew up to be a very poor man. However, he took earnestly to study and became a good physician, but owing to an unfortunate local superstition, that Suní physicians are powerless to cure ailments, and that only Shí'a practitioners are of any avail, he could get next to no practice. Meanwhile, he had married, and had two children, but was so badly off, that he could not even find them proper nourishment. His wife suggested that he should travel to some place where his knowledge would be of use to him. She gathered two or three rupees, and with this sum he started off and walked to Bahraich, where he put up at Ghází Sálár's tomb. There is an inn there where travellers are fed free of cost for three days, and there he stayed. At the end of that time the attendants asked him who he was, and he told them his sad tale. So they advised him to walk daily backwards and forwards from the tomb to the Shikárgáh of Ghází Sálár, which is about five miles out of Bahraich. This Shikárgáh, or hunting-box is situated on the high banks of a small stream running through an entirely deserted and uninhabited part of the country, and was built about 100 years ago, because it was said that the headless body of Ghází Sálár used to sit on that spot.

“Others have profited by doing this,” said the attendants, “and so may you.” The doctor accordingly for several days went to

* Cf. Elliot, *Races of the North-West Oriental Biog. Dict. s. v. Mas'aud Provinces, s. v. Ghází Sálár*; Beales' *Ghází*.

and fro between the two places daily. One day he heard some one call to him "Hassan 'Alí," but could see no one. At last he saw a headless man (Binsirá) standing under a Banian tree, and being very frightened he ran away, but the man called after him, the voice coming from his chest; "Don't be afraid, and come back. I am only a man like you." So, plucking up courage, he went back, and the man asked him who he was, and what he wanted. So the doctor told his story over again, and explained that all he wanted was employment. On this the man asked, "How much do you want to live on?" And the Hakím replied, that a rupee a day would satisfy him. "Very well," said the headless man, "I will take you into my service and pay you a rupee a day," and, taking him by the hand, he led him to a hollow in the ground, caused by the rain, and told him to scratch the earth with his nail, and the doctor did so. He soon found a rupee. "Do this every day," said the headless man, "and you will get your rupee;" but there are conditions attached to my service, which you must keep. If you fail, you will be worse off than you were before. The first condition is, that you must live under this tree, and I want here a good bed, good mats, carpets and good bedding. You must also cook here, and eat your food here, and I want cooking utensils and materials for eating here in abundance."

"All very well," said the doctor, "but where is the money to come from? It will all cost at least Rs. 25."

"Go to the hollow and scratch up your Rs. 25," said the headless one.

The Hakím scratched up the money and they started off to the city together, and it was dark before they reached it. On the road the evening prayer-time arrived and they knelt together and prayed, and went on to Ghází Sálár's tomb. Arrived there, the headless one gave out his second condition which was that the doctor was to mention this to no one; whenever he did so, his pay would cease, and he would be poor all his life. And he said, "I am a *Shahíd*, (martyr) killed along with Ghází Sálár, and one of these days I will show him to you." He then went away.

Next day the *Hakím* brought every thing he wanted and reached the Banian tree in the afternoon. Arrived there, he dismissed and paid the coolies, and no sooner had he done this than the headless one turned up and saluted him. The doctor and the Binsirá then set to work together to sweep up the place, sprinkle it with water, spread the carpets, make the bed and get ready the dinner. It was now dark and they lighted lamps and sat down to eat. "You eat too," said the doctor to the headless one. "Oh, my dinner consists of watching you eat," said he. So the doctor ate his dinner

and began tying up the remainder in a bag to hang up to the tree to keep animals away. "You can leave it where it is," said the headless one, "nothing will touch it." After this the Binsirá lay on the bed awhile, and then went away. Next morning the Binsirá returned while he was saying his morning prayer. He told him that he had mentioned him to Gházi Sálár, who was very pleased to hear of all this and had sent him some money as a present, and he gave him about Rs. 200. This went on for some nine months, during which time he drew his pay daily and began to get rich, sending money home to his family through one Chhunná Mall Baniyá, of Bahraich. With this money they repaired and put in order the family property in Lakhnau.

Meanwhile the time for the great fair to Gházi Sálár had arrived,* and the Binsirá said he would show the saint to the Hakím, saying "Stand before your carpet at the evening prayer, looking to the East, with folded arms." The doctor did as he was told, and presently he saw a headless horseman ride slowly past him, mounted on a beautiful horse, followed by a crowd of headless men on foot, and when they had passed, there came a splendidly caparisoned elephant whose saddle-cloth was borne by horsemen riding alongside, but neither the man on the elephant nor the horsemen had heads on their shoulders. And he on the elephant was Gházi Sálár himself. The Hakím saluted the cavalcade and the Binsirá, his friend, called out to the saint, "This is the man I spoke of." He and the doctor then followed the procession to the great tomb, and there it disappeared.

After a while the Baniyá said to the Hakím, "Where do you get your money from? who is it that pays you all this?" "You must never ask," said the doctor: "it will be neither good for you nor me that you should know."

But the trader was very persistent, and at last the doctor told him the whole story. That evening, when he returned, he found neither tree nor his friend, nor any of the things he had been using day by day for months, and he never saw them again.

It was soon after this that Muhammad Rafí became Kotwál of Bahraich and heard of the Hakím from the Baniyá Chhunná Mall. He found him wandering about, looking for his friend, a thin scarecrow of a man, clothed in rags, half starved and without a rupee to his name. Muhammad Rafí took him in hand and fed him and kept him while in Bahraich, and when, three years afterwards he was transferred to Lakhnau, he wished to take him with him, but the man would not go, saying, that he must find his friend. So, at last, in Bahraich he died. His wife was still

* This falls on the 4th Sunday day in Jeth. Beale. *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* after our Easter, and is the first Sun-

living in Lakhnau six years ago (1877) when Muhammad Rafi left that place.

Muhammad Rafi is an old man, and though he tells the story in all good faith, it is a memory of 40 years ago, and he was constantly forgetting portions of it. I think there is no doubt that the story told by his former servant, the Hakim, must be looked on as the hallucination of a disordered brain, worn out with misfortune and suffering, and rendered insane by a lonely life in the jungles.

In the Ambála City is a tomb to one Lakkhe Sháh Darvesh, about whom two tales are told. The first is this:—Many years ago there was a great war in Multán in the course of which the saint, Lakkhe Sháh, lost his head, and by the will of God fought his way without it from Multán to Ambála, to the spot where his shrine now stands. At this place there is now a dry well, but at that time it held plenty of water, and when Lakkhe Sháh arrived, the women were drawing water from it. The headless man called out to them for a drink, but they all ran away at once without giving him any water, and so Lakkhe Sháh fell down there and died. When the people saw him lying there, they were much astonished, and buried him with due honor and fenced in his tomb. As Lakkhe Sháh fell to the ground his headless body cried out with a loud voice—

Ambála Shahr dittha;

Andar Khárá, bahar mittha.

Ambála City have I seen :

Sweet without and salt within.

This was his curse on the city for not giving him water in his need, and from that day to this the water of that well has been dry, and if any one digs a well within the city, the water always turns out to be brackish and undrinkable, but the water outside is plentiful and sweet.

The second story is, that, after the English had taken possession of Ambála, and Mr. Murray was appointed Magistrate, he wished to make a road from the city to the Fort.* In making the road, the tomb and enclosure of Lakkhe Sháh's grave were destroyed. While the road was yet unfinished a man dressed in black came in the night and threw down the Magistrate's bed. But, being a plucky man, he put it right again, and lay down to sleep. Next night the black-coated man threw him off his bed on to the ground, but he came to no harm. However, this time he was very frightened, and, coming out of his house, sat outside all night. In the morning he told his people of what had happened, and they at once told him that it must have been Lakkhe Sháh,

* Since completely dismantled.

who had visited him thus for destroying his tomb. Thinking that this might be true, he changed the line of the road, and made a fine new road to the Fort, and rebuilt the tomb with its four gateways. And for this reason Hindús and Musalmáns venerate the tomb to this day.

Similar appearances of saints to European officers on behalf of their tombs are common enough according to the common people. One case I have already recorded in the *Indian Antiquary*,* in which Núr Sháh Walí, the saint of the Ferozpúr city, appeared to Capt. (Sir Henry) Lawrence, tied him to his bed, and frightened him into re-building his tomb. Another case that I can quote is my own ! There is in the Paget Park Gardens in Ambálá Cantonnments, an old tomb to one Khajúriá Pír, about whom I have in the *Folklore Record*† given another story connected with his doings to English officers. Growing out of his tomb is a date palm, whence, of course, his name Khajúriá Pír, which signifies "Saint Date-tree." Round this grave was a tumble-down railing, and the whole place had an untidy and dilapidated appearance, and as I had charge of the gardens, I felt more or less responsible for this state of things. Observing that, as is usual, several people, Hindús and Musalmáns, chiefly women of the lower sort, assembled at this tomb on Thursdays, it occurred to me that the local Musalmáns might be induced to put up a handsome building in place of the ugly one there in existence. They were delighted with the idea, and subscribed together some Rs. 900, which they handed over to me, and with which I rebuilt the tomb for them. Near this place was a tumble-down Shivalá, or Temple of Siva, on the bank of the main tank of the gardens, and in a similar way I got some Hindús to give me about Rs. 350 for its repair. As the buildings approached completion, the *mistri* in charge asked me in the most confiding way if it was true, that the saint had appeared to me and ordered me to rebuild the tomb, as the people were saying so ! He also asked me what boon I had obtained from Mahádeo, since I had been induced to rebuild the Shivalá !

The folklore of the Saint and the Bed is almost deserving of a separate heading to itself in the investigation of the folktales of Northern India. Its general spread is well illustrated by the following story :—

At Battálá, in the Amritsar District, there is a tomb to a *Naugaza*,‡ or Saint Nine-foot.§ One day a man called Deví Dás, was going home at night and passed the tomb. He found a

* Vol. xi, p. 42.

† Vol. v, p. 158.

‡ Common every where. As to the supposed Buddhist origin of

their so-called tombs, see *J. R. A. S.*

Vol. xiii, N. S., pp. 183.

§ *Ibid.*

large bedstead standing near it, covered over with a fine sheet. He stood looking at it for some time, and, seeing no one near it, he put the whole thing on his head and took it away home with him. Then he had his dinner and lay down on his new acquisition to sleep. As soon as he lay down, the whole house began to shake, but, thinking it an earthquake, he took no notice. However, the house went on shaking so violently and so long, that at last he called out, "What's the matter?" On this Naugaza cried out from the darkness, "You take back my bed to the place where you found it, or I'll shake your house down." So the man got up and put the bed back in its place, and then the Naugaza lay down on it and asked him to spread the sheet over him, but when he put it over his head his feet became bare, and when he put it on his feet, his head became bare. However, the man went on trying to cover the saint, having plenty of pluck, and the saint was so pleased at this that he said, "You may go this time and I let you off, but don't you do this again."

To return to the headless horseman. At Ládwa in the Ambálá District is a shrine to one Sirkap Sháh,* or the headless saint, the story of whom is as follows:—Many years ago this holy *faqir* spent his time in prayer and fasting till he obtained the power of granting sons to the childless,† and thus made many women visit him. He would, however, never allow more than one woman into his hut at a time, which scandalized the people, so they tried to poison him, but the *faqir* quickly found out their secret attempts and frustrated them. However, he told the women not to visit him any more, as it offended their husbands. To this the women paid no attention, and in revenge their male relatives attacked the saint, killed him, and struck off his head. On this the head cried out, "My trunk will kill you all within a watch and a quarter," (*sawá pahar ke bhítar merá dhar sab ko máregá*). And so it was, for the trunk got up, as it was, without its head, and fought all the murderers, and slew them all within the space of four hours. After this there were so many widows there, that the place was called Randwá Shahr, or the city of widows (*ránd*).

Of course, the derivation of Ládwa from Ránd, a widow, is all nonsense, and if the place was ever really called Rándwá, or Randhwá, it is much more likely that its name comes from the Randhwá Rájputs of the Panjáb.‡

* The name, however, of the famous Rájá Sirkap, (or Sirkat), King Beheader, was given him from his propensity for cutting off other people's heads.

† This is said of every saint. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. xi, p. 34: *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxxii, p. 254.

‡ See Griffin, *Panjab. Chiefs*; Lahore, 1865, p. 200 f. f.

Besides the above, there is a queer story about the death of Sher Sháh Súr. It is said that a Baniyá, named Dharm Datt, had two beautiful daughters, of whom the king was informed, and he demanded them of him. The Baniyá, like a stout Hindú, refused to give them up, saying, "You may strike off my head, but my headless trunk will still kill you." The king thereon had him beheaded with a sword, but the hand of the headless trunk seized the sword, and with it slew the king.

Now this remarkable tale is rendered all the more so by the fact, that Sher Sháh Súr was not only a great Indian ruler, but also a very well known one of comparatively modern date. The real cause of his death, the blowing up of a battery, in which he was standing at the taking of Kalinjar, in the moment of victory, on the 24th May 1545 A. D., was, one would have supposed, a sufficiently romantic end to have been well remembered. Sher Sháh Súr came from Hissár and songs are still sung in the Panjáb about the wars of his son Salím Sháh Súr with the great Khawás Khán, who is now looked on as a Muhammadan saint. Salím Sháh, who reigned from 1545 to 1554, is confounded in the songs with his father, Sher Sháh.

Herklot,* in his description of the mountebanks so common during the *Muharram*, gives an account of the *Tan-i-besir* (or *Sir-i-betan*), or headless trunk (or bodiless head). This is a trick in which one man conceals his head under ground, or under a bedstead (*chárpáe*), and only displays his body, while another buries his body, and makes his head appear above ground, to represent a decapitated corpse. Between these they place a bloody sword, and sprinkle the spot with a red dye to imitate blood. Sometimes two persons in the semblance of robbers are seen there, and a man, acting in the character of a woman, sits crying and saying, "Robbers have murdered my brother (or husband). Give me something to go and bury him."

Perhaps the readiness with which the Muhammadans have taken up and adopted the Hindu idea, for such I believe it to be, of the headless warrior, may arise from the miraculous tales of Hussain's head and its doings after his murder.†

It is to be observed that the headless horseman of Awá is called *Dúnd* or *Rúnd*, which obviously means lopped or shorn. Elliot's, *Supplementary Glossary*, s.v. *Dúndá*,‡ says it means a bullock with one horn. Fallon, *New Hindustáni Dictionary*,

* *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 136.

† Herklot's *Op. cit.*, p. iii.

‡ Elliot's *Races of the N.-W. P.*,

Beames' Ed., s.v. and Carnegie's *Kachahrí Technicalities*, s.v.

s.v., says *dūndā* means a bullock with a bent, broken, or one horn. He also gives *tūtā*, *tonā*, *tuntā*, and *tundā* as meaning damaged, broken; and besides these *totā*, *tūlā*, loss, damage, deficiency. He further quotes the proverb:

Tūtā ki būti nahin,
There is no cure for death.

And lastly there are the well-known and common words *tūnā* to be broken, and *tonā* to break. Bate, *Hindī Dict.*, s.v.v., says *tund* is a lopped hand or branch; and *tundā* is handless; either from birth, or from maiming. The *Lúdiānā Punjābī Dict.* has *dūnd*, headless body or trunk, lopped trunk of a tree, and *tūndā*, a headless or bare trunk. All these words take their rise from the roots *trūt* or *tud*.*

The consideration of the derivation of this word leads us to the origin and the cause for its present popularity. *Tunda*, *Tundaka*, and *Tundadeva*,† the shorn, are names for Siva, and also for a well-known *Rākshasa*, or enemy of the Aryan heroes. *Tunda* was killed by *Nahusha*, the early progenitor of the Lunar Race, and *Vitunda* his son by *Durgā*. *Devī* or *Durgā*, under her various names, had many fights with the *Rākshasas*, such as *Tundā*, *Vitunda*, *Sumbha*, *Nisumbha*, *Sundā*, *Chanda* and *Mundā*, *Mahisha*, or *Mahishāsura*, and so on, who are all more or less mixed up in legend.‡ The *Chandī Māhātmya*, usually called shortly the *Chandī*, a portion of the *Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa*, § still much read, details all these victories, and on these stories is based the well-known modern festival of the *Durgā Pūjā*. One of the most famous of *Devī*'s victories is that over *Nishumbha*, which she effected in her character of *Chhinnamastakā*, or the headless.¶ It is to the widespread celebrity of this legend that I attribute all the modern stories of the headless horsemen, warriors and saints.

At the *Durgā Pūjā* festival one of the most important things is the construction of the images of *Durgā*,¶ and among the most prominent is the representation of *Chhinnamastakā*, who is "a reddish-brown, naked, headless goddess. She stands upon a human couple, and in one hand holds a gory scimitar, and in the other her own severed head, which drinks the warm blood gushing forth from her headless trunk."

* Monier William's *Sansk. Dict.*, s.v.v. *trūt*, *tud*.

† *Ibid.*, s.v.v.

‡ Dowson's *Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, s.v.v., *Tundā*, *Devī*, *Chā-mundā*.

§ *Durgā Pūjā*, by P. C. Ghosha, Calcutta, 1871, Hindu Patriot Press, p. xi. (27).

¶ Wilkin's *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 252 and 264.

¶ *Durgā Pūjā*, p. 9.

Wilkins* following Ward,† says that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, describes the incarnations assumed by Devi in order to destroy the Rākṣhasas; which were as follows:—

(1.) Durgā, the inaccessible, to receive Chanda and Munda who came to see her on behalf of Sumbha.

(2.) Daśabhuja, the ten armed, to destroy Dhamlochana, the general of Sumbha, and his army sent to capture her.

(3.) Sinhavahini, the lion-rider, to destroy Chanda and Munda.

(4.) Mahishamārdini, the buffalo-slayer, to destroy Sunda, Sumbha's general.

(5.) Jagaddhātṛi, the world-mother, to destroy the army of Sumbha and Nisumbha.

(6.) Kālī (with Chandī, the terrible), the black, to destroy Ruktavija, Sumbha's chief general.

(7.) Muktakesī, the dishevelled, to destroy another army.

(8.) Tārā, the saviour, to destroy Sumbha.

(9.) Chhinnamastakā, the headless, to destroy Nisumbha.

(10.) Jagadgaurī, the world's beauty, to receive the thanks of gods and men for the deliverance she had wrought.

Mr. Wilkins says regarding Chhinnamastakā, that it is evident from her appearance that she found her task rather difficult, for her head is half severed from her body. She is painted as a fair woman, naked, and wearing a garland of skulls, standing on the body of her husband.

The wide popularity of the worship of Durgā must make the idea of the headless warrior familiar to the ignorant and vulgar, and hence, most probably, the numerous legends about the Dúnd, the Binsirā, the Tan-i-besir, the Sirburidā, and other forms of the headless one.

The widespread of these legends may be further illustrated by an extract from the Ráwul Pindí version of the Legend of Rasálú,‡ which runs as follows:—

Rájá Rasálú gave up his kingdom and started for the city of Rájá Sirkap. Before he had gone very far, he came upon a cemetery, where he found a headless corpse lying, and he said to it—

Báre andar piá karanglá;

Na is sás na pás:

Je Maullá is nún zindá kare,

Do bátán kare hamáre pás.

The corpse is fallen under the hedge;

Nor breath in him, nor any one near!

If God grant him life;

He may talk a little with me.

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 257 f.f.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp.

† *View of Hist. of Rel. and Lit. of Hindus*, Serampore, 1818, pp. 88 f.f.

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And God restored him to life at once, as Rájá Rasálú wished, and the Rájá said to the man—

*Laihindion chorhi bagali,
Háthán páiá zor;
Kehe 'amal kamáio,
Je jhaldí nahín gor?*

The clouds rose in the West,
The storm was very fierce;
What deed hast thou done,
That the grave contains thee not?

And the man answered—

*Asín bhí kadín duniyán te in hán the:
Rájá wal degrián pagán bankhe,
Tárde pagán bhar:
Aunde tara, nacháunde tara,
Hánke sarvár.
Zara na mitthí jhaldí, Rájá;
Hun sav manán dá bhár.*

I, too, was once on the earth thus:
Fastening my turban awry like a king,
Walking erect:
Coming proudly, taunting proudly,
Driving off the horsemen.
The grave does not hold me at all, Rájá;
Now am I a great sinner.

Meanwhile the night passed, and in the morning the restored corpse asked Rájá Rasálú, who he was, and where he had come from, and the Rájá replied, that he had come from Siálkot and was going to play at *chaupúr* with Rájá Sárkap.

"You had better not," replied the restored corpse, "I was his brother, and I know him. Every day before he has his breakfast he cuts off the heads of two or three men. One day he could not get a convenient head, so he cut off mine, and he will be sure to take off yours. However, if you really want to go, take some bones from here and have your dice made from them, and then the enchanted dice he plays with will have no effect, otherwise he will never lose." So the Rájá did as he was advised, and, taking some bones from the cemetery, he started off.

It is to be observed, that the headless horseman of Awagarh stands before his victims' doors and calls to them by name, and that if they answer, they suffer for it. This is a very common notion, and in fact may be called the leading feature of the modern Indian ghost story. I have already alluded to it in the account of the Yech, or Yách, of Kashmir,* the imp who calls out to people in the night by name, and if they answer, burns them with their

* *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 260-261.

own *kāngri*, or bowl for heating the stomach in the winter frosts. It arises, of course, in the common hallucination that a well known voice is calling to one by name, or speaking to one.

The following are additional instances of communication with ghosts followed by death or illness. They are related as being every day occurrences in recent times:

A man named Ramzán Khán, living in the Sadar Bazar, Ambálá Cantonments, a *chuprást* in the employ of Ganeshí Lal, Commissariat Gomáshtá, relates the following story of himself:—

In 1868 I was servant to Murlí Manohar, Commissariat Gomáshtá, and was ordered by him to take Rs. 200 in cash to a Regiment on the march from Ambálá to Chakrautá, which was then encamped at Muláná. This money was required for the feeding of some elephants, which accompanied the Regiment. I got on my camel, and took the money safely to Muláná. On my way back, I was riding my camel near Chhabíáná, close to the Cantonment boundaries, when I saw a very pretty, well dressed woman sitting under a tree. She called out to me to give her a lift. I said I would, but my camel would not go to her, but kept trembling and starting whenever he got near her. So I told her to follow behind, and that I would get the beast to sit down at the Police Station close by, and in this way we went on, she following close at my heels. It was about 7 P. M. and dusk at the time, and when we reached the Police Station the sentry called out, "Who goes there." I said, "A camel-rider of the Commissariat," and then he called out, "Who's that with you?" I said, "Only a woman." While we were talking like this the creature gave a great jump and disappeared into a tree* standing by, and we saw her no more. I had a severe fever for many a day after this.

The above tale belongs to the class of the "Beautiful Woman Ghost," of which the following are instances:—

"There was a cultivator of Jahángírpúr in the Bulandshahr district, whose fields were some three miles from the town, and he used to go at all hours of the night to and from them. One dark night, when a slight rain was falling, he was going to his fields about 11 P. M., and on the road he found a beautiful, well-dressed girl sitting by the road side and calling out, "Oh, where can my husband have gone?" The cultivator sat and talked with her, and suggested that she should go home with him. She agreed to go with him to his fields, and there they began to make mutual love. While there was still an hour† of the night left, the woman

* Very common notion. See below and story of Khajúríá Pír. † *Chár ghari*: a *ghari* is 24 minutes, 4 *gharis* are therefore really 1 hour *Folklore Record*, vol. 7, pp. 158-159, and 36 minute.

went away, saying, "Mind, you tell this to no one. If you do, it will be the worse for you: indeed, it will kill you." The cultivator promised to say nothing about it, and she went away, promising to come again every night. Next night she returned, and so it went on night after night, till the end of it was that the woman became pregnant, and the cultivator took her to live with him, and she bore him a daughter. But day by day the cultivator began to grow thinner and thinner, * and never would explain the reason. But at last his relatives questioned him so, that he told his secret. At the same moment the woman disappeared, whereon he became very ill, and before long he died."

Here is another story. About the year 1830 a man was wandering along the Mall at Merath (Meerut) one night in the hot weather, and saw a lovely woman leaning up against the gate of an empty house, who called out to him: "I have something to tell you." So he went up to her and talked, and ended in making love to her, but he saw that her feet were turned backwards. † However, he was so taken with her beauty that, nevertheless, he took her to live with him. She made him grow thinner and thinner every day, but he was so frightened of her, that he never divulged his secret, and at last he died.

At Ambálá one Qualandar Khán, a trooper of the 6th Troop in the XIth Bengal Lancers, a Pathán, tells the following tale:—

"I was sleeping in my hut in the lines, ‡ and went outside for a call of nature. About 200 yards from the lines under a mangoe tree I saw two women sitting. They called out to me in Pushto that they wanted to go with me, but I said nothing and went home to my hut. When I got inside it, I found the women outside, and they said again in Pushto, "You are a nice sort of a man not to notice us! we came with you all the way from Kábul and want to live with you." Saying this, they came and lay down on my bed. I asked them where they had been living, and they said, "On your parade § ground at a deserted well, some 400 yards from here to the east. There are three of us women in it. Ourselves and our mother, for we two are own sisters." After this we all went to sleep and I remained in a trance till 8 A. M., when my comrades came and poured water over my head and roused me.

From Mungír (Monghyr) comes the following as having happened in 1883. || A wealthy Brahman of the town was on

* Compare the story of Ali Mard-
án Khán and the Snake Woman:
Ind. Ant., vol. xi, pp. 230 ff.

† I. e., she was a *churel*; see below.

‡ The English *lain* was used.

§ English again; *puret*.

|| *Pioneers*, 17th April 1883.

three successive occasions taken by three women at night and transported bodily to different places at a distance from his house. During two of these trips they drove nails into his body, and on the third occasion they gave him money.* Each time the Brahman was found at the place of his transportation by the police. This story looks as if some clever rogue were trading on the superstitions of the people, but the ideas contained in it are so exactly those of the Panjábis, as to show that they are current, too, at any rate, as far as Northern Bengal.

The next ghost tale dates as late as October 1882, and is told in all good faith by one Hanumán Tambolí of the Ambálá cantonments, who deals in horses and as a broker in the betel-leaf trade. He is a man of some position, and his tale is this—

I and my servant, Mírá, and a butcher, were going on a dark night with some money from the Sadar Bazar to the railway station. We went along the road that leads by the big drain near the Idgáh and Masjid, and as we were walking along, the butcher cried out, "Look! there's a devil dancing in front of us!" I had a lantern † in my hand, and so I had a good look, and sure enough there was a man dancing wildly in front of us with his arms over his head, and while we were looking at him he disappeared into a tree. And from the tree a voice called out to the butcher, "*Shaitán ko Shaitán dihláí detá hai*, a devil appears only to devils!" After this we all ran away home as fast as we could and have never used that road at night since, but the butcher was very ill for a long while. I fear the Tambolí and his friends were the victims of a hoax on this occasion. As likely as not some thief was concealed in the drain and jumped out like this to frighten the inconvenient visitors away.

There is yet another similar tale in Ambálá, that a bearer to Mr. Buckner, Inspector of Post-offices, named Lodhe Khán, was going to his house in the Royal Horse Artillery Bazar past a large tank (*diggi*), well-known to be haunted at midnight. It was midnight when he passed and just as he reached it a man stopped him, and asked him who he was, whereon he ran away without answering. But the ghost, assuming the form of a cat, ran before him, and, on seeing this, the bearer became so frightened, that he sat down. After a while, however, he plucked up courage and ran off again to the bazar, and from the darkness behind him a voice called out, "If you come this way again at this hour, I will not leave you alive."

* A common sequel to such tales. There is a tale, very marvellous in its way, told at Kasaulí of the local saint, Banne Sháh, in which he cures a girl of leprosy and ends by

giving her a lot of money.

† English used, and the word spelt لعل *la'al* ten. A very interesting corruption.

Sometimes these notions take a very practical shape, as may be seen from the following instance, which has occurred during this very month in which I am writing, *viz.*, May 1883 :—During the last financial year a new bridge over the main stream in the Ambálá Cantonment was completed. It is situated at the North-East corner of the station cemetery and near a large *kikar* (*acacia arabica*) tree. Under this tree lies a European suicide, a soldier, buried there some years ago. In the neighbourhood are the British Cavalry Grass-cutters' lines, and the women living there will never pass the spot at night, as they say, the soldier has been seen to leave his grave and ask for bread (*rotí*), and, as usual, to answer him is death. Now the contractor who had the building of the bridge, is one Kálí Charan, and he says that the soldier appeared to him in a dream and told him to repair his tomb, and that unless he did so, he would take care that his bridge should never stand. Kálí Charan, a Hindu, as his name indicates, has accordingly repaired the Christian's grave to the best of his ability, and there it stands a monument to the living faith of this man in the reality of his vision.

Now at Firozpur there is near the Arsenal Fort an old disused brick-kiln in which a *churel* is said to live,* and many natives have told me that in passing it they have been called by name,† and that those answering the call have been struck down with fever after it. I have no doubt that the part of the Awagarh headless horseman's tale, which relates to the calling by name, takes its rise in the very widely spread and common belief in the *churel* and her doings.

Most writers of Indian Dictionaries and on Indian Folklore have noticed the *churel*, and always in very similar terms.‡ With variations within narrow limits the *churel* may be called the malignant ghost of a woman that has died in child-bed. She is variously called *churel*, *churail*, *churailí*, *churailí*, *churdwál*, *chuddo*, *chuddá*, *chiddo*. The best description of the *churel* I have yet seen is, that procured for me by Mrs. F. A. Steel some three years ago, in which she mentioned as a proof of the liveliness of the belief in it that the natives at Firozpur told her that three cases of injury by a *churel* had occurred there within a month. Besides these I have already noticed several as occurring there,‡ and wherever I have been in the Panjáb I have found these malignant spirits equally active :—at Simlá § and

* See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. x, p. 229, note.

† *Ind. Ant.* Vol. viii., p. 210. Falcon's *New Hind. Dict.*; Bate's *Hindí Dict.*; *Lúdiáná Panj. Dict. s.v.v.*; Herklot, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. x, p. 229 note.

§ On the Mall at Simla, towards

Chhota Simla, is a deserted well (or *báolí*) now closed, called Churel Kúá or Churel Báolí, in which a *chuprási*, some years ago, met his death, it is said, at the hands of the haunting spirit.

Ambálá, at Marhí (Murree) and Ráwal Píndí, at Dharmśálá, at Firozpur and at Multán. The constant mention of them in the various works of reference in the many Aryan languages of India shows the universal belief in them, and this being so, it is curious (as will be seen later on) that no attempt seems to have been hitherto made to trace this universal and remarkable superstition to its origin, or at least back to its earlier forms.

Mrs. Steel defines the *churel* as the ghost of a woman who has died in pregnancy, or on the day of child-birth, or during the first 40 days of her defilement. She is usually described as the ghost of a woman who has died within the first twelve days after child-birth; and regarding children who die within these twelve days the natives have a queer custom of burying them *inside* the house, or just outside the threshold, with the object of preventing similar deaths in the future. Mrs. Steel goes on to say that the worst and most malignant *churel* is that of a pregnant woman, who dies on the night of the Dēwálí festival, and that, though properly confined to the limits above mentioned, the term is frequently extended to mean any *female ghost*, Hindú or Musalmán. The superstition is essentially Hindú, and though believed in by Musalmáns, it is not admitted, as a rule, that a Musalmání could become a *churel*.

The popular idea of the proper form of a *churel* may be gathered from a rough picture of one in my possession, accompanied by some verses. The figure is drawn as that of a very black, ugly woman, without breasts and naked, except as to a *phinní*, or loin-cloth worn by children. She has a starved appearance generally, and her attitude is a threatening one. Her hair is lanky, her stomach and navel protrude, her hands are large, long and lean, her thin arms are outstretched before her, her mouth is wide open, showing a long and bright-red tongue protruding, and her feet are turned backwards. She wears the usual female gold and silver ornaments of *gala* costume, viz., *churis*, or bracelets, on her wrists; *bará málá* and *málá*, or beaded necklaces, and *jugní*, or gold necklet, round her neck; *bálián*, or earrings, in her ears; and *tungní*, or chaplet, in her hair.

The verses are these:—

At churel kháne ek nagan nár ko :
Dekhá jo murke, bhúl gae ghar kí sár ko í.
Bál hain bare, wa pet bará, háth hain bare,
Munh khole, pánw ulte chale, kháe bín khare.

And may be freely rendered thus:—

The long lean hands, the lanky hair,
 The foul black skin, the tongue affame,
 The feet turned back, the hungry air,
 Too surely the *churel* proclaim.
 Screams with pale fear the town-bred maid,
 Affrighted at that sight of dread.

The *churel* is essentially a malignant spirit, and especially so to the members of her own family. She waylays men returning from the fields late in the evening, and, assuming the shape of a beautiful woman, calls her victims by name. If the call be answered, sickness and death ensue, but even if no answer be given, the event is a most untoward one, for no one can ever really survive the sight or voice of the *churel*. Sooner or later come misfortune, sickness and death.

The means employed to prevent dead women from becoming *churels* are these: Small round-headed nails of iron are made for the purpose, and driven into the nails of the forefinger and thumbs, and the great toes are fastened together by iron rings passed round them. The surface of the ground on which the woman has died is carefully scraped and removed, and the spot sown with mustard seed. Mustard seed is also sprinkled along the road, traversed by the corpse to interment or to cremation, and on the grave when there is one. The reasons for this are twofold. *Firstly*, the mustard plant blooms in the world of the dead and its sweet smell is peculiarly grateful to the spirit and keeps her content. *Secondly*, whenever she rises from her grave at nightfall, she makes straight for her former home, and, seeing the mustard seeds scattered about, she stoops to pick them up. Now this is a long job, and occupies her till cock-crow, and then she is no longer able to roam, but is forced back into her grave.

In default of a better explanation, I suggest that the origin of the idea of the *churel* lies, like that of the headless horseman, in the legends of Durgá or Devi, particularly in that one in which one of her many forms, *Chandí*, the Terrible, helps her in her other form of *Káli*, the Black, to slay the self-multiplying giant *Ráktavija*, the leader of the army of the Titans against the gods. *

I must wind up my paper with a story about the headless horseman of an unexpected nature. It is from an entirely new source, and from a most unlikely person, *viz.*, a District Engineer of the Sind, Panjab and Delhi Railway who has seen the headless horseman himself in Ambálá and that not very long ago. The adventure is so remarkable, that I must let him tell it in his own words. Mr. T. A. Cox says, "In the hot weather of 1870 or 1871 I was one day riding out, after a long day in office, to dine with the 72nd Highlanders. My bungalow was in the Native Infantry lines at Ambálá, nearly opposite the present Mess-house of the 32nd Pioneers. It was about 7-30 p. M., and quite dusk. I was riding at a foot's pace. When I got to the turn of the road opposite General Gott's house (now Dovedell Hotel), I noted a

* Wilkin's *Op. cit.*, pp. 248, 255, 98 ff.
257. Ward's *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, pp. 88,

THE QUARTER.

PUBLIC attention since the above date has continued to be almost entirely engrossed by the question of the Jurisdiction Bill and by the outburst of hostility to the ruling race for which the discussion arising out of it has proved the signal. While the views of the European and Anglo-Indian community regarding the policy of the Bill and their determination to use every legitimate effort to avert the calamity of its enactment, have undergone no change, their attitude has been sensibly modified by the circumstances of the hour. As the time approaches for the Government of India to reconsider its policy in the light of the opinions of its own officers, watchful and anxious expectancy has generally taken the place of indignant protest. The knowledge that the officials consulted have condemned the Bill almost to a man, and, in the great majority of cases, in the most emphatic terms, has largely contributed to this change. On the one hand, it is felt that it would be not merely an act of inconceivable folly, but an unwarrantable breach of faith, if, after having staked the question on the result of an appeal to official opinion, the Government, on finding that opinion to be against its preconceived views, were to refuse to redeem its promise and to pass the Bill in the teeth of a verdict deliberately challenged and deliberately given.—On the other hand, there is a wise disinclination to give the Government of India even the shadow of an excuse for setting aside the unanimous verdict of the public on the ground that their attitude is that of menace. The Government has called for certain opinions and promised to abide by them. The public concerned are quite content that it should keep its promise; and, such being the case, they are resolved that, as far as in their power lies, no disturbing element shall enter into the question. They feel, moreover, that if the Government is determined to break its promise, it is best that it should do so entirely on its own responsibility; that at all events they should give it no opportunity of saddling any portion of the guilt of so fatal a course on their shoulders.

black horse, with a horseman draped in black, without a head, by my side on the off-side. I did not speak, but rode quietly to the turn leading to the Railway crossing. At this point the apparition disappeared and vanished. I rode on to the British Infantry mess house and mentioned to two or three men what I had seen. The sight of the apparition had no effect on my nervous system, for I made a very good dinner and played a rubber of Whist afterwards, was in perfect health, as plenty of people could have testified. I am still fully persuaded (as I was at the time) that the apparition was subjective and had no objective reality."

Here is a "good and true" ghost story for the Theosophical and Psychical Societies to discuss, though it is a pity for them that the ghost-seer declines to believe in the reality of his vision.

R. C. TEMPLE.

The subject of the headless horsemen seems an endless one, and even after the above was in type I found him in Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, vol. I, pp. 72-3, in connection with Gurú Gobind Singh's doings as above detailed, and also at page 100 of Sirdár Atar Singh's *Sákhí Book*, when one of the Guru's followers is made to fight the Musalman's without his head at a place called Ghanaulá in the Ambalá District, soon after the Guru's flight from Anundpúr to his final resting place at Makatsak in the Ferozpur District.

R. C. T.

In the meanwhile the Native community, on their side, or rather the knot of frothy politicians who, under the influence of a one-sided and half-digested English education, have developed the falsetto voice of the demagogue, have done all that lay in their power to justify the worst predictions of the opponents of the Government policy, by their abuse of English rule and their scornful refusal to accept the Bill as anything but a small instalment of a policy destined to culminate in a unified India, governed by themselves.

The real motive of these men has been placed beyond all doubt, and a startling example at the same time given of the unscrupulousness of their methods, by the late libel against Mr. Justice Norris and the agitation of which the just sentence passed on the offender has been made the occasion. A more signal proof of political incapacity could hardly have been given than that furnished by the men who, in raising the false cry of injured religion over Mr. Norris's action in the Saligram case, and using it as a lever to stir up their ignorant fellow countrymen against the Government, have exposed their hand at so critical a moment, and thus furnished the opponents of the Jurisdiction Bill with a practical demonstration of the justice of their opposition. Had the acumen of these men been at all proportionate to their malice, they would have seen that the very last thing they ought to do at such a moment was to foster a cry which, coming from such a quarter as this did, and being so obviously factitious as this was, must inevitably lead to the conclusion that they were influenced by ulterior motives.

The incident which gave rise to this extraordinary exhibition of combined wickedness and folly, happened in this wise. In a case between Hindus which was being tried before Mr. Justice Norris, a question arose as to the identity of a certain idol, which has been variously described as a *saligram* stone and a *bighraha*. In order to determine this point, it became necessary to ascertain whether a particular idol in the custody of a certain Pandit in the Burra Bazar was the family idol of certain of the parties in the suit. With the view of determining this question it was suggested by the counsel on both sides that the idol should be brought into Court for the purpose of identification. The Judge, however, hesitated to pass an order for this purpose until he had ascertained from the attorneys on both sides, who were Hindus, that there was no objection to such a course from a religious point of view. He therefore made enquiries from them on the subject and was informed, in reply, that there was no such objection to the proposed proceeding. Still Mr. Justice Norris was not satisfied, and, in order to remove all possibility of doubt,

he further enquired from one Gouri Kanta, the agent of the plaintiff, a Brahmin, who was in Court, and his answer was that the idol could not be brought without objection into the Court itself, owing to the coir-matting, but that it might unobjectionably be brought into the corridor of the Court.

So anxious, however, was Mr. Justice Norris to make no mistake that he then sent for the Court interpreter, also a high caste Brahmin, and consulted him in the matter; and, like Gouri Kanta, he replied that, though the idol could not be brought into the Court, on account of the coir matting, it might unobjectionably be brought into the corridor.

Thereupon Mr. Justice Norris made an order, granting the application, and the custodian of the idol was directed to produce it, the interpreter himself being deputed to go with the officer entrusted with the execution of the subpoena and see that it was conveyed to the Court in a proper manner. In accordance with this order the idol was thereupon conveyed into the corridor of the Court by its custodian, in company with the Brahmin interpreter, and there inspected by the Judge.

Now, setting aside entirely the question whether, as a matter of fact the idol was an object which, according to Hindu custom, might unobjectionably be brought into the corridor of the Court, or not, it is perfectly clear from the above circumstances that the utmost care was taken by the Court to guard against the risk of sanctioning anything that could offend against such custom, and that, if what was done did so offend, the responsibility for the error rests, not with the Court, but with parties in the case themselves, and the other high caste Hindus consulted. Whether there was anything in the proceeding calculated to wound Hindu religious feelings or not, it is, therefore, quite unnecessary to decide, in order to arrive at a verdict on the conduct of the Court, or on the justice of the subsequent agitation in the matter. It will be observed, however, that the result of Mr. Justice Norris's enquiries, to go no further, creates the very strongest presumption that the action of the Court was, in fact, wholly unobjectionable. Not only was there a consensus of opinion on the part of the experts consulted that the idol might properly be brought into the corridor, but the replies of those experts justify the inference that it might have been brought into the Court itself, but for the accident of the room being matted with coir-matting. There was no hint whatever that the nature of the building, or the fact of its being frequented by Mlechas, constituted any objection. Still less was there any hint that the idol could not properly be inspected by the Judge.

In spite of all this, and of a mass of other well-known facts connected with the treatment of such idols, which point to the same conclusion, but which were not brought forward in the proceedings, the incident was at once seized upon by the Native Press as a proof of the tyrannical conduct of the Judge and of his determination to trample on the religious feelings of the natives.

A paper called *Brahmo Public Opinion*, which is the organ of a section of the native population who profess to be superior to idol worship and the superstition implied in it, immediately published an article in which the following passage occurred :—

“What are we to think of a Judge who is so ignorant of the feelings of the people and so disrespectful to their cherished convictions, as to drag into Court, and then to inspect, an object of worship, which only Brahmins are allowed to approach, after having purified themselves, according to the forms of their religion? Will the Government of India take no notice of such a proceeding? The religious feelings of the people have always been an object of tender care with the Supreme Government. Here, however, we have a Judge who, in the name of Justice, sets these feelings at defiance and commits what amounts to an act of sacrilege in the estimation of pious Hindus. We venture to call the attention of the Government to the facts here stated; and we have no doubt due notice will be taken of the conduct of the Judge.”

This unfounded libel served as the signal for the following scurrilous and unscrupulous attack on Mr. Justice Norris and the High Court in the columns of the *Bengalee*, another organ of the advanced Hindus :—

“The Judges of the High Court have hitherto commanded the universal respect of the community. Of course, they have often erred, and have often grievously failed in the performance of their duties. But their errors have hardly ever been due to impulsiveness or to the neglect of the commonest considerations of prudence or decency. We have now, however, amongst us a Judge, who, if he does not actually recall to mind the days of Jeffreys and Scroggs, has certainly done enough, within the short time that he has filled the High Court Bench, to show how unworthy he is of his high office, and how by nature he is unfitted to maintain those traditions of dignity which are inseparable from the office of the Judge of the highest Court in the land. From time to time, we have, in these columns, adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Justice Norris. But the climax has now been reached, and we venture to call attention to the facts, as they have been reported in the columns of a contemporary. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* is our authority, and the facts stated are as follows :—‘Mr. Justice Norris is determined to set the Hugli on fire. The last act of *Zubberdusti* on his Lordship’s part was the bringing of a *Saligram*, a stone idol, into Court for identification. There have been very many cases both in the late Supreme Court and

the present High Court of Calcutta regarding the custody of Hindu idols, but the presiding deity of a Hindu household has never before this had the honor of being dragged into Court. Our Calcutta Daniel looked at the idol and said it could not be a hundred years old. So Mr. Justice Norris is not only versed in Law and Medicine, but it is also a *connoisseur* of Hindu idols. It is difficult to say what he is not. Whether the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta will tamely submit to their family-idols being dragged into Court, is a matter for them to decide, but it does seem to us that some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw Dispenser of Justice.

“What are we to think of a Judge who is so ignorant of the feelings of the people and so disrespectful to their most cherished convictions, as to drag into Court, and then to inspect an object of worship, which only Brahmins are allowed to approach, after having purified themselves, according to the forms of their religion? Will the Government of India take no notice of such a proceeding? The religious feelings of the people have always been an object of tender care with the Supreme Government. Here, however, we have a Judge who, in the name of justice, sets these feelings at defiance, and commits what amounts to an act of sacrilege in the estimation of pious Hindus. We venture to call the attention of the Government to the facts here stated, and we have no doubt due notice will be taken of the conduct of the Judge.”

It was impossible for the Court to overlook so gross and daring an attack on one of its members without permanently lowering itself in the eyes of a community who see no magnanimity in forbearance.

A consultation of the Judges having been held, Mr. Justice Norris, on the 2nd ultimo, directed a rule to issue against Ram Coomar Dey, the Publisher, and Babu Surendronath Bannerjee, the Proprietor and Editor of the *Bengalee*, calling on them to show cause why they should not be committed for contempt.

The rule came on for hearing on the 5th, when Mr. Bonnerjee, on behalf of the defendants, submitted the following affidavits:—

“I, Ram Coomar Dey, of No. 33, Neoghee Pookur's Lane, in the town of Calcutta, contractor, solemnly affirm and say as follows:—

1st.—That for the last two or three years I have, under a contract with the abovenamed Surendronath Bannerjee, by myself, and others employed by me, composed, set up, and printed the periodical work called the *Bengalee* of which I am known as the Printer and Publisher.

2nd.—That I have no concern with any matter which appears in the said periodical work, and that I have no power to prevent any such matter passed by the said Surendronath Bannerjee appearing in the said periodical work.

3rd.—That I am imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and, though able to compose and set up works in English, I do not readily understand the sense and meaning of what I do compose and set up.

4th.—That while composing and setting up the issue of the 28th day of April 1883 of the said periodical work, I had no knowledge whatsoever that it contained any matter contemptuous or defamatory of, or concerning, the Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, one of the Judges of this Honorable Court, or of any person or persons whomsoever, and I say that, even had I had such knowledge, I could not have prevented the same being published in

the said periodical work, and all that I could have done would have been to sever my connexion with the said periodical work.

5th.—That I am extremely sorry that any matter deemed by this Honorable Court to be contemptuous and defamatory of, and concerning, the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris should have appeared in the said periodical work, and so far as I had any hand in the publication thereof, I apologize to the said learned Judge and to this Honorable Court.

That under the circumstances aforesaid, I submit myself to the favorable consideration of this Honorable Court.

The affidavit of Surendronath Bannerjee is as follows :—

I, Surendronath Bannerjee, of No. 33, Neogee Pookur East Lane, in the town of Calcutta, at present residing at Monirampore in the district of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, inhabitant, solemnly affirm and say as follows :—

1st.—That on Thursday the 3rd day of May instant, I was served with a rule issued by this Honorable Court in this matter on the day previous, calling upon the abovenamed Ram Coomar Dey, as the Printer and Publisher, and myself as the Editor of the periodical work, the *Bengalee*, to show cause before this Honorable Court, on Friday the 4th day of May instant, at the sitting of the Court, why we should not be committed, or otherwise dealt with according to law, for contempt of Court alleged to have been committed by us in having unlawfully published a certain article in the said periodical work, the *Bengalee*, of the 28th day of April last, containing certain contemptuous and defamatory matters of, and concerning, the Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, one of the Judges of this Honorable Court.

2nd.—That upon being served with the said rule, I bespoke and thereafter obtained office copies of the grounds upon which the said rule is based which grounds I have perused.

3rd.—That I admit that, as is stated in the affidavit of Mr. Henry Adam Adkins, Officiating Solicitor to the Government of India, the abovenamed Ram Coomar Dey is the Printer and Publisher of the said periodical work, the *Bengalee*, and I am the Proprietor and Editor thereof.

4th.—That the said periodical work is made up entirely under my superintendence, and that the said Ram Coomar Dey, who is but indifferently acquainted with the English language, has no authority over any editorial matter appearing in the said periodical work, and further he could not, if he wished so to do, prevent any article or paragraph appearing therein.

5th.—That the issue of the said periodical work of the said 28th day of April 1883 was made up and published entirely on my responsibility, and to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, the said Ram Coomar Dey did not read anything contained therein in the editorial columns before the publication thereof.

6th.—I further say that, except as an Hon'ble and learned Judge of this Honorable Court, I have no knowledge whatsoever of the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, and that, in writing and publishing what I did in connexion with his Lordship, I acted entirely *bonâ fide*, and, as I believed, in the interests of the public good.

7th.—That there appeared in the said issue of the 28th day of April 1883 two paragraphs in connexion with the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, one at page 194 under the heading of "News and Notes" of Tuesday the 24th day of April 1883, and the other at page 199 amongst the editorial notes. The said two paragraphs are as follows : [Here followed the articles previously quoted and on which the rule was issued.]

8th.—That the *Brahmo Public Opinion* referred to in the said paragraph

is a periodical work published in Calcutta every Thursday, and is believed by the public, and I believe it to be under the editorship of a gentleman practising as an attorney of this Honorable Court.

9th.—That the matter of complaint made in the said first paragraph appeared in the said *Brahmo Public Opinion*, to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, in its issue of Thursday the 19th day of April 1883, and no contradiction thereof, nor any explanation thereof appeared either in the said *Brahmo Public Opinion*, or, to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, in any other newspaper.

10th. That the matter of complaint made in the said second paragraph appeared in the said *Brahmo Public Opinion* in its issue of the 26th day of April 1883, and no explanation or contradiction thereof appeared in that paper, or in any other newspaper, before the publication of the said issue of the said periodical work.

11th. That I honestly believed the statements in the said *Brahmo Public Opinion* to be true, and the paragraphs aforesaid, which were both written by me, were so written under such belief, and under a sense of public duty, that conduct such as was imputed to the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris should be brought to the notice of the public and censured.

12th. That from the affidavits of Mr. William Robert Fink, the Assistant Registrar, and the officiating Chief Clerk of this Hon'ble Court, and of Baboo Baneymadhub Mookerjee, one of the interpreters of this Hon'ble Court, the truth of which I entirely and unhesitatingly accept, I now find that the statements contained in the said *Brahmo Public Opinion* relating to the production of the said Saligram in Court were inaccurate and misleading, and that the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, instead of acting in a *zubburdasti* manner as alleged, acted under pressure from the parties, who are both Hindus, apparently against his own inclination.

13th. That I have received contradictory statements with regard to the statements contained in the said first paragraph, some asserting that they are inaccurate and misleading, others maintaining the contrary; and I have not been able to ascertain which of these contradictory statements represent the truth.

14th. I say most emphatically that if I had known, or had any reason to believe that the statements of the *Brahmo Public Opinion* aforesaid were in any respect inaccurate, I would not have made the observations I have, and I am truly sorry that I was misled into making them, and I withdraw them unreservedly; but I repeat that my observations were made perfectly *bona fide*, and without any motive of any description whatsoever other than the motive to promote public good.

15. That the circumstances of British India are such that this Honorable Court and the other High Courts in the other Presidencies are looked upon, and I believe justly looked upon, as the staunchest, the most upright, and the most impartial upholders of the just rights and privileges of all sections of the community, and any action on the part of any Hon'ble and learned Judge of these Honorable Courts tending to show the least disregard of such rights and privileges, is viewed with great alarm by the community, and I conceive that it is the duty of all journalists to maintain that no such disregard is shewn.

16. That I express my deep regret at having unwillingly endeavoured to cast an undeserved slur upon the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris, and I place myself unservedly in the hands of this Honorable Court, being satisfied that the apology which is hereinbefore contained, is, under the circumstances, due from me to the said Hon'ble John Freeman Norris and this Honorable Court, and I further submit myself to the favorable and indulgent consideration of this Honorable Court.

17th. That I am advised that this Hon'ble Court has no jurisdiction to issue the said rule, or to deal with me or the said Ram Coomar Dey summarily; but the question, I am also advised, is one of extreme difficulty, and I know it to be one of great public importance, and will require much time and attention to be dealt with as, in my judgment, it should be dealt with.

18th. That the said rule was served upon me at half-past eleven o'clock, and I received the said grounds at about a quarter after 2 p.m., and though my attorney and I have made our best endeavours to secure the services of Counsel learned in the law to appear for me and argue the said question, I have not succeeded in getting one prepared to do so this morning, and I humbly pray that time may be granted to me sufficient to enable me to have the said question argued; and I make this prayer entirely subject to the apology which I have made, and without in any way detracting from or weakening the same in any particular whatever. Solemnly affirmed.

As regards the objection to the Court's jurisdiction contained in the 17th paragraph of the above affidavit, and the prayer for time to argue the question thus raised, Mr. Bonnerjee said he would read it, and leave it without further comment, as he was not prepared to support it.

After the affidavits had been read, the following conversation took place between the Court and defendant's counsel:—

The Chief Justice.—As I understand it, your client is prepared to make no defence, and has asked you to make this affidavit in extenuation of the contempt. He is not prepared to make any defence, and is now asking for an adjournment.

Mr. Bonnerjee.—I am not asking for an adjournment, As I have said, I am not prepared to support that prayer, nor, if the prayer were granted, should I be in a position to argue it, and if I were in a position to argue it, I should not do so.

The Chief Justice.—I consider you the mouthpiece of these gentlemen, and that last portion of the affidavit shows that the defendants intended to dispute the jurisdiction of the Court if they had not been advised by you not to do so.

Mr. Bonnerjee.—The matter stands precisely as in the affidavit. But as I said before, I am not prepared to support the prayer in that portion of the affidavit, and even if time were granted by your Lordships, I should not be in a position to argue the question, and even if I were in a position to do so, I should not. But on the first part of the matter, as your Lordships have heard, my client places himself unreservedly in the hands of the Court. I submit that there is, as your Lordships will perceive, some distinction—perhaps it is no defence in law—between the two cases, the case of Ram Coomar Dey and that of Surendronath Bannerjee. Ram Coomar Dey has acted in ignorance, and is a subordinate agent; and even if he had wished he could not possibly have prevented the appearance of these matters in the newspaper. Therefore, I shall ask your Lordships to deal with him as leniently as may appear to your Lordships just and proper. Baboo Surendronath Bannerjee has no doubt written the article, and he has taken upon himself the entire responsibility of having done so. But, as he states, and I have no hesitation in asking your Lordships to believe, it was written in all honesty and in the belief that what was contained in the *Brahmo Public Opinion* was true and could be relied upon.

Mr. Justice Norris.—But there could be no necessity in all honesty to liken any Judge of this Court to Scroggs and Jeffreys. There is no

extenuation in the affidavit for having made any reference of that sort, and no expression of regret for having done so.

Mr. Bonnerjee.—I beg your Lordships to remember that the affidavits were prepared in a great hurry. They have been drafted and engrossed by the attorney himself, and there has been no time to deal with the case with that feeling which a matter of this sort certainly deserved; and I would therefore ask your Lordships to deal with the whole matter leniently. Baboo Surendronath Bannerjee regrets extremely that he was betrayed into saying anything which no doubt would justly wound the feelings and sensibilities of any person, and particularly one of your Lordships, sitting as one of the Judges of this Court.

Mr. Justice Norris.—I desire to remove the apprehension that any action has been taken because my feelings were wounded; action was taken because the whole Court was brought into contempt.

Mr. Bonnerjee.—I do not mean that action was taken because your Lordship's feelings were wounded, but because in the opinion of your Lordships the Court was brought into contempt. My client is extremely sorry for having made that allusion, and has done, under the circumstances, all that lies in his power; namely, to place himself unreservedly in your Lordships' hands, and to express his regret and submit his apology for what he had done. He holds a very prominent position in Calcutta; he is an Honorary Magistrate and a Municipal Commissioner, and is connected with various educational institutions in this city. Under these circumstances I leave the matter in your Lordships' hands, praying your Lordships to deal as leniently as, under the circumstances, your Lordships may think proper.

The Chief Justice.—We will consider the affidavits and give judgment in this matter to-morrow morning at 11 A. M.; but in the meantime Baboo Surendronath Bannerjee and Ram Coomar Dey must find security for their appearance to-morrow in the sum of Rs. 5,000 each.

Mr. Bonnerjee.—In considering these affidavits I trust your Lordships will not lose sight of the fact of the great hurry with which the affidavits have been prepared, and your Lordships will be pleased to supplement the affidavits with what I have openly and publicly avowed on behalf of my clients.

It will be thus seen that the plea of want of jurisdiction was deliberately abandoned by the defendant, not because there was no time to argue it, but because he was unprepared to argue it, even if time were allowed. In other words, it was abandoned on its merits, and the inference from Mr. Bonnerjee's statement on the subject is, that it would have been eliminated from the affidavit, but for the hurry with which that document had been prepared and filed.

In delivering judgment, the Chief Justice, on behalf of himself and Justices Cunningham, McDonnell and Norris, after reciting the facts of the case, went on to say—

It seems, therefore, impossible for any one, however strict his religious views on such subjects may be, to say that Mr. Justice Norris did not take the utmost pains, in the first place, to ascertain whether the Thakur ought to be brought to the Court at all, and, in the next place, to provide that it should be brought with all due respect and propriety.

It may be perfectly true that European Judges, and more especially Barrister-Judges, are often imperfectly acquainted with the religious views

and feelings of the Hindu community; and the utmost they can do, when occasion arises, is to consult those who are best informed upon the subject, and to be guided by their advice.

But we now understand from your own affidavit, as well as from your Counsel, Mr. Bonnerji, that you admit that the learned Judge did every thing in his power to ascertain the truth of the matter, and to avoid giving the least offence to the religious feelings of your countrymen.

It, therefore, only remains for us to consider what punishment we ought to inflict upon you.

It is, indeed, a very lamentable thing, and I trust that your own countrymen will also be of that opinion, to find a gentleman of your position and attainments, who was once a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, and is now an Honorary Magistrate of this city, making use of his influence as a newspaper Editor to vilify and bring into public contempt, without any justification whatever, a Judge of the High Court.

If the offence had been committed by any young, inexperienced man, of no education or knowledge of the world, or by a person in the position of Ram Kumar Dey, who stands beside you, we might ascribe it, in some degree at least, to ignorance or want of consideration. But you have had great educational advantages. You know, or should know, as well as any one, the duties and responsibilities of gentlemen connected with the Press. You profess in your affidavit to justify your offence by putting forward as the basis of your false charges against Mr. Justice Norris, a statement in the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, which you say you believed to be true, and upon which you considered yourself at liberty to enlarge and comment with extreme severity.

Moreover, whilst you profess to admit that your charges were totally false and unfounded, and made without any sort of enquiry on your part, you still maintain that you have made them "in perfect good faith, and in the interests of the public good."

Further more, you have made mention in your affidavit of another article extracted from the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, which is also apparently intended to reflect upon Mr. Justice Norris, and the subject of which has nothing to do with the present proceeding. Your Counsel, though invited to do so, has wholly failed to explain to the satisfaction of the Court, why that article was inserted, and you must have known perfectly well, that the affidavits, upon which the rule was issued, were not directed to the subject of that article.

These matters in your affidavit, so far from extenuating your offence, appear to the Court to be an aggravation of it.

The Judges are at a loss to understand how a libel so gross could possibly have been inserted in your paper in good faith, and they find great difficulty in believing that a gentleman of your education and a newspaper Editor could be so utterly ignorant of the law of libel as to suppose that you were at liberty to publish these attacks upon the conduct and character of a High Court Judge merely because you found them, though in a less virulent form, in another Native newspaper.

The Court is quite willing to make some allowance for your affidavit having been drawn, as your Counsel informed us was the case, in a hurry and without consideration. But they cannot look upon it, for the reason which I have just mentioned, as any extenuation of your offence.

We feel that it is absolutely necessary to vindicate and maintain the authority of the Court, and to guard against a repetition of the grave offence which you have committed, by imposing upon you, not a fine, which in your case would be a mere nominal penalty, but such substantial punishment as may serve as a wholesome warning to yourself and others.

The Court's order is that you be imprisoned on the Civil Side of the Presidency Jail, for the space of two months.

The majority of the Court regret that in determining the award of punishment my brother Mitter's view should not be in accordance with theirs. We are, of course, fully aware of the precedents to which that learned Judge refers, but, in the first place, we think the facts of those cases are very different from the present; and, in the next place, we find ample precedent in England, in cases of gross libel, where a more severe punishment has been awarded.

We fail to see why persons charged with contempt of Court for libel in a proceeding of this nature should be subjected to a less severe punishment, than if the proceeding had been by criminal information, or by the more ordinary process at the criminal sessions.

Had your affidavit disclosed a more honest and candid avowal of your guilt, without making mention of those matters which the Court cannot find to have been introduced for any useful purpose, or from any proper motive, they might have considered it sufficient, for the ends of justice, to have visited you with a more lenient punishment.

Mr. Justice Mitter, dissenting from his colleagues as regards the punishment to be inflicted, delivered a separate judgment as follows:—

I concur in the finding that both Ram Kumar Dey and Surendro Nath Bannerji are guilty of contempt of Court. But after giving my best consideration to the question of the punishment that should be inflicted, I am unable to agree in the view of the majority of the Court. There have been in this Court two cases of a similar nature since its establishment. One is reported at page 79 of Hyde's Reports. The other case was not reported in any authorized report, but is well-known as Tayler's case. In both these cases, at the first hearing of them, the persons charged with contempt did not admit the guilt. The matter was discussed fully, and it was only after the Court had pronounced its decision that they were guilty, that suitable apologies were made.

In the case before us, the persons charged with contempt have at once admitted their guilt, and have expressed their deep regret at having unwillingly cast an undeserved slur upon a learned Judge of this Court.

In the first-mentioned case, Sir Barnes Peacock, C. J., in delivering the judgment said:—"Although the majority of the Judges were of opinion that both these gentlemen," *i. e.*, the persons charged with contempt, had acted in contempt of Court, they did not wish to visit the offence with any punishment. "The Court would be content with an apology, nor need the apology be an abject one, but simply such as would convey the expression of their sorrow at having committed that which the Court considered to be contempt." In accordance with this expression of opinion, a suitable apology was made, and no punishment was inflicted.

In the other case, the sentence of the Court was that Mr. Tayler should stand committed for one month to the Civil Side of the Presidency Jail, and that he should pay a fine of Rs. 500, and that he should be further imprisoned till the fine was paid.

Then Sir Barnes Peacock, C. J., referring to an apology which had been published by Mr. Tayler before the sentence was passed, said:—

"If you think fit to add to the apology which you have already published (and it is for you to decide whether you can conscientiously do so or not) the Court is willing to mitigate the sentence. If, after what you have heard, you state that upon reflection you find that the charges which

you made against Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter were unwarranted and wholly without foundation, and that you are sorry for having made them, you may do so; and you may add, if you wish it, either that you did not intend to cast any reflection upon any of the other Judges, or that the reflection cast was unfounded, and if you publish that apology in the *Englishman*, you may apply on Monday the 3rd of May next, for your discharge on payment of the fine."

This sentence was passed on Saturday the 24th April 1869, and on the 27th April following, Mr. Tayler, having made a suitable apology, was released, the remaining term of his imprisonment having been remitted.

I have gone into these details, because it seems to me that in determining the amount of punishment to be inflicted on Surendro Nath Bannerji, we should take these cases as our guide. The complexion of guilt in the case of Mr. Tayler is certainly not of a lighter character than that of Surendro Nath Bannerji.

On the question of punishment, therefore, I should have been inclined to adopt the course which was adopted in these cases.

The hearing of the case was the occasion of an amount of excitement among the native community which has probably not been equalled in Calcutta since the trial of the notorious Nand Kumar, and found expression in acts of overt violence to which we believe no parallel is to be found in the history of our Courts in India.

On the first day a large and noisy crowd assembled in and about the High Court, to the serious inconvenience of the Judges and Officers of the Court, and, when it became necessary to exclude them, they assumed an attitude of open and violent defiance of the police and the Officers of the Court, not only hooting at them, but pelting them with bricks and stones. On some of the offenders being arrested by the police, the more daring among the crowd boldly attacked their custodians and effected a rescue of one of them, followed, however, by the recapture of the prisoner concerned, and a yelling and menacing crowd accompanied the police all the way to the station.

On the second day, the authorities, warned by these occurrences, adopted extraordinary precautions, and an imposing array of police, European and native, prevented any further demonstration.

The sentence passed on the principal defendant was followed by a chorus of execration in which the entire native press, English and Vernacular, with one or two exceptions, joined. In spite of the defendant's absolute repudiation of the belief that Mr. Justice Norris had acted with any intention of wounding Hindu religious feeling; in spite of his admission, and that of the *Bengalee*, that the statements on which the original article in the *Bengalee* was based, were unfounded, and that, if any wrong had been done, it had been done at the instance of one, and with the acquiescence of the other, party in the suit; and after the Judge had consulted experts, and been assured by them that the proceeding was harmless;

in spite of the fact that the so-called *Saligram* produced had been proved to be no family idol at all, the Court was accused on all sides, not only of having aimed an unjustifiable blow at the liberty of the Press, but of having recklessly trampled on the religious feelings of the Hindus, and so destroyed the confidence of the people of the country in itself and the British Government in India. At the same time the severity of the sentence was appealed to as a proof that the Court had been influenced by race antagonism in its decision, the comparatively lenient treatment of Mr. Tayler in a case of a totally different complexion being brought forward in support of this view.

The fact that the native Judge was in favour of letting the defendant off with a fine was appealed to as a proof that, had the Court been composed of natives, he would not have been sentenced to imprisonment, an argument which in the view of most unbiased people will point to a conclusion very different from that which the agitators would draw from it. In token of their sympathy with the prisoner, a large number of the students of the various Metropolitan Colleges donned bands of crape upon their arms, and at more than one place, the counsel who defended him was burnt in effigy, on the ground that he had betrayed his trust, and proved false to his country, by refusing to argue the jurisdiction plea. The agitation in Calcutta reached its climax in four monster meetings which were held simultaneously in different parts of the native town, on Friday the 11th ultimo, after being extensively advertised by hand-bills and placards in which their object was stated to be "to protest against outrage to the religious feelings of Hindus by the removal of an idol." Not less than ten thousand people, including Rajputs, Marwarees and Sikhs, as well as Bengalees, and a considerable number of Muhammadans are said to have joined in this demonstration. At the principal meeting, the following Resolutions were carried by acclamation :—

I. That this meeting is firmly of opinion that the production of a Hindu god in the High Court, even with the consent of the parties, and in spite of the opinion of the Brahmin Interpreter in favor of such production, has outraged the religious feelings of the entire Hindu community.

II. That in the opinion of this meeting the attitude which Mr. Justice Norris has assumed towards the people of the country, and the offensive observations reported to have been publicly made by him regarding them on various occasions, are seriously calculated to shake the respect and the confidence which the country ought to have in a Judge of the High Court, and this meeting, therefore, is of opinion that steps should be taken to draw up a Memorial to Her Majesty the Empress of India on the subject.

III. That this meeting views with alarm the assumption by the High

Court of undefined and indefinite powers to punish persons for alleged contempt committed outside the Court premises, and this meeting is of opinion that the assumption of the functions of both Prosecutor, Judge, and Jury, beyond the extent laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, is contrary to all sound principles of jurisprudence, and is calculated seriously to affect the liberty of the Press and the freedom of speech.

IV. That this meeting wishes to record its deep sympathy with Babu Sourendranath Banerjee in the sentence of imprisonment which has been passed on him by a majority of the Judges of the High Court, and to express its warm sense of appreciation of his labors in the cause of the political advancement of the country.

Another meeting was advertised to take place at the Town Hall on the following Wednesday, but, owing to some cause which has been variously explained, it was subsequently determined to hold it in the native part of the town. It accordingly took place on that date. The proceedings appear to have been conducted in an orderly manner, and the following Resolution was passed :—

That, inasmuch as the question of the summary jurisdiction of the High Court in cases of contempt committed out of its view was not argued or considered in the recent proceedings against Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee, this meeting resolves that a committee be formed to take all necessary and proper steps to procure an authoritative decision on the point, and to collect and receive subscriptions for the purpose.

Similar meetings have been held not only at various places in Bengal, but even in the North-West Provinces and the Panjab. They appear, however, to have excited little interest outside Lower Bengal. A petition is currently reported to have been submitted to the Viceroy praying him to set aside the order of the High Court. If such an appeal was made it was ineffectual. An appeal to the Privy Council is also said to be contemplated, for the purpose of furthering which Babu Lal Mohun Ghose has been deputed to England.

During the last week or two the agitation regarding the case has shown a tendency to die out, a result which is, we suspect, in a great measure due to the unanimity with which the defendant's conduct has been condemned, and the action of the High Court supported by the Press in England.

The character of the chief agitators, who, as we have already remarked, entertain no superstitious reverence for idols, if they can be called Hindus at all, and the transparently factitious nature of the grounds of their appeal to their less enlightened fellow-country-men, leave no room for doubt that their sole object is to stir up a feeling of hostility to the Government, and to Europeans in India generally, among a class of the population whom there was no hope of moving by a purely political cry of such remote practical interest as the Jurisdiction question.

While the advanced section of the educated middle class have been thus endeavouring for political purposes to foment a spurious

agitation regarding the action of the High Court in the contempt case, the leading members of the landed aristocracy of Bengal and Behar have been taking effective steps to make known their views regarding the much more practical question of the new Rent Law for those Provinces now pending in the Council. Meetings attended by all the most influential of the Behar zemindars have been held at Bankipore, Chuppra, Gya, and elsewhere, to protest against the contemplated invasion of the rights guaranteed them under the famous Permanent Settlement.

At the meeting held at Bankipore, the following pertinent Resolutions were passed:—

That the Tenancy Bill, by giving all facilities to ordinary ryots for acquiring the status of settled ryots against the will of the landlord, and by giving occupancy rights to all settled ryots with respect to all ryoti lands they may come in possession of, immediately on their coming into such possession, will virtually vest the property in estates in the ryots. That by making occupancy rights transferable, and limiting the maximum of the zemindar's claim to a-fifth of the annual value of the gross produce in occupancy tenancies, the Bill, if it becomes law, will virtually reduce the zemindars to mere annuitants, while vesting the substantial interest in a new class, who will nominally be known as ryots. That all these changes virtually affect the proprietary rights of zemindars, as guaranteed by the Permanent Settlement. That in Bhowli tenures the Bill reduces existing rates; that the effect of fixing a lower statutory maximum than the rates prevalent will be to bring existing higher rates down to the lower standard; that the several restrictions on the ryot's power of contract with the landlord are perfectly inconsistent with the freedom which the Bill proposes to give him in his dealings with the world around. That, as there is nothing to prevent either an indigo planter, thikadar, baradar of share estate, or even part owner, every body, excepting the sole proprietor of the entire estate, from acquiring the status of a settled ryot, restrictions quite unnecessary, the combined effect of the restrictions on the one side and freedom on the other will be, it is seriously apprehended, the utter destruction of the present body of tenantry and the usurpation of their place by a new class whose dealings with the under-ryots, under power of subletting, will be worse than that of the much condemned zemindar in relation to the tenants. That the provisions respecting the survey and register of Khamar land, and those relating to improvements and records of rights, will lead to unnecessary and costly litigation, the effect of which will be the impoverishment and ruin of both landlords and tenants. That it is unwise to unsettle customary tenures prevalent from time immemorial, and the meeting looks with serious apprehension on the proposal for a commutation of Bhowali tenures into Nakdi as calculated to affect agriculture. That the Bill proposes a redistribution of property without justifiable necessity, and that its provisions do not fall within the power reserved to Government by the permanent settlement to enact laws for the protection and welfare of ryots. That a sub-committee of the Mahárájás of Durbhungah, Huttwa, Doomraon, Syed Lotfari Khan and Rájá Rám Chunder and Hon'ble Hurbans Sahai, with power to add to their number, be formed to draw up a memorial stating all the objections to the provisions of the Tenancy Bill and submit it to the Government of India, to Parliament and to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen.

June 20th, 1883.

POSTSCRIPT.

DURING the ten days that have elapsed since the above retrospect was written, the political aspect has undergone little or no change. In the matter of the Native Jurisdiction Bill, the Government of India has given no indication of its intentions, though the reports of the local authorities have, it is understood, all been received, and the weight of opinion against the Bill is said to be overwhelming, many even of the native officials consulted concurring in its condemnation. The course which the Government may adopt will, in all probability, depend on the verdict arrived at by the Secretary of State and his colleagues, and some time must, in that case, elapse before the result can be known.

In the meanwhile the hands of the opposition have been materially strengthened by the movement that has been set on foot by their supporters in London, where a crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held on the 25th instant at St. James' Hall. The meeting was attended by all classes of Anglo-Indians, the official, as well as the non-official element being largely and influentially represented, and Resolutions were passed unanimously condemning the Bill and appointing a deputation to wait on the Secretary of State and lay before him the views of the community.

An opposition meeting, under the appropriate auspices of Mr. John Bright, is announced for Wednesday next.

An important debate on the Central Provinces Land Bill took place at the meeting of the Legislative Council held at Simla on the 20th instant, the most noteworthy feature of which was the declaration of Lord Ripon, in opposition to his previous utterances and to the principles on which his Indian policy has hitherto been based, that it is beyond the functions of the Legislature to anticipate the facts of the future.

June 30th, 1883.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A *Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, translated and compiled from the Works of the most approved Native or Naturalised Authorities.* By Mortimer Sloper Howell, H. M.'s Bengal Civil Service, etc. Published under the Authority of the Government, N.-W. Provinces. In an Introduction and four Parts. The Introduction and Part I. The Noun: Allahabad. Printed at the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1883.

“THIS Grammar,” says the author ‘is designed in conformity with the Prophet’s injunction, ‘seek help in arts from their masters,’ which, as applied to the study of Arabic grammar, may be interpreted to mean that the learner should have recourse to the teaching of the native Grammarians, and eschew the unauthorized conjectures of foreign scholars. This method possesses three obvious advantages:—the native teachers are more likely to be safe guides than their foreign rivals; * their works form a better introduction to the commentaries and glosses indispensable for the study of many works in Arabic literature; and their system of grammar must be adopted as the basis of communication with contemporary scholars of Eastern race.”

The peculiarity of the author’s design, however, depends less on the source of his information than on the form in which it is presented to the reader, which is that of a series of dicta of Arabic grammarians of repute on the laws of the language, with accompanying illustrative quotations, arranged according to a certain order, instead of the usual synthetic process.

The research implied in Mr. Howell’s work, which is of great bulk in comparison with ordinary grammars, is immense. His plan possesses the advantage of at once placing the student *en rapport* with the original sources. The responsibility of the author being confined entirely to the selection, translation and arrangement of the dicta and examples. But it is attended with

* I readily admit that we neither now, nor ever, can equal them in quantity [and, he might have added, quality] of knowledge (Ahl. Pref. 1X).

the disadvantage of imposing on the student the greatest possible amount of labour for the attainment of the result in view, supposing that, as in the case of most students, that result is merely a knowledge of the rules of the grammar and the art of applying them in practice.

For beginners Mr. Howell's grammar is obviously unsuited, and, we presume, is not intended. For the advanced scholar it will prove a mine of corroborative evidence and pregnant illustration, besides supplying a great deal of detail which no ordinary grammar can be expected to contain.

Bulky as the work is, it would have been much more so, but for the unusually liberal use of abbreviations. But the fact cannot be ignored that this extensive use of abbreviations, while diminishing the labour of the printer and the cost and size of the work, must tend rather to lengthen than curtail the labour of the student in using it.

In his Preface Mr. Howell gives an interesting account of the principal authorities used in the body of the work.

Part II. of the grammar, which was published some years ago, has already been noticed in this *Review*.

A Year of Life. The Price of the Bishop, and other Poems. By John Cameron Grant. (Author of "Songs from the Sunny South," etc.) London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

THE plan of the principal Poem in this work is thus described by the author:—

The stream upon whose banks I stand and write has a two-fold meaning, symbolizing at once the flood of Time and the river of Life. Some strange warm Sun thaws the frozen waters and ourselves into being and consciousness from the Past. Like the river, we rush away from our young years; like it, we both form and are as frequently formed by, our surroundings; like it, we reach the larger ocean, only to sigh back ever on our morning shores. All things seem so full of Fate, so vast, so unchangeable, that we are inclined to the belief that Fate is everything, when the distant roaring of a Fall *grows* upon our ear. There is no *development* in Fate,—we are certain of that,—and so it comes that the mind seeks something else.

In XI. and the few following stanzas various attempts to grasp that "something" are briefly glanced at and rejected; all, as far as I can see, appearing empty and puerile when faced with the fearful facts of existence. We are torn and tossed about of various beliefs and misbeliefs, till in the Eternal nature of things we begin to see hope. The "Peacon Moment" shines out upon us and we take heart: the Magnets are two that attract us, Spirit as well as Flesh, the Future as well as the Present, and tho' at times almost compelled to cry, "*Been and will be* is all we dare to know," yet somehow we are so organized, that we cannot shut out the feeling "That the thought

of us is older than the sea." From XXVIII. I try to picture a Creation, a Rising, an Origin—call it what one will—under the cold stony clay-blue eyes of the past Saurians and vast Creatures of the early swarming seas, keeping, too, before me "The still-eyed faces of our silent Dead." Starting from the fiery Star-dust, the Cooling Nebulæ, the Chaotic Elements hidden by the darkness that was upon the face of the Deep, I strive to imagine, on the lifting of the misty curtain, the warm still steamy seas, the fitful rise of flame from their broad bosom, the bursting forth from their breast of the old organic rocks and their Titanic mountain ridges, followed on by each successive course of several and independent creation. Throughout is seen "The impress of some mighty Hand," but the very vastness of the design, and the necessary Omnipotent universality of the sweep and stretch of His Presence thro' the distant words and spheres, fill with fear; until we are brought to learn also that "His are the marvels of the microscope," and the full meaning of the truth that size is only a relative term. From XLIX. onwards I have put on paper thoughts upon a subject of the deepest interest to some minds, and surely of vast importance to us all—Life, or Mechanism! XCI. begins the next division, Boyhood, which, perhaps, for most will be the true beginning of the Poem, seeing that many, as I expect, will not care to follow me out thro' the first ninety stanzas. CLXXXII. begins the next division, Manhood, and CCXXXIV. the last, Old Age.

It is needless to say that the author's subject is a grand one and full of opportunity for poetical treatment, for it embraces all that is grand and all that is poetical. "A Year of Life," in the sense of the title, is the sum of conscious being, so far as it lends itself to human comprehension.

For its treatment no finer form than the sonnet could have been selected; for its nobility and beauty are equalled only by the difficulty of handling it worthily. In overcoming that difficulty the author has achieved a rare degree of success. In the views which find expression in these charming sonnets, there is much from which we dissent; but they are full of the spirit of true poetry, as well as of exalted sentiment and grace of expression. The key-note of the whole is to be found in the two following examples:—

COLXXXIII.

'Mid jars and discords Earth is working out,
I deem it, to a higher state of things
This weary struggle, Life: tho' oft her wings
Would seem to flag, with earnest heart and stout
Humanity strives up; tho' all about
The blindfold path she wanders, closing clings
The heavy mist of wrong, a clear note rings,
Heard from the mountain tops, to aid the doubt
In those nigh fainting thro' the strain and stress
Of the world-warfare; low of voice, but sure,
It points to this one end without digress,
Prophetic of the thing that must endure,
A nobler manhood of more manliness.
A nobler womanhood more purely pure.—

LXXVIII.

'Twere cruel, bitter cruel to be born
 Created with an instinct of the Home
 The Future holds within it, that will come
 For all of us, if it were placed in scorn
 There by our Maker ; so that over-worn
 And letting this life from us, in the tomb
 We should lie down and find an endless doom
 Of nothingness, extinction. O hearts torn
 And racked with doubt, not so, not so He works,
 He asks but fairness in your judgment here,
 From the known to the unknown, what conclusion lurks
 In the love displayed in finger, flower, or Sphere?
 Those clouds that hide it, from the nether murks,
 Let lightnings touch them and they disappear !

LXXIX.

Who made the wing made too the needful air :
 Who made the fish made water where to swim :
 Who made the land and made the shapely limb :
 And made the eye to gaze upon the fair
 And all the beautiful of nature there :
 Who is all truth in all things made of Him :
 Who, when the evening waxes gray and dim,
 Made the moth's eye to meet the twilight, ere
 The Owl swoops out for his appointed night
 With eyeballs for the darkness framed and cast :
 It cannot be that he who worked aright
 So well and wondrously throughout the Past,
 Who made for each and all an apposite,
 Made without mate this greatest and this last !

LXXX.

The grand design for good in all we see
 Points to a God and Future, the desire
 For that far Home is placed to lead us higher
 To that Home's Maker, both will granted be
 In the long lights of that Eternity
 That daily broadens on us, drawing nigher
 As every moment sinks the little fire
 Of vital life away before it. We
 Have but to open Nature's book wherein,
 First stooping down from his more secret state,
 He with his finger writes, despite the din
 Of questioners round, " For like, I like create."
 Then fear not more than heart can dream to win,
 Take hold upon his skirts, stand fast, and wait !

That "'twere cruel * * to be born * * if * * in the tomb we should lie down and find an endless doom of nothingness, extinction," is a sentiment natural to all humanity, but it is impossible to bring it to the test of logic without feelings that its expression involves something very like a bull. To "find" an endless doom of nothingness, extinction, is a contradiction in terms.

seeing that to find anything at all implies conscious being. It is man's mental incapacity to realise extinction that lies at the bottom, both of his disinclination to believe in it, and of his faith in a future life. He cannot think of extinction without associating with it the consciousness of having been and ceased to be.

There would be no poetry, however, if either the facts of life, or the aspirations created by it, were reduced to the test of logic, and such a test few of the readers of "A Year of Life" will be disposed to apply to the high thoughts of its author.

Indian Snake Poisons, their Nature and Effects. By A. J. Wall, M. D. (Lond.) Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England; of the Medical Staff, H. M.'s Indian Army. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall. S. W. 1883.

THE conditions on which the mortality from snake-bite in India depends; the physiological nature of the poisoning process; the differences in the effects of the various poisons; the best method of treatment of snake-bite, are the principal points discussed in this excellent little book, which is based on a series of observations made by the author in India under the auspices of the Government.

The conclusions arrived at, briefly stated, are that cases of poisoning commonly occurring in the fields or in remote villages, far away from hospital treatment or medical aid, and recovery depending on immediate action, the mode of treatment, to be of use, must be such as can be applied under these conditions. That none of the various remedies that have been proposed is of any use in treating the constitutional effects of the poison. That where a certain quantity of the poison has once entered the circulation, no known means of averting a fatal result exists. That consequently the only hope of saving life lies in preventing the absorption of the poison, and that the most effectual, and, indeed, the only trustworthy way of doing this is by immediate and complete isolation, and ultimate excision, of the part affected.

Dr. Wall gives a very clear and careful account of the nature of the wound inflicted by a snake.

"When a snake obtains a fair hold of his victim," he says "both fangs—one on each side of the upper jaw—pierce the skin, and the poison is injected through each. There are thus, beneath the skin, two separate deposits of venom from which absorption takes place simultaneously. Death, therefore, as a rule, is quicker in cases of the natural bite, than after the artificial injection of the poison in one place. In the case of the cobra, if the bite has

been inflicted on a fairly plane surface, as the ball of the thumb, or the dorsum of the foot, the distance between the punctures will be, as a rule, seventeen millimetres, rarely exceeding twenty or going below fifteen millimetres; or, roughly, about seven-tenths of an inch, and varying from three-fifths to four-fifths of an inch. As the skin is movable, and penetration by both fangs may not occur simultaneously, there may be a difference in the distance between the two punctures, due to this cause. The punctures may or may not be visible to the naked eye. Sometimes their site is marked by a few drops of blood or serum exuding; or there may be a scratch, if the victim has withdrawn the part rapidly. Should the snake not have been interrupted, on examining the part with a lens, the punctures will be seen. They may be either short, straight cuts, gaping slightly at the centre, or triangular punctures, the area of the triangle being the pit into which the fang has been forced. The difference seems to depend on whether the snake has made a hasty dart and rapid withdrawal, or whether it was a deliberate and prolonged bite.

The poison is deposited at a depth below the punctures of about three or four millimetres; it may be more if the fang is able to depress the skin at the spot. The poison, also, is not deposited in the skin itself, but in the areolar tissue beneath; and this is a point of importance, for, as the skin is freely movable over the parts below, especially on the back of the hands and feet, the fang may have dragged the skin away from its proper position before injecting the poison, so that the poison deposit may not be immediately beneath the punctures."

To prevent absorption of the poison the only effectual means is the application of a thick India rubber cord, which "should be firmly and tightly bound round the extremity above the seat of the injury, and should encircle the limb several times." The cord accommodates itself accurately to the form of the member, and thus cause complete stoppage of the circulation where a less elastic material would be useless; and we quite agree with Dr. Wall that every thana, as well as every dispensary,—indeed, he might have said the headman of every village—should be supplied with so inexpensive and valuable a means of saving human life from an accident of such common occurrence in this country as snake-bite.

The patient being secured by its proper application against further absorption of the poison, time is obtained for treatment, even though it should involve the necessity of removal to a distance.

On the subject of the proper mode of treatment, the author says :—

The surgeon's first care should be to ascertain if the patient has been really poisoned; for the most venomous snakes may bite, and yet, from their poison-apparatus having been exhausted on some object previously, they may not inject one particle of poison. Symptoms are almost useless as an indication, as the most profound collapse may be caused by the fear of impending death, when the reptile causing the dread has not been in the least poisonous; and the victim not seldom does not see his assailant at all. Amputations, ending fatally, have even been performed on persons who have thus apparently had symptoms of snakes-poisoning, though it has been proved afterwards that the snake was a harmless one. Moreover, when the time for symptoms has come, the time for treatment has passed. It will be seen, therefore, of how great importance it is to ascertain whether the person has been poisoned as well as bitten.

It was pointed out in the chapter on cobra-poisoning that snake-poison produces at once inflammation at the spot where it has been injected. The degree of inflammation may vary greatly, depending partly on the species of snake, partly on the amount of poison injected and the time it has remained in the tissues, and partly on the position where it has been injected. Of Indian snakes the *daboia* produces the greatest amount of inflammation, and the *Bungarus cœruleus* or krait, I think, the least. Now this inflammation is not at all perceptible on the surface of the skin. After applying the band, the first thing to be done by the surgeon is to make a free incision through the skin at the site of the bite, and reflect back the skin on each side, so as to get a complete view of the underlying tissue. Now, it is clear that if no venom has been injected by a poisonous snake, or if the bite has been given by a harmless reptile or mammal, no subjacent inflammation can be present. A bite by a mongoose or *Lycodon* can produce nothing but a mechanical puncture. But if inflammation is present, it is evident that there must be some reason for it, and the only cause that can produce such rapid inflammation of the subcutaneous areolar tissue under these circumstances, is snake-poison. There are, of course, wide differences in the appearances to be seen in the areolar tissue under the skin, in the neighbourhood of the bite. In the case of the *daboia* a deep purple patch will be found at the spot, whereas the *Bungarus cœruleus* or krait will only cause a pale slight watery exudation, not much in quantity, and of a faint pink hue. The cobra, which is the snake that chiefly concerns us, always leaves decided marks of its poison, unless the venom has been thrown directly into a vein, when, of course, treatment is useless if sufficient to kill has been injected. It must be borne in mind that if any change whatever is found in the areolar tissue we must conclude that poison is present, and act accordingly; for we can only find out by leaving the patient alone and seeing if death supervene; if sufficient poison to kill has been injected; and this, of course, in an utterly unjustifiable proceeding. Every opportunity should be taken to become thoroughly acquainted with the appearance of areolar tissue, both in health and under the influence of the presence of snake-poison, as mistakes may easily be made from ignorance of the appearances presented.

The next step is to remove the whole of the deposited poison. Many proposals have been made from time to time on this subject. Suction, burning, igniting gunpowder on the spot, excision, &c., &c., have been recommended. But practically, all methods must yield to the careful dissection out with a knife of all the parts likely to contain the poison. It

is not of the least use pinching up the skin and excising it, as the skin never contains the poison at all, and the areolar tissue holding the poison would retract before the knife and be left behind. The following is the only efficient way:—An incision at least an inch and a half long should be made through the site of the bite; the skin should then be excised on each side for three-quarters of an inch. This will freely expose the parts below. The skin should be reflected back in every direction by the scalpel, and with a forceps the whole of the areolar tissue underneath should be thoroughly and completely dissected out, going freely up the limb in the direction of the returning blood-current. On the ball of the thumb, not only the areolar tissue, but the deep fascia and some of the muscle beneath should be removed, as the fang is capable of sinking in especially deeply here. On the fingers and toes all the tissues should be cut away at the site of the bite till the bone is reached, and, if necessary, on the back of the hand or foot, tendon and every structure may be cleared right down to the bone. Every part that may contain the poison must be removed. Life is not to be saved by a haphazard cutting away of anything that comes first, but by an intelligent and careful dissecting away of the parts holding the poison, bearing in mind the anatomical peculiarities of each region. On the surface of the limbs it will be enough, as a rule, to remove freely the subcutaneous tissue, especially if this be thick. The skin should in all cases be removed over an area of an inch and a half square. It need scarcely be remarked that amputation is totally unnecessary, as excision answers every purpose; but if it is found requisite to remove all the soft parts from one of the less prominent fingers or toes, it may be perhaps to the patient's advantage to remove that finger or toe completely. Careful but free excision, guided by the appearance of the parts, is all that is necessary; but it should be remembered that any shortcoming in carrying out the excision may result in the death of the patient. It would be cruel leniency to leave any tissue, however important, that served as a receptacle for the poison. After the whole of the suspected parts have been thoroughly dissected out, the India-rubber band may be removed, but not till then, the part having first been freely washed with a solution of caustic potash or potassic permanganate.

On the subject of prevention he says:—

Closely connected with the subject of treatment is the nature of the means that can be employed to prevent loss of life in India from snake-poisoning. Foremost stands the possibility of destroying the noxious reptiles themselves; and the use of rewards in aiding this process; and as different opinions are held on this subject, it may be advisable to review the arguments that may be employed. Against the system of granting rewards it may be urged—(1) That the number of poisonous snakes in the country is so enormous that it is practically impossible to lessen them if the whole revenue of India be used for the purpose. (2.) That the snakes chiefly inhabit the jungles, where it is very difficult to attack them, and that it is only when natives go into out-of-the-way places that they incur the risk of being bitten. (3.) That the practice of giving rewards for capturing snakes, instead of diminishing the number of snakes would tend to increase them, as men would take to breeding snakes for the rewards instead of catching them.

The number of snakes in India must, in truth, be enormous, but we have no grounds for forming the slightest idea as to what their number may be, and therefore there is no evidence, one way or the other, whether they can be exterminated or not. Large sums have been disbursed in certain districts with little effect, but in other cases a distinct diminution

in mortality has occurred. But it should be stated that often large amounts have been disbursed without any safeguard as to whether the reward was given for poisonous snakes only. I have known rewards in large numbers paid in a district for the harmless *Lycodon*, and I am by no means sure that the disbursing official was, in the end, convinced that the object of his persecution was harmless. Still, in another district, where a perfectly competent officer supervised the distribution, the snakes were brought in in undiminished numbers while the reward was given. It is, of course, likely that they were brought in from greater distances, as no reward was given in the surrounding districts. On this subject, therefore, there is not sufficient evidence. But universal experience shows us that when man has earnestly striven to extirpate a noxious animal he has always succeeded. Deaths from snake-bite used to be common in Europe, they are almost unknown at present; and the same thing may be said of North America. Wolves are now exceedingly rare in Southern and Eastern Europe, where they used to constitute a public danger. It is only amidst a passive population that pests of this kind are tolerated.

That snakes are most frequently found in jungles and similar places is of course accurate, but that natives are bitten there is certainly not true. The most striking feature in the statistics of death from snake-bite is the exceeding frequency with which women are bitten. Thus, in Bengal, in the last year for which I have the detailed statistics, 2,155 women were killed, for 2,040 men, and no less than sixteen per cent. of the deaths were of children under ten years of age. In other words, the home-staying portion of the population suffered as heavily as those going abroad. But nearly twice as many persons were bitten during the night as during the day, showing still more clearly that the calamity takes place, not in the jungle, but actually in the home. The mortality from snake-bite in India does not depend upon the snakes in the jungle, but the presence of these reptiles amongst the very people, who take not even the most ordinary precautions against being bitten. It is the indifference of the people to the presence of these enemies in their very midst that produces the fearful loss of life in India. The toleration accorded to snakes is simply incredible. A native, to my knowledge, has allowed a poisonous reptile to escape that had fatally bitten a member of his family. The attitude of the Indian peasant towards poisonous snakes may be described as that of passive toleration to avoid their active enmity. Sometimes, indeed, it even goes further than this, and snakes are offered food to propitiate them. On this ground alone it would seem wise to follow up a policy that would tend to rouse in the native mind an idea of resistance and hostility.

But may not the reward stimulate the inhabitants to breed snakes, and not to catch them? Means, as far as possible, have been taken to obtain information on this subject. I have bred cobras, and have found it a work of great difficulty. If the eggs become too dry, development is suspended; if they are made too moist, it is stopped altogether. They require, therefore, great attention. When the young cobra is hatched it is very small, very irritable, and exceedingly dangerous. A full-grown cobra can be handled with perfect safety, but a young one, ten or eleven inches long, is so active, and its body is so small, that it can be scarcely touched with impunity. I have seen hundreds of cobras brought in for rewards, but yearlings have been very few amongst them. The reason is that when the snake's hole is dug out, the cobra with the long body can be readily seized; but the young one, which can turn round in the smallest space with the greatest ease, is generally allowed to escape. The fact that yearlings are seldom brought in for the reward is conclusive evidence that it does

not answer to breed them; for no one would seriously urge that the breeder would keep them for a long time before producing them.

Taken altogether, then, it would seem wise to adopt a moderate system of rewards; but attention, of course, should be paid to every detail that can add efficiency to the scheme, and lessen its cost. In no case should a reward be given except for a poisonous snake, and the officer in charge of the distribution should, in all cases, be thoroughly competent to identify *all* common snakes, both poisonous and non-poisonous; a knowledge that can be acquired with ease in a few days, or even hours, if opportunities of inspecting the snakes themselves be afforded. It is doubtful, also, whether rewards should be given for all poisonous snakes. The *Trimeresuri*, for instance, are not very dangerous to life, and perhaps no advantage would be gained by including them. The snakes in the front rank of those offending, probably in the order of their danger, are the Cobra, the *Bungarus cœruleus*, the *Echis carinata*, the *Daboia russellii*, the *Bungarus fasciatus*, and the *Ophiophagus elaps*, and rewards should only be given for these. The above arrangement is, of course, one of probability only, as statistics throw little or no light on the matter.

Great attention should be paid to the conservancy of small towns and villages. In large towns public opinion is already awake to the injury inflicted by jungle being allowed to grow up around dwellings; but in villages, naturally, but little attention is given to a detail of this kind. A few holes stopped, and a few bushes cut down in every village, would diminish immensely the hidingplaces of these pests, and exactly at the spots where they do most harm.

That municipalities have in many cases undertaken to give rewards for the destruction of snakes is a sign of great hopefulness.

The most stringent system that has yet been devised to exterminate pests is undoubtedly that of requiring the inhabitants of an infested district either to present a certain number of the proscribed animals each year or to pay a sum instead, the amount thus obtained being devoted to the purposes of extermination. It is difficult to see how any animal, however prolific, could withstand a persecution of this kind. But, of course, a scheme like this presupposes that the inhabitants should clearly see that it is their real advantage that is being consulted, and that they have no reluctance to destroy their foes.

Another consideration to be regarded is, whether there is any special season in which snakes can be destroyed with advantage. In the cold weather the reptiles are torpid, and do little or no injury; but from March to September the loss of human life steadily increases. The rainy season, commencing at the end of June, driving them from their holes, naturally increases the mortality greatly. It might, therefore, be assumed that the rainy season is the period when they should be chiefly attacked. But if we study the natural history of the cobra, we shall find that the female usually lays her eggs in July. The great aim, therefore, should be to destroy as many of the reptiles as possible before the eggs are laid, remembering that every female captured then is equal to very many later on, and that vipers, which, of course, bring forth their young alive, are even much more prolific. The months, therefore, of May and June and part of July are those in which the destruction of snakes is likely to be attended with the greatest results. This would, in fact, be inverting the policy of a "close season," which has been found so successful all over the world in favouring the production of game.

A large portion of Dr. Wall's book is occupied with accounts

of experiments on the physiological effects of the poisons of various Indian snakes. These appear to have been most carefully conducted and are recorded with great clearness and precision, and accompanied in several instances by tracings of the respiratory movements under the influence of the poison.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Nisitha Chintā. Book I. Translated by Nimái Charan Gangopádhya. Printed by Bama Charan Majumdar at the Barat Press, 12, Pataldángá Street, Calcutta. 1882.

YOUNG'S *Night Thoughts* is one of those poems which are not much read in these days. The reason why they are not read is, that they are not so much poems as essays of a moral or didactic nature. Passages of true poetic excellence they undoubtedly contain ; but they consist principally of moral, philosophical and religious reflections, like the following :—

যড়িতে বাজিল এক। আমরা সময়,
গণনা করি না কত না হইলে ক্ষয়।
ও শব্দকে উপদেশ সমভাবে যেই,
মনুষ্যের মধ্যে জ্ঞানীরূপে গণ্য সেই।
স্বর্গীয় দূতের বাক্য যেমন গভীর,
সেই মত উহা আমি অনুমানি হির।

For this reason, works like the *Night Thoughts* have never been able to take a high rank among English poems. We must therefore say that if Babu Nimai Charan's object in translating Young's work is to give such of his countrymen as do not know English, an idea of what English poetry is like, he has made an unhappy selection. But it must be freely admitted at the same time that works like the *Night Thoughts*, though they do not possess high poetic merits, are exceedingly useful and respectable compositions on account of their matter, their manner, and their spirit. For their orthodoxy, their perfect geniality and their benevolent spirit, they deserve careful study ; and it is found, as a matter of fact, that, when they are read in the sober, earnest and genial spirit in which they are written, they prove exceedingly wholesome and delightful reading. Babu Nimai Charan has therefore done well in selecting for translation into the language of his country an eminently useful and respectable English work. We wish, however, that he had translated it into Bengali prose and not into verse. Translation is, under all circumstances, a very difficult work, and except in the hand of a

first-rate expert, fails of its purpose. It becomes, however, still more defective when verse instead of prose is adopted as its medium. Take the following extract from the work under notice, and say whether Bengalis, who know not English and are utterly unacquainted with English modes of thought and English forms of expressing thought and feeling, would be able to make anything out of it:—

প্রত্যেক বিভিন্ন স্থান কাল অবস্থায়,
 ক্ষুভ চিন্তা করিলেও অক্ষুভ ঘটায়।
 ব্যস্ত চিন্তা অতি ব্যস্ত শূন্য অবসর,
 মম শান্তি হওয়া তাতে অতি সুস্থকর।
 বহুদিন গত যেই অতীত সময়,
 যাহার স্মরণ দ্বার গুহ্য তমোময়।
 তাহাতে প্রবেশে মন্দ মন্দ পদে যায়,
 রজনীর স্থিরতায় যাতকের প্রায়।

It would have been better, therefore, if Babu Nimai Charan had presented his translation in Bengali prose; and as he has not yet proceeded beyond the first book, we sincerely hope that he will yet alter his plan, and substitute prose for verse. A metrical translation of the kind he has begun will be a perfectly unintelligible, and therefore useless thing, will gain no readers, and may have to be, therefore, abandoned before it is finished. We warmly approve of Babu Nimai Charan's undertaking. We only wish that he may execute it in a manner calculated to ensure its success.

Himālaya. Printed by Sarachchandra Deb at 37, Mechuabazar Street, and published by Kedareswar Sanyal at Shikdārpārā, Calcutta, 1803, Sakābdā.

THE following remarks were made on current Bengali poetry in the Bengal Administration Report for 1879-80:—

“The characteristics of Bengali poetry of the present day are want of depth and excess of ornamentation. It is essentially false and artificial in style, and concerns itself chiefly with two things,—love and the political condition of India. No attempt is made to draw inspiration from nature or the incidents of human life, apart from sexual passion. A certain amount of success in the adaptation of European models has been shown by some writers, but there is at present in Bengali no first-class Indian poet.”

The author of the poems before us expresses his concurrence in these remarks and says, that his object and endeavour in this

work have been to forsake the beaten path of Bengali poetry and draw his inspiration from nature. We are sorry to say, however, that his endeavour has not been very successful. Some of his subjects are no doubt taken from nature, such as a mountain, a mountain-spring, &c. But even in dealing with such subjects, he has displayed the characteristics which are condemned in the report of the Government of Bengal. Addressing the Himalayas our poet says :—

দিবা নাই-রাতি নাই-নাহিক বিশ্রাম,
চালিতেছ অক্ষ-শ্রোত শুধু অবিরাম ।
ভারতের দশাহেরে বুঝিবা এ অক্ষনীরে
ভাসাই'ছ বক্ষ তব, অহ কি মহৎ !
এ মহত্ত্ব তব কাছে শিখুক জগৎ ।
ভারত-সন্তান হ'য়ে মোরা মৃত জন
বিনা বাক্যে মা'র দশা করি'ছি দর্শন ।
বিন্দু ও নয়ন বারি কতু বরষিতে নারি,
কিন্তু ধন্য তুমি, দেব ! পয়ের কারণ
দিবানিশি সমভাবে করি'ছ ক্রন্দন ।

This is certainly false and verbose and artificial, and is full of that empty and untrue spirit of patriotism which finds expression in the sort of Bengali poetry which is commented upon in the report of the Bengal Government. All the poems in this collection, however, are not bad. Some of them are really very good, such as the pieces entitled *Lepchálalaná* and *Pather Bálak*. There is much pathos in those two pieces. The remaining pieces are characterised by verbosity, conceit, and a fervor of sentiment which appears, from the vehemence and wordiness of the manner of its expression, to be the very opposite of genuine. The author's versification is good.

Bichitra Paush-párban. By Nehál Chánd. Published by Jogendra Náth Bandyopádhyáya, Calcutta.

THIS is a very curious poem. It does not belong to the class of poems which now predominates in Bengali literature. It is not a lyric poem, as most Bengali poems now are. It is a humorous poem describing the great cake festival of the Hindus of Bengal in the end of the month of Paush. Competent scholars, like Professor Wilson, consider that festival to have had an astronomical origin; but it appears from the practices which are observed for its celebration that, whatever it may have originally

been, it is now performed decidedly as an agricultural festival would be. The time for its performance is the conclusion of the great rice harvest in Bengal; and the religious element contained in it consists of the worship of the Hindu goddess of Fortune, represented by a few measures of paddy, the worship of the rice-threshing machine and a somewhat public worship performed on the field from which the last harvest of rice has been just removed. This is not, however, the place to discuss the nature and origin of the cake festival, and we must therefore pass on to the immediate subject of this notice. The cake festival is described at great length in *Paush Pārban*, a whole canto being devoted to each important incident and ceremony comprised in it. The description is throughout vivid and forcible, and is particularly interesting in those portions which contain *mantras* and incantations. The author seems to be a disciple of the well-known author of *Bhārat Uddhār*, and his mastery over words and Bengali blank verse is really admirable. The ease and skill with which he manipulates colloquial words, as well as words of Sanskrit origin, and the fluency of his verses, deserve great praise. As a humorous and even satirical writer, we cannot help regarding him as a valuable accession to the ranks of Bengali literature. He has, however, some very serious faults. His humour is often of a very strained and conceited kind, which seems to us to be the result of his habit of spinning out his descriptions. The artistic effect of such strainings is always bad; and we accordingly find that in many places, our author is perfectly unintelligible and remarkably odd. His humour is often also very coarse. Take the following extract :—

—বাহু-দেশ, গাঢ় গোবরিত
তার,—আকানিষ ; মরি ঘুঁটের খাতিরে !
বহে যবে গন্ধবহ মন্দ মন্দ গতি,
ফুল বৃন্দ গন্ধ সম, গন্ধ বহি তার,—
(কিঞ্চিৎ, পরিমল পূরা মল!)—ইতস্ততঃ,
উঠে অনাশন অন, নাড়ী শুদ্ধ, হায়,
সে সৌরভে বিদেশীর ! হায় রে যেমতি,
তাইনাম ইণীকাক ওপিয়াম কেশে !

This is not humour, but filth, which the author had no need to introduce into his description, and which, considering the nature of several other passages in his poem, he appears to have introduced in consequence of a very mistaken notion of what true humour is. That mistake has also affected the very plan of the work

as a whole. The Bengali cake festival is a national festival in the strictest sense of the word, and in its social aspects it is in the highest degree interesting. A festival of this kind, possessing so much humanising influence on society, is exactly a subject for humorous description, but not one to be treated as our author has treated it, in a spirit of banter and ridicule. That this is a correct characterisation of the poem will be clear to all who take note of the fact, that the author's style of composition is one of vicious imitation and irreverent caricature. Nehál Chand has imitated Rámdás's style of ridicule in *Bhárat Uddhár* and caricatured the solemn style of Michael Madhúsudan Datta. In spite, however, of all these faults, *Paush Párbán* is a work of great merit, and constitutes a really agreeable variety in Bengali poetry.

Ráj Jibani. By Gopál Chandra Mukhopádhya. Printed by Hara Chandra Dás at the Eden Press, 34, Nilmani Mitra's Street, Calcutta, 1289, B. S.

BABU GOPAL CHANDRA MUKHERJI is a very industrious man. It is not very long ago that he published a big book in Bengali, giving an account of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. As a Bengali book, the work under notice is also a big one, for it consists of 204 closely printed pages. It contains a memoir of the late Prince Consort, based on Mr. Martin's English work. The late Prince Consort was certainly a very good man; but we doubt whether even his English biography has been read by many Bengalis. It would be therefore folly to expect that a Bengali memoir of the Prince will be of use to any native of this country, or that it will ever acquire a position in Bengali literature. It would be well if Babu Gopál Chandra Mukherji would therefore devote his time and industry to the composition of works which may be of use to his countrymen. Both his *Victoria Rajsuya* and his *Raj-Jibani* are so much labor lost. As a proof, however, of Native loyalty to the British Crown they are really acceptable.

Ayurbardhan, Part I. By Dr. Annadá Charan Khástgir. Printed and published by B. L. Chakrabarti at the New School Book Press, 8, Dixon's Lane, Calcutta, 1882.

THE following extract from the preface will explain the nature and scope of this work :—
“ This work, in two parts, embraces all subjects which affect

human longevity in the plains of India. Facts adduced therein are in keeping with the latest discoveries in the science of the Laws of Health, modified by circumstances of the climate, diseases, and mode of living, peculiar to this country, such as one born and bred among them, with the additional advantages of a liberal English and scientific education, and medical and surgical practice extending over 28 years, is able to collect, and reproduce for the benefit of the community in Bengal.

Subjects treated therein are : (1) food (aerial, liquid and solid) suited to the people, place and climate ; (2) exercise (physical and mental), repose and recreation ; (3) occupation suited to place, and constitutional peculiarity ; (4) dress in its triple aspect, *i. e.*, preservation of bodily warmth, enhancement of personal beauty, and concealment of nudity ; (5) cleanliness of body, dress, of the air breathed, and of the house dwelt in, &c. ; (6) sexual intercourse, and its excesses indirectly curtailing life ; (7) prevention and domestic treatment of wide-spreading diseases (climatic or non-contagious, as well as contagious) ; (8) domestic management of accidents ; (9) easy management of some rapidly supervening diseases by simple drugs, and (10), lastly, means of preserving health at different epochs of life to the full extent of human longevity allotted by our Creator."

This is a very long and important programme, and, considering Dr. Khástgir's experience and standing in his profession, we may be sure that he has worked it out with great ability. We are afraid, however, that there are many inaccuracies in his work. He opens his very first chapter with an inaccurate statement, which is, that people consider food to be more necessary than air for the maintenance of life. Everybody, not excepting the rudest peasant, knows that men can live for days without food, but cannot live without air even for a few minutes. In almost the next page the Doctor makes many Bengali cooks die of consumption in this country in order to illustrate his theory of the generation of disease by injurious respiration. Our own experience is, that Bengali cooks, whether male or female, seldom die of consumption or are attacked with that disease. And we might go still further and say that the class of Bengali females who engage themselves as cooks for hire in Hindu families in Calcutta are found to be remarkably healthy, certainly not less strong or healthy than those Hindu ladies for whom they cook and inhale the smoke of the kitchen. Altogether, *Ayurbardhan* is a work of great value and interest ; but we cannot say that it has been composed carefully or with a strict regard to accuracy.

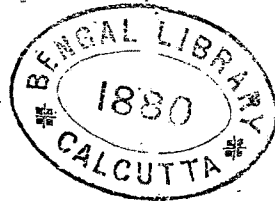
Bibidha Prabandha. Part I. By Rájúnáráyan Basu. Printed by Adhar Náth Chattopádhyaýa at the Kar Press, 167, Cornwallis Street, and Published by Sinha and Banerji Friends, at the Oriental Publishing Establishment, Calcutta, 1289, B. S.

BABU RAJNARAYAN BASU; one of the leading members of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, is known to the readers of this *Review* as a veteran Bengali writer. He has served his country eminently by his devotion to its growing literature. He is not a frivolous writer. He does not court the muse of poetry. He hates obscene writing. In the field of Bengali literature he occupies an elevated platform. He writes on religion, on the social institutions of his country, on the literature of his country, on the history of his Aryan ancestors, on subjects possessing interest for his country, and for men in general. He is not indeed an original writer. But he is a very genial writer. He is a man of much information, and he has acquired by his years, experience and knowledge an authority on such subjects as the history of modern Bengali literature and English Education in Bengal. He is a sober thinker, and a tone of patriotism pervades his writings. Though a Brahmo, he is not a radical, but a moderate liberal in his treatment of social questions. He is altogether a very respectable writer; and his papers, collected in the volume before us, ought to command the respect and attention of his countrymen.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME ~~LXXVII.~~
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1883.



No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not-contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish—and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET,

BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER & CO., "LIMITED."

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & Co.

LONDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL,

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CLIV.

ART. I.—OLD LAMPS FOR NEW ONES.

MR. ILBERT'S proposed Amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code has led to the discovery of not a few anomalies in our Indian body politic, and also to a certain amount of plain speaking about them which has been acceptable to such of us as are not inclined to think conventionality an embodiment and essence of all the virtues.

Even the debate in the usually starched and staid Viceregal Council on the introduction of this ill-judged measure was a real one.

Incidentally, upon one of the anomalies, one of the dark corners of the house we Anglo-Indians have to live in, some unaccustomed light has been thrown by this debate, and the criticisms it has called forth. We refer to the habit of perjury which, in this country, vitiates, and so often renders of no effect all our learnedly devised legal machinery for the administration of justice, the protection of the weak, and the punishment of evil-doers. Everybody in India (with the exception of the Viceroy, perhaps) knows of its existence. Every Englishman in India is ready to deplore and to denounce it—in the abstract. But just because everybody knows, and is more or less concerned about, it from a moral point of view, it is assumed that it is nobody's business to try and do away with the iniquity—not even the business of the missionaries, who are, as a rule, so commendably ready to concern themselves with iniquities, and never seem to tire of anathemising the opium trade, or the excise laws, or the toleration by Government of religious opinions not based on Christianity. It is, in short, an anomaly that has been allowed to arrogate to itself

privileges and exemptions that are in direct opposition to the existing criminal law, that must always, we may venture to say, be opposed to any possible criminal law even of Mr. Ilbert's drafting, an anomaly really dangerous to the commonwealth, and mischievous exceedingly in scope and practice. Incidentally, as we have said, the debate in the Viceregal Council brought prominently to notice the existence and the power for mischief of this anomaly, and showed it to be worthy of more attention than has been hitherto bestowed upon it by the public, and surely entitled to some consideration at the hands of a Government with pronounced hankerings after ideal justice and righteousness.

Sir Steuart Bayley, a man who, by dint of some power of sympathy and an official experience extending over many years, has become well acquainted with the circumstances and habits of the people of Bengal and Behar, referred to "the real danger" Europeans living in the mofussil are exposed to, because of false cases trumped up against them. Mr. Thomas, another official of long standing in the Civil Service, a man who, being a diligent sportsman as well as a painstaking Judge, has had exceptional opportunities of getting at real conditions of life in the Madras Presidency gave it as his opinion that "false complaints are every-day circumstances of mofussil life." Mr. Robert Miller, a Calcutta merchant, with a large knowledge of business in India, and many friends amongst natives with whom he has been associated in business-matters, said, with reference to the contention that the Ilbert Bill is only a trifle:—"It is not a trifle, for one of the most common crimes, I will not say one of the ingrained customs, of this country is the fabrication of false evidence in the courts of Law." And, again, further on in his speech: "False evidence is cheap." Mr. Evans referred to notable instances of perjury coming within his own cognizance as a practising Barrister in India, and also to the well known Meares and Stevens cases. Here is an extract from his speech as reported in the newspapers:—

"In this country criminal trials almost entirely depend upon oral evidence in nine cases out of ten, and, depending upon oral evidence, we have to consider what are the conditions of oral evidence in India. I will not read passages, for I do not wish to give unnecessary offence. I will not read those passages to the Council which are to be found in every digest of Privy Council cases as to the lamentable state of things in regard to oral evidence in the mofussil in India. We all know it; we all regret it."

In the Viceroy's Council, indeed, even amongst the supporters of the Ilbert Bill, there was no attempt made to repudiate the charge of wholesale, persistent perjury, brought against the natives of India. All their arguments were based on a ground either of sentimentality

or supposed convenience. Even Dr. Hunter fought shy of what we may perhaps be allowed to call the perjury side of the argument, although the worthy Doctor, in a book entitled "Our Indian Mussulmans" which was published not many years ago, wrote thus:—"The Bengalee, whether rich or poor, wreaks his malice on a rival, and seeks his revenge against an enemy not by inconsiderate violence, but by due course of law. He uses the courts for the same purpose for which an Englishman employs a horse-whip, or a Californian his bowie knife. A criminal prosecution is the correct form for inflicting personal chastisement, and a general suspension in India of what corresponds to the *Habeas Corpus* Act would place every man at the mercy of his enemies. The Police returns in India disclose an overwhelming proportion of false complaints to true ones, and the Bengali has reduced the rather perilous business of making out a *prima facie* case to an exact science. A formal interference with the right of *Habeas Corpus* would give the signal for a paroxysm of perjury. The innocent would live in constant fear of being thrown into prison, and kept there on false charges of treason, the revengeful and malicious, would enjoy a perpetual triumph."

By the way, there used to be a story current in Anglo-Indian society some forty years ago of a gentleman, a rabbit fancier, who one day asked the man in charge of his rabbits, what had become of a handsome black buck for which he felt a particular regard. The man pointed to a wretched looking white doe in the hutch usually occupied by the black buck and swore by all the Gods and Ganges waters that the sun's effulgence had translated his master's favourite from black to white, and effected a change of sex into the bargain. The full glare and glory of a viceregal sun seems to have had a similar effect upon Mr. Quinton, and converted what was black with him at Allahabad into white in Calcutta. But this is a digression.

Lord Macaulay, although the period of his stay in India was comparatively short, yet felt himself obliged to use very strong language about the prevalence and superfluity of perjury in India—in Bengal especially. From time to time other men, some of whom have lived in India in an official capacity, some as interlopers, men anxious to promote good-will and good-feeling between natives and Europeans, have lamented this unfortunate national habit, and the quiet acquiescence of the educated classes in it. We need not repeat what they have said. It would be work of supererogation, the more's the pity. It is a sad, stern, fact that perjury is rampant in India. As Mr. Evans said in his speech in the Viceregal Council Chamber, "we all know it." Some of us, whose lot in life it has been to dwell in the mofussil,

amongst the people, speaking their language and hearing always about their joys and troubles, know, too, know, only too well, what a curse, what a fruitful mother of wrongs, oppressions and disgraces to humanity, the prevalence of perjury in India is. Nevertheless, all of us, in greater or less degree aid and abet the iniquity, for we do nothing, and try to do nothing, to stamp it out from our midst. Magistrates and Judges shrug their shoulders when they are asked why they do not try; make a mountain of the legal difficulties in the way of convictions for perjury; say, probably in so many words, that if they allowed a criminal prosecution to follow all cases of manifest perjury coming under their official ken, the courts would be swamped with trials for perjury, that there would ensue a most inconvenient, impossible to be seriously thought of, deadlock in the administration of justice—chaos come again; and, in short, they aver that they are helpless in the matter. Non-officials shrug their shoulders, too, and content themselves with doing what they can to safeguard themselves, deeming it mere waste of energy to kick against official pricks in India, knowing probably of their interloper experience that it is usually often dangerous to kick.

In the early days of British rule in India, different opinions prevailed. There was not this slothful tendency to collusion and the condonation of crime. Perjury was held to be an offence against the law, a crime dangerous to society, and, therefore, to be prevented and punished. In Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections from old Calcutta Gazettes*, we find Sir William Jones in his charge to the Grand Jury at Calcutta in 1787, referring to the untrustworthiness of the evidence given by natives of the lower orders, and urging upon all and sundry concerned that perjury ought to be most severely punished, "as an example to others." He also commented on the prevalence of the crime, as evidenced in the frequency of committals for perjury by Subordinate Courts, and he urged all Magistrates and Judges to exert themselves actively in the repression and punishment of a wickedness so foul, and fraught with such perils to the cause of law and good order. Again, the next year, in his charge to the Grand Jury at the half-yearly sessions, at which four persons stood committed for perjury, or subornation of perjury, he said, that "if the laws were to be thus openly disregarded all hope of administering justice must be abandoned, and the public must abandon all hope of security to their persons and property: to this there can be no other check, but just and exemplary punishment."

Sir William Jones, indeed, was so convinced of the evil effect and the danger attending a proneness to perjury in a people, that he was willing even to strain the law with a view to stamping out

the mischief. At least he hunted up an old, obsolete statute of Queen Elizabeth's which enacts as a punishment proper for a perjurer the infliction upon him of an indelible mark, "to the utter loss of his credit and reputation." It is therefore my wish, said the learned Judge, after citing this bit of rusty law, "It is therefore my wish that the indictments should be grounded on this statute, for though the proof should fall short of conviction within the terms of it, the punishment by the common law may still be awarded."

Nor was perjury regarded as a venial offence on the other side of India, in the early days of English rule. Here is an extract from a later volume of Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections* under date the 16th December 1802:—"Ramsouder Sircar, for perjury before the Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts, to be transported for seven years." Again, here is a clipping taken from the *Bombay Courier* of the 27th April 1805:—

"Proceedings of the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

"The Jury in the case of Jacob Petrusse, Armenian, having returned a verdict, finding the prisoner guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury * * *

"The Hon'ble the Recorder, in his judgment said, that the crime of wilful and corrupt perjury had been made out in the clearest and most convincing manner, and the Court was bound to pronounce an exemplary sentence on the prisoner. That sentence was, that he stand in the pillory four times within the ensuing week, and one hour each time, and be transported to Pulo Penang for seven years; that he be put into the pillory once before the Armenian Church, during the time of divine service, once in the most conspicuous part of the bazar, once at Mazagon, and once at Mahim; and each time to have a label on his breast and back on which is to be written:—*An infamous false swearer; he perjured himself to cheat the poor of his own religion and nation. He is transported for seven years, to work as a slave at Pulo Penang. Such is the punishment of perjury.*"

Other instances might be adduced; but a multiplication of them might prove wearisome. We have brought forward a sufficient number to show that, in the olden time, Indian officials were bidden and encouraged to look upon perjury as a crime, and that the superior courts helped their endeavours to stamp it out. Now-a-days, the lower courts, judged by the evidence of their own records, do not regard perjury as a crime, make no attempts to check its paramount authority in all legal processes, do, indeed, because of their apathy, aid and abet those malversations of justice which the employers of perjured evidence desire. The superior courts for

their part, look on unconcernedly, and are as supine as they well can be.

Englishmen pride themselves on the improvements effected in the administration of law and justice since the early days of England's rule in India—on the introduction of a reign of law; it might well be said. They have reason. But as to this matter of perjury, (naturally and necessarily one of the main hinges, or pivots, upon which the administration of the law turns) is our latter day, 19th century system of *laissez faire* better than the old 18th century system of repression and prevention? Are our new lamps better than their old ones? We think not. As to this matter of perjury and its punishment, we should like to see a return to the old order of control. It is notorious that more than half the criminal cases brought before the courts in this country, are either false cases from beginning to end, manufactured out of no fact, out of nothing beyond depraved imagination, greed, and ill-will. Or they are very trivial cases, enlarged and fraudulently improved upon by the same agency. In civil suits, although there are not usually so many opportunities for the profitable employment of suborned witnesses as there are in criminal cases, yet there are too many opportunities, and the perjury market is not depressed therefore. Probably more than half the convicts now working out their sentences in Indian jails are not guilty of the crimes for which they are being punished. There are some cynically inclined people in India who are prepared to admit this frankly enough, but then they seek to excuse the injustice on the plea that, if these convicts are not actually guilty of the crimes for which they are suffering punishment, they have surely been guilty at some period of their existence of similar crimes of which they do not happen to have been formally accused, and, therefore, they richly deserve their imprisonment. Too many people who ought to know better are not ashamed to argue thus. But is theirs a worthy argument, a tolerable one even? Would the Englishmen who make use of it in India care to maintain it before their countrymen in England? The eye sees only what it brings the power to see, Mr. Carlyle says. If they could be brought to *see*, to realize, the greatness of the injustice, the tale of the misery, a sentence of imprisonment so often entails, not only on the man imprisoned, but also on his helpless family, we do not think they would talk so glibly and unfeelingly about the uses and results of perjury, even when talking to Anglo-Indians. It should be remembered in this connexion that, over and above filling our jails with innocent people, it is the prevalence of perjury that goes far towards making our Indian police force the terror and scourge it is to peaceable, law-abiding village folk,

and for the matter of that town folk, too, all over the country. The rich man who has a grudge against his poor neighbour, and desires to ruin him, has only to bribe the police, and the police will forthwith get up a false case, and by means of suborned witnesses manage probably to secure a conviction against the victim—of theft, or grievous hurt, what not that may be desired—murder even, if bribe-money is forthcoming in sufficient quantities. When the police are in the perjury market, it soon gets glutted, and a man's evidence goes for an old song, goes just with a hope of securing the good-will of the *Darogajee* and very often without money-payment of any sort. Or, if money is in demand, four annas will go a long way. Were it not for practically unlimited supplies of perjury, the Mofussil police would have not a tithe of the power they wield now, and use so arbitrarily and cruelly, so much to the disadvantage of the people for whose protection they are ideally supposed to exist.

We have referred to the notion that Magistrates dare not sanction prosecutions for perjury, lest the Courts all over the country should be swamped and overwhelmed with an avalanche of perjury cases, and the machinery available for the administration of justice be brought to a standstill. We are not inclined to attach much weight to this contention. If Magistrates and Judges could make up their minds to administer the law of the land with regard to perjury as the law enjoins, and as they must know it is their bounden duty to administer it, some difficulties and inconveniences, a seemingly overwhelming press of business would, it is likely enough, have to be encountered at first. But, this once tided over, the courts would have far less work to do, and far less dirty work than they have now. And even if some congestion of business did occur in the beginning of the new dispensation, it could not last long. If manifest perjurers and the traffickers in perjured evidence were made clearly to understand, by dint of unsparing examples and prompt punishments, that the giving of false evidence, or the procuration of other people to give false evidence, is an offence against the law which the administrators of that law are determined to punish, a check would very soon be put upon the habit of wholesale perjury which disgraces our courts now. The risk the perjurer would have to run then, would be real and appreciable, and if not actually deterred from the exercise of his talent by fear of punishment, the man of oaths would at least demand payment in proportion to the hazard of his undertaking. His selling price would so rise in the market, that the said market would be closed to all but wealthy patrons, and they again would be afraid to indulge largely in a luxury likely enough to land them in prison. As

things go now, the man who perjures himself runs no appreciable risk at all, and is content with a fee of four annas, or even less than that. A habit of perjury does not militate against his caste, and he is not thought any the worse of amongst his fellows because of it. Nor is his employer worse thought of amongst the men who are his equals and associates.

It would be well for men of light and leading in the native community to devote some attention to this habit of perjury, and to strive for reform, for a rooting out from their midst of the loathsome, cankered sore that has eaten into the very heart of their social life, preventing and hindering moral growth, and making that life unlovely, and of ill repute. Local Self-Government is a very good thing in its way; but ability for Local Self-Government is a better. Such ability seems to us quite incompatible with a toleration of wholesale perjury. Until, at any rate, the leading men, and the well educated natives of this country, cease to regard perjury as a very venial sin, if a sin at all; until they heartily denounce it, and give proof of their sincerity by making vigorous fight against it, we do not think that in all the radical gamut of breathless political reforms there is one at all likely to be of the least use to India.

JNO. HOOLEY.

ART. II.—CAPELLO AND IVENS; THEIR EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.—1877-1880.

THE names of these two officers of the Portuguese Navy have been placed at the head of this article, because they adhered to the orders issued by the Government to the "so-called African Portuguese Expedition" to make the Cu-ango, a great river which flows from south to north between the 17th and 19th degree of

Preliminary remarks. east longitude, Greenwich, into the Congo-Zaire, their chief object of investigation, as well as to determine all the geographical relations existing between the Cu-ango and the western coast. It would no doubt have produced a greater effect in Europe to have crossed the Continent, but the distance travelled by the two explorers was above four thousand kilometres, and consequently greater than that between Benguela on the west and Sofala on the east coast in a straight line. This task has been performed by others and also by Major Serpa Pinto, whose work is well known and has appeared in English. He was a member of this "African Portuguese Expedition," but thought proper to separate himself therefrom and to continue his journey alone. H. Capello and R. Ivens only once allude to him in their work,* but as he had thought proper to state in his first volume, in the chapter headed, "Twenty Days of Agony" that they had abandoned him at Caconda in a dangerous and hostile country, they found it necessary to exculpate themselves by explaining the whole matter in a prefatory note consisting of several pages, from which it would appear that the separation had at least outwardly taken place in an amicable manner, and that they had given him not only a number of carriers with goods to barter for victuals, but also various instruments for taking observations.

In September 1877, when the explorers were at Luanda, the capital of the Portuguese province of Angola, they began their preparations, and the questions how much money, goods, muskets

*De Benguella as terras de Jácca, descripção de uma viagem na Africa central e occidental. Por H. Capello e R. Ivens, officiaes da-armada real. Expedição organizada nos annos de 1877-1880. Edição illustrada. Lisboa, 1881, 2 vols.

After finishing this article I was informed that an English edition of

the Portuguese work had just appeared. Not having seen it, I can say nothing about it; but still believe my article to be useful, as it embodies in a small compass all the chief results attained by the explorers and narrated by them in two bulky volumes, containing a great deal of gossip and irrelevant matter.

and men to carry them were required, presented themselves for solution. The blacks near the coast, who consider themselves civilized, were unwilling to enter the service of mere explorers who merely wished to satisfy their curiosity and not to trade; but to march along unknown tracks. Moreover, cannibalism is so much dreaded, that the people are under the impression that they will incur the danger not only of being attacked but of being devoured. The information given by the latest travellers, regarding the manner of practically organizing African caravans of carriers is very scanty, as Stanley has well observed in his work "How I found Livingstone," and they say nothing about the value, quality, or quantity of the goods most necessary for a traveller to take, or the burden for each carrier. All these difficulties had to be dealt with, but the greatest was the engaging of carriers, and this having proved insurmountable, a further stay at Luanda was considered useless. The explorers accordingly sailed to Novo Redondo where they made contracts with the greater portion of the men they required, and thence to Benguela, the port where the illustrious Cameron had terminated his journey, and whence theirs, which lasted six hundred days, began.

Benguela is situated in 12°, 34', 17" S. Lat. and 13° 22' 30" E. Long Greenwich, on the western coast of Africa. It is the capital of a vast district, divided into the *concelhos* of Domba Grande and Pequeno, Egito, Novo Redondo, Catumbella, Quillengues, Caconda, &c., embracing a territory of about 15,000 square miles. Although Benguela is a dependency of the Central Government, the seat of which is in Luanda, the official who administers it can be appointed from Lisbon only. The most important structures are the public buildings, such as the Place (residence of the Governor), the barracks, custom-house, and the hospital. The fort on the sea shore is a resort for inhaling the evening breeze. These edifices are not elegant, but spacious, clean, and arranged in regular streets well planted with trees. Here and there numerous mercantile establishments, in which the most important business of Benguela is transacted, are scattered about, but their architecture is even more simple and antiquated. The native streets are narrow, tortuous, full of stinking thatched huts, but have also here and there enclosures of high walls, which intercept the air and contain hundreds of blacks from the interior, many of whom are in a state of almost perfect nudity. Scenes of riot and drunkenness occur nightly.

The life of Europeans in Benguela is entirely absorbed by commercial transactions. They are constantly on the alert for the

Departure from Benguela,
Domba, Quillengues.—N'gola,
Habitations of termites.—
Receiving an African chief.—
Portuguese station of Caconda.—
Excursion to the river
Cunene and return to Caconda.

caravans which enter, the news which arrive, the produce that is brought, the ruling prices, and trade with the natives. In the trade of Benguela, which is still in the hands of the Portuguese, nearly all the important products of the interior are included, namely, ivory, wax, rhinoceros' horns, resins, *licombe*,* skins, feathers, caoutchouc and canes, which are generally bartered for such articles as arms, gunpowder, cloth, &c. Commercial houses were in the habit of sending agents into the interior, but as some died and others ran away, goods are at present brought in exclusively by natives who trade on their own account.

The explorers started on their march towards the sources of the river Cu-ango on the 12th of November 1877, and reached their destination more than six months after that date. From the track of the journey on the large map appended to their work, it appears that, far from taking the nearest direction, they travelled as much as possible in the vicinity of rivers. Taking first a south-east course as far as Nangola 14°, 16', 46" S. Lat, and then marching north-east, they reached the Cu-ango, as will be described. The littoral portion of the Continent about Benguela was found to be of little importance and arid, but in the vicinity of Dombe (12°, 55', 11" S. Lat., 13°, 47', 44" E. Long. Greenwich) extensive plantations of sugar-cane were encountered, and several agriculturists possess factories, in one of which the explorers were hospitably entertained by the proprietor Sr. J. Reis; but the natives who are dispersed in the small hamlets of the district, appear to be in a wretched state of poverty; their whole dress consists of a dirty rag suspended by a rope from the waist and of a hollow wooden ring on the right leg, or brass wristlet. The ring contains some grains which produce a peculiar noise when a man walks. The females are generally ugly, but the streaks of white and red paint which they apply to their faces, and the loam with which they charge their hair, makes them repulsive. Here the explorers were prostrated by fever and detained till the 4th December, when they started again, and met the next day one of the ordinary hamlets of the district, and called *senzala* or *banza*. It was enclosed by a stockade about 50 metres long, and as many broad; in this square a dozen dark huts made of mud-covered poles, with conical roofs of grass, could be seen. A number of half-naked women, surrounded by hens and pigs, sat near the huts, and the headman, called *soba*, a man of advanced age, approaching the travellers, asked them through their interpreter, whence they were coming, where going, what they did, or traded in, and many other questions. The interview

* Fibres of the *Adansonia digitata*.

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terminated with the offer of a lean hen, and a gourd of *garapa* (native beer made of maize) for which the old man received four yards of striped cloth. On the 12th December the explorers arrived at Quillengues, and, astronomically determining its position, found it to be $14^{\circ}, 03', 10''$ S. Lat. and $14^{\circ}, 05', 03''$ E. Long. from Greenwich. This region constitutes, as a *concelho*, a portion of the vast district of Benguela. It is bounded on the north by Dombe, on the north-east by Caconda, on the south-east by Quipungo and Umputa, and on the south by Huilla and Jau. Its area is about 4,000 square miles and its population not less than 10,000 persons, living in 5,000 habitations, calculating on an average two individuals per habitation or square mile, or at 300 *senzalas*, each having 25 or 30 huts. The climate may be considered bearable, and but little injurious to a careful European. Maize, *massumbala* (sorghum,) manioc, potatoes, *inhame* (which appears to be the *Discorea alata*), *ginguba* (*Arachis hypogea*), the sugar-cane, various indigenous fruits, and others, such as melons and potherbs, all grow there in abundance. The habitation of the chief of the *concelho* consists of a large rectangular stockade, the longer side of which is about 200 metres long, with a small fort, having on each side a gun, and 15 habitations inside. Quillengues is situated on the left bank of the river Calunga, the sources of which are to the south, on the spurs of a great chain of mountains, and it is well provided with water from this river.

Having started on the 1st January 1878 from Quillengues, the caravan reached, on the 4th, the great *banza* of N'gola, belonging to the *soba* Tchimbarandungo, and situated on the brook of Cu-tota. Here the aspect of the soil was singular; covered in all directions with habitations of termites, from 2 to 3 metres high, it resembled during the day a vast encampment of an army, and in the night an extensive cemetery full of graves. Here the explorers had for the first time occasion to meet an African chief with formality in their camp; for, Tchimbarandungo paid them a visit. After considering whether he ought to be received in a standing or sitting posture, the latter was adopted, the explorers buttoned their coats, put on their helmets, assumed an air of great importance, and waited for his arrival. He soon made his appearance, wearing a dress of striped cloth, a bonnet woven of palm leaves on his head, a leopard skin over his shoulders, and holding a javelin in his hand. He approached the travellers smiling frankly, shaking them by the hand entirely according to the European fashion in the friendliest manner; his aspect was, however repugnant, and his suspicious glances, with his bedaubed tresses, augured

badly of future visits from *sobas* yet more distant from contact with Europeans.

The chief, surrounded by his followers, having seated himself, began the conversation, which turned principally on the subject and intention of the journey. After a while he appeared to be expecting something, and some one having suggested that a certain liquor, for which the *soba* was said to entertain special predilection should be produced, a keg was brought forth, the appearance of which suddenly exhilarated the countenances of all present. Tchimbarandungo, although burning with the desire to gulp down a cup at once, was obliged to submit to the usages of his country, and, passing it to the interpreter, requested him to taste it, in order to convince himself that the beverage offered contained no poison. This demand having been complied with, he swallowed the contents of the vessel at one draught. Then the cups passed round several times, and he appeared to enjoy a right of percentage over them, because no one was allowed to have a drink before the master had first tasted it. The guns and revolvers, which were also passed from hand to hand, excited the astonishment of all. To give the explorers a proof of his confidence, the chief then rose and went to his habitation to bring his wife and daughters, whom he desired to introduce to them, but asked a flagon more for the journey. Half an hour afterwards he returned with the said ladies, and an ox as a gift, which he desired to be slaughtered in his presence. Tchimbarandungo was already drunk. His comic antics and attempts at dancing, considerably lowered the dignity of the chief in the opinion of the explorers; but not of his courtiers, who, being accustomed to such scenes, attached no importance whatever to them. His wife, a strange creature, far from beautiful, had long tresses hanging down to her sides, and her neck adorned with an enormous collar in which every kind of beads and shells to be met with in the establishments on the coast, was displayed with horns of antelopes, and other not less extraordinary objects; she was completely wrapped up in a cloth of dubious colour, and looked about bewildered, apparently unable to form any connected ideas about her surroundings, and expressing her astonishment by the interjections: *eh! eh! oah!*

The sky having become overcast and a shower of rain having begun, it was necessary to admit Tchimbarandungo into the tent; where he perceived the keg, and forthwith proposed to his family to partake of its contents. The lady manifested the highest satisfaction at the invitation of her august spouse, and sipping

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a social cup with her daughters, prepared another which they accepted with extreme alacrity.

The rain continued; and was said to be a real blessing long expected in the country, which the *soba* attributed to the arrival of the Europeans, in honour of whom, he said, he would order the sacrifice of a man, to show them his power. "A man! by no means!" exclaimed the travellers; "we renounce the honour of marking our passage through your country by the shedding of human blood." Representations having been made to him regarding the iniquity of such a proceeding, he muttered something which the interpreter explained to mean, that such a discussion was inconvenient to the *soba* in the presence of his own people, but that tyrannical acts of that kind maintained the necessary terror. Meanwhile the amiable daughters of the chief persistently continued to ask for needles and thread, and at last obtained enough to establish a little shop. Then the visitors were taken out of the encampment to see the death of the ox; and when they been made to squat at a proper distance, a shot was fired at the animal which killed it instantly.

Tchimbarandungo was delirious with joy, and desired to explain to his courtiers the terrible effects of a musket-ball; but his intoxication did not allow him to speak. At last this chief with his family and courtiers departed.

On the 8th the explorers reached the Portuguese station of Caconda, the road to which was flanked by plantations of manioc, maize, sugar-cane, potatoes, &c. Caconda is even now one of the most interesting localities of the vast province of Angola. Being the seat of a *concelho* and subject to the district of Benguela, it has a commander who resides in a fort with a frontage of 60 metres and situated 1,642 metres above the level of the sea. Its position, having been astronomically determined, was found to be 13°, 44' S. Lat. and 15°, 2', 35" E. Long. from Greenwich. The altitude, moderate temperature, suavity of the climate, beauty of the fields, profusion of fruitful plants, the freshness of its water, and transparency of its brooks promised for this district a reputation of superiority over others in the interior, but its population does not exceed 8,000 inhabitants, giving only two per square mile.

Caconda is not altogether inhabited by Africans, but contains an admixture of Europeans who possess houses there, and trade. In a commercial point of view the place is far from what it was in former times; it is nevertheless still the point of transit of the Ganguela caravans which bring ivory and wax from the east to the market of Benguela, marching to the coast by the direct road, that is to say, through the region of Caluquembe and Dombe.

Pequeno. When agriculture becomes developed, and as soon as Caconda shall be connected by a regular road with Benguela, it may hope for a rich future, considering that sugar-cane, cotton, and rice can be produced in abundance. In this place the explorers had the pleasure of meeting the Portuguese naturalist, José de Anchieta, who had been already twelve years in Africa, and published several works.

From Caconda an excursion was made to the river Cu-nene, which flows towards the coast and discharges itself into the ocean under Lat. 17°, 25' S. Along the banks of this river the explorers marched 30 kilometres and found it to contain several islands. Its bed was granitic and its breadth nearly 50 metres; great numbers of hippopotamuses and crocodiles were observed in the water. In this picturesque region flocks of antelopes were encountered, especially the *Oryx gazella*, with long straight antlers, the *Hippotragus niger*, with enormous crooked ones; also herds of buffaloes, stags and zebras. An African land proprietor, bearing however the Portuguese name, Matheus Gomes Pereira, accompanied the explorers in this excursion, with four dozen men and women, all of whom were in the service of his house, and this following increased gradually to an alarming extent; their noisy music and dances at every halting-place excited the disgust of the Europeans. Their monotonous dances are accompanied by horrible yellings as well as disgusting postures.

Two days after leaving the banks of the Cu-nene, the residence of the Portuguese commandant was again reached on the 11th February.

When the expedition left Caconda, ninety-four days had elapsed since its departure from Benguela. The explorers marched eastwards from Caconda with the intention of passing through the district of Ruingolo, parallel to the Ulondo mountains, which stretch out about 150 miles, and the abundant rivulets flowing southwards across the route afforded the carriers of the baggage, who were about fifty in number, each loaded with a weight of seventy pounds, plenty of opportunities of quenching their thirst.

On the 26th February the explorers reached Cassanhe 9° 35', 20" S. Lat., 17°, 56', 30" E. Long. The most important fact concerning this locality is, that, when a chief dies, his body must be exposed to the public till his successor is elected. The corpse is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and suspended on a tree, near which also a grave is dug to receive it as soon as the new chief has been acclaimed. After a troublesome march in rainy weather, the

Cassanhe.—Belmonte in the Bihe district.—Sufferings from fever.—Watershed between the great river systems of the Congo-Zaire and the Zambeze.—The people, and their character.—Cangombe the residence of Quilomo.—The interview.—Sources of the Cu-anza determined.—Difficulties in hiring baggage-carriers.—Departure.

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explorers arrived on the 8th March in the Bihe district and were received at Belmonte 12°, 21', 49" S. Lat., 16°, 42', 30" E. Long. in the habitation of the Portuguese merchant, Silva Porto, whose *senzala*, here called *libata*, consisted of a rectangular stockade, the interior of which contained various habitations protected by the shade of numerous sycamore trees from the rays of the sun, as well as a garden with lemons, oranges, and a variety of European potherbs.

Forced to make a prolonged stay in the Bihe district, the explorers erected a habitation for the purpose of giving shelter to their followers, at a distance of 2 miles from Belmonte, in a high position covered by a dense forest on the right bank of the Cu-ito, and the whole structure was finished in the brief space of four days. Fever here seized both the explorers with desperate energy, attacking alternately the one or the other of them daily from eight till nine o'clock in the morning. An unpleasant sensation of cold was the first symptom, which gradually became more intense and prostrated the patient, who soon afterwards began to vomit, and lastly perspired abundantly after being extremely dry. In the afternoon relief generally ensued and refreshments were taken, but the weakness which gradually overtook the victims was such, that, after suffering thus for several weeks, they were unable to walk. Meanwhile the rains continued, and long hours were whiled away by the fireside whilst the storm raged outside.

During their enforced sojourn the two travellers employed themselves in collecting various kinds of information:—Bihe is the chief point of departure of caravans marching to the interior, and one of the commercial centres best known to the western districts, whence travellers desirous to penetrate into the eastern regions; Cassongo, Téhiboco, Garanganja, Catanga, Canunguessa, Gengi, and Bucusso being all connected by commercial tracks with the district of Bihe.

These districts undoubtedly constitute the extreme west of the extensive and high region of the watershed line of the great river-systems of the Congo-Zaire and the Zambeze, which, extending towards the north-east, has on the one side the Cu-anza, the Cu-ango, the Tchicapa, the Cassoi and the Lu-alaba, and on the other the Cu-bango, the Cu-ito, Cu-ando, the Liba, &c. Passing at last to the south of Bengueolo, or Pemba, it terminates in the east on the table-land of Lubiza. The general configuration is a system of plains, intersected by valleys of slender depth. The mean height is 4,570 metres. Supposing this watershed to extend 80 miles from east to west, and 100 from north to south, we obtain a surface of 8,000, and taking two inhabitants as the minimum per square mile, we obtain a population of 16,000 unequally distributed, as on the rest of the great Continent.

Here the original traits and the special physiognomy of savage life begin to manifest themselves in a particular manner. The people of Bihe, who are great wanderers, have adopted many customs of distant tribes, and constitute a strange medley. As they are extremely cunning and avaricious, travellers in these parts must be on their guard; having, moreover, for a long time been in contact with white men, they are addicted to intoxication and thieving, the two first-fruits to the Negro of the advent of civilisation. In every district a European is always well received by the chiefs, but he must use the greatest circumspection, or he will lose everything he possesses. It must, however, not be imagined that this assertion implies the idea of violent robbery; on the contrary, they pilfer a stranger with great delicacy and caution till he is reduced to misery.

— It would be impossible to give an idea of the moral and physical degradation of the population, for which the climate seems to be responsible. The weather being neither very hot nor very cold, the negro needs no shelter against its inclemency; accordingly he “requires a house and clothes more as luxuries than necessities, and the fertility of the soil easily satisfies the cravings of his stomach. Slavery, from which they suffered in former times, also accustomed them to vagabondage, and extinguished family-life, so that the nearest relations separate and do not even recognize themselves afterwards. The women are more active and laborious than the men, but shame is far from existing among them; thus, for instance, one of the baggage-carriers of the explorers had fallen a victim to the allurements of a nymph who often visited the encampment for the purpose of enticing him; afterwards she received him in her own house where she had posted witnesses to take cognizance of the interview, the chief of them being her own husband. The tribunal condemned the carrier to pay the husband four pieces of cloth, and it appears that such a proceeding is quite usual among them. In this instance it served to relieve the married couple from a little financial embarrassment. Religious ideas, strictly so-called, have no existence; the summary of all of them being Fetishes and Fetishism everywhere on the whole continent. This assertion is borne out by Schweinfurth (*Au Cœur de l’Afrique*), by Sir S. Baker (*Lake Albert*), and by Speke (*Source of the Nile*).

Cangombe is the capital of Bihe, and the residence of its chief, whose name is Quilemo. It being the fatal custom of Africa not to sell anything to a European, but to present him with all he requires, and to expect in return other presents, he has often refused to accept any and given offence; but as the explorers desired to engage carriers, and a guide to conduct them to the

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sources of the Cu-angó, they considered it best to gain the favour of the chief by coming to his presence with gifts, which consisted of the following articles:—two pieces of cotton-cloth, two of striped cloth, two of blue cotton-cloth, one package of handkerchiefs, one soldier's uniform, one umbrella, one donkey, and several flasks of alcoholic beverages. When the *libata* of Cangombe was reached, it was found to be a thousand mètres broad, and one of the largest the explorers had seen in Africa. The great enclosure is surrounded by numerous sycamore trees, the bark of whose knotty trunks was carved with strange figures, and the plantations extend to the banks of the Cu-quaima. Further on herds of cattle were grazing. After the explorers had been admitted into the interior, and passed through a labyrinth between the grass-covered huts, they halted in the shade of a large sycamore, and, sitting down among about two hundred curious spectators, were made to wait for a quarter-of-an-hour till Quilemo made his appearance. Apparently he required time to finish his *toilette*.

At last they were introduced.

Quilemo, an old man, of no agreeable aspect, dressed in a simple long coat, with trousers of a dubious colour, and an enormous hat, was sitting on a stool near the hut which served as his bedroom. The interview began with the presentation of letters which the explorers had brought from the coast, explaining their plan of investigating the sources of the Cu-ango, with a demand for assistance. He expressed satisfaction at the arrival of white men, with whom he would be highly pleased to enter into relations, and who would in his dominions find an abundance of everything. He promised them his powerful aid, as his people were much accustomed to travelling, but assured them that for so long a journey plenty of guns and powder would be required. Lastly, he requested them to present him with a gun, if they had one to spare.

Now the moment for offering the presents had arrived. They were taken one by one and passed to Quilemo, who pretended not to admire them, and in his turn handed them to an attendant, but could scarcely disguise his pleasure. The seriousness of this meeting was broken by a ridiculous incident; when the liquor flasks were presented to Quilemo, a negro fled with one of them, and the cries of "Catch him" resounded everywhere, but he escaped nevertheless.

After this preliminary visit, daily botanical and zoological excursions were made, the results of which the explorers have embodied in the appendix to their work.

As one of the problems of the expedition was to explore the sources of the Cu-anza, an excursion to them was made on the 24th April, and on the 28th the *libata* of a chief called N'gando

was reached, who refused to allow the Cu-anza to be crossed without consulting the Fetishes, for fear some misfortune might befall him. This obstacle having been overcome, and good terms restored, Capello offered some presents to N'gando, in return for which he generously presented him with an ox. Here various specimens of the Flora were collected. Having lost the 29th in consultations, and been obliged to treat two dozen sick persons, he started for the river on the 30th and reached its banks at 10 o'clock.

In this place the Cu-anza flows northwards, and its course is tortuous enough. Its sandy banks are covered with low bushes. Its average depth is 1 to 5 mètres, breadth from 30 to 40 mètres, and velocity 1 to 5 miles. Towards the east the elevated tracts named Cutupo, which constitute the watershed between the Cutito and the Cu-anza, extend. In the undulating plain beyond the banks of the river a herd of white antelopes with black spots and straight horns, were perceived. The natives called them *ma-tchobo*, a kind of shaggy goat living near rivers; the binocular, however, rectified the mistake and showed the *Oryx capensis*.

The sources of the river were found to be in 13°, 3', 57" S. Lat. and 17°, 17', 19" E. Long.

On returning from this excursion to Cangombe the greatest difficulty was to get the chief Quilemo to give orders to his subjects for hiring themselves out as baggage-carriers to the explorers, and his repeated promises to do so resulted in nothing. Accordingly presents were made, not only to the chief, but also to his officials; all were, however, indolent, preferring to negotiate for ever, and it was but a poor consolation to the explorers that their predecessors, Livingstone, Cameron and Stanley, had been similarly victimized by the wily Africans. At last the required number of carriers were hired and the explorers departed.

The expedition started on the 19th May, reaching the Cu-anza in 11°, 54', 50" S. Lat. and 17°, 34', 30" E. Long. on the 1st of June. Having encamped on the banks of the river, scientific operations for approximately determining its course were undertaken; and the next care of the explorers was to provide themselves with victuals in order to march rapidly through the district of

Banks of Cu-anza.—Food required for carriers.—Crossing the Lu-anda near Mongoa, and departure to the sources of the Cu-ango.

Luimbe which was in front. The chief of the adjoining *senzala* was in bad circumstances, as he had to ransom a good many of his relatives who had been captured in the last war with Bihe, so that he could furnish neither provisions on a large scale, nor carriers. The provisions of an African traveller and of his people usually consist of manioc-meal, and flesh, or dried river-fish, which is not very savoury, but is much appreciated when nothing better can

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be had; and, as every man on the march daily consumes from 2 to 3 litres of meal, and for the support of eighty during six days, twenty carriers are necessary to bear a total weight of 1,500 pounds, a traveller is subject to constant embarrassments and delays.

In the abovenamed latitude the Cu-anza is from 50 to 60 metres broad, and from 4 to 5 deep, having at the utmost a velocity of one mile; the water is muddy and dark. The course is tortuous enough, but free from cataracts. The land on the left bank is high, and covered with vegetation, but on the right low, and probably inundated during the great rains. This river is navigable almost from its sources to its confluence with the Lu-ando, where the first cataract occurs. The water of the river is augmented by numerous affluents on both sides of it.

After procuring the necessary provisions the expedition again started on the 6th of June, crossed the Bandua hills, passed, after a march of 35 miles, through the district of Luimbe, and reached the boundary of Songo, near the residence of the *soba* Mongoa. During the first days of this march the vegetation was low and moderate in amount, but when the level gradually became higher it was found to be more abundant and vigorous. Numerous fig and sycamore trees, with extensive branches, were encountered, containing innumerable larvæ of the *Ptyalus olivaceus*,* from which water was constantly dripping to such a degree as to make the ground muddy. Troops of monkeys gambolled about and fled terrified at the approach of the travellers. They appeared to be of the *Cynocephalus* species.

This region is populated by numerous *senzalas*, and the inhabitants of Luimbe, who are partly Ganguelas, are at once distinguished by their strange head-dress. Some women looked tolerably well, and contrasted favourably with those of Bihe by their more delicate features.

The Lu-ando was crossed near Mongoa in 11°, 34', 5" S. Lat., 18°, 0', 35" E. Long., not, however, without opposition. The chief had no objection, but his vassals gathered round the party and offered resistance; fifty loads piled up, and as many muskets ready to fire upon them, soon brought them to reason. After the confusion had terminated, it was found that two packages had been abstracted, and on a demand for their restoration being made, all knowledge of them was totally denied.

* The *Ptyalus olivaceus* is an insect, a kind of artificial rain, especially and the larva in which it is wrapped from the branches of sycamores, continually exudes water, producing

A stratagem was accordingly resorted to, and the next morning the whole expedition appeared in front of the *senzala* before day-break, and, firing about a dozen shots into the air, threatened to burn the *senzala* by setting the surrounding vegetation on fire, whereon the stolen packages were immediately restored and the expedition peaceably departed on the 24th June.

On the morning of the 16th July the two explorers left the *senzala* of Mungo Quiban, the last halting-place near the sources of the Cu-ango, which they reached after a walk of half an hour, the aneroid indicating an altitude of 1,450

Sources of the Cu-ango determined.—Magnificence of the country and misery of the inhabitants.—The district of Cassanje, and departure from it to Duque de Braganza.—Terrible mortality.—The Ambaquistas.—Meeting Dr. Max Buchner.—Arrival in the Fort Duque de Braganza.

metres. An extensive but uneven tract of country constitutes this culminating point a kind of St. Gothard of the African rivers. Through a narrow and tortuous valley the Cu-ango flowed northwards, passing afterwards through plantations of manioc and massambala (*Sorghum*), where numerous girls were seen at work. To

the north-east the Tchirungo mountains, and on their eastern declivity the sources of the Tchicapa, were perceived at a distance of about 25 miles from the point of observation, which was in 11° 17' S. Lat., and 19° 11' 30" E. Long. from Greenwich.

Having thus determined the sources of the Cu-ango, the explorers had executed one portion of their instructions, and intended to follow the course of this river northwards till it discharges itself into the Congo-Zaire, which they would then have followed to the sea to terminate their labours. In this attempt they were, however, foiled as we shall see.

In the region where the explorers now happened to be, a variety of springs, the directions of which were approximately determined by the compass, flowed into the Tchicapa, the Cu-ango, the Cassai, the Lu-me, the Lu-ando, which, in their turn, poured their waters into the Congo-Zaire, the Cu-anza and the Zambeze, losing themselves in valleys in which the more vigorous vegetation indicated their tortuous course.

The aspect of the country was magnificent. As far as the sight could reach eastward, the green valley of the high Cassai plateau extended, populous with numerous *senzalas* (hamlets) of the Ma-Quico and the Ma-cosa tribes, indicated by the white spots of manioc flour spread out on mats of *mabu* (*Papyrus ant*). This was just the bee-season when every tree contains a hive, from which honey is collected in the months of July and August. It is remarkable what regard the negroes entertain for the hives of each other, the smallest abstraction of

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wax from one of them being looked upon as a serious case of robbery. Meanwhile hydromel flows in torrents, and life is spent in drunkenness and in haggling with traders. Most of the people are poor, their whole dress consisting of a piece of hide tied to the waist by a rope, and, as a distinction, some have wristlets, necklaces of beads, and hair braided with many shells in it; but the women are satisfied with an apron of *mabella* (texture of palm-leaves,) their infants riding on their haunches as we often see also in India. Their huts are seldom thatched or covered with mud, grass being considered sufficient. Both sexes are fond of wearing a little stick transversely in the membrane which separates the nostrils; it looks like a pencil and is parallel to the mouth.

In order better to determine the hydrographical basin of the Cu-ango, the two explorers separated; one caravan taking the western, and the other marching along the eastern, banks of the river at some distance. They again met at Cassanje in $9^{\circ}, 35', 6''$ S. Lat., and $17^{\circ}, 54', 30''$ Long. according to their previous arrangement, that the explorer arriving first at the commencement of September in Cassanje, should wait ten days for his companion, and then go in search of him. They do not state when the western caravan arrived in the said district, or locality, but their first observation in it is recorded in their table of geographical co-ordinates on the 9th September 1878, and the last on the 18th of the same month. The western caravan arrived first, because the eastern was subject to delays on account of the difficulty of obtaining carriers for the baggage; it made, however, its entrance into Cassanje, on the day just named, amid the firing of muskets and joyful songs to celebrate the meeting of the two caravans.

After a stay of several months in Cassanje, where also a fair, annually visited by Portuguese merchants, is held, and after making excursions into the districts to collect specimens of the Flora and Fauna, the explorers receded still more from the river Cu-ango in a western direction, took affectionate leave of their friend Narciso A. Paschoal, who appears to be a Portuguese trader settled in Cassanje, and began, on the 19th February 1879, their march to Duque de Braganza, which is situated in $8^{\circ}, 57', 16''$ S. Lat., and $16^{\circ}, 10'$ E. Long.

After undergoing some hardships, the expedition arrived in the *concelho*, or district of the Malanje, where a halt was made at N'Dala Sumba, the date being marked 4th March in the table of geographical co-ordinates, which are $9^{\circ}, 27', 43''$ S. Lat., and $16^{\circ}, 50', 30''$ E. Long. Before arriving in this place, Portuguese and African graves were frequently met with,

and bore testimony to the precariousness of life in the few establishments where agents from the commercial houses of Malanje take up their abode on the route in order to be the first to meet the caravans. In these regions the mortality is terrible, although the miasmatic influence is not equal throughout the year. During the rainy season the high temperature causes the soil to evaporate more; people perspire abundantly, drink a great deal and absorption is considerable. The constitution being thus disturbed, any sickness becomes more dangerous and intense. During their sojourn at Cassanje the explorers saw three merchants die, one of whom was a European. A firm of Malanje, with a branch at Cassanje, and established by three partners, had to close business because two of them died. The climate is not at all suitable for Europeans (*as condições de habitabilidade por aqui não satisfazem as exigencias européas*).

Close groves occur, which are sometimes full of water, and in the little open patches, tracks of game could be seen, although a chance was seldom got to fire at any, owing to its shyness. The explorers were followed for miles by the small headmen of *senzalas*, often wearing the uniform of a captain, although occupying only the rank of a private in the Portuguese-African forces; they came with their followers, and generally had also a loafer from Ambaca for a secretary. These people offer gifts and pester travellers most persistently to obtain some of their goods.

Some of these advanced denizens of Ambaca, or *Ambaquistas*, as the explorers call them, must have made themselves very obnoxious, because they are dubbed "the damned souls of the interior," which appellation appears, however, to be belied by the portrait of one, who is represented in European garments with a cylindrical hat, and looks rather sedate, and respectable, much resembling the half-caste Portuguese class we see in the Bombay Presidency. This *toilette*, by which, and by his generally pox-marked features he is at once recognized, is the characteristic of the Ambaca trader who is represented to be more cunning than a fox. He is deeply conversant with the habits of the aborigines, enters a *senzala*, creates a position for himself, gains the favour of all, but especially of the headmen, decides questions, maintains his supposed reputation of a scholar by narrating stories about the customs of Europeans to the people, gives them glittering accounts of religious ceremonies, and writes letters for them. On all his marches he carries paper and ink, taking from 2 to 4 yards of cloth as the price for writing a letter to a headman, or a petition to some official.

After passing beyond Melanje, the explorers had just returned

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to their encampment on the 19th March from a little excursion, when a European, riding on an ox and accompanied by two or three blacks, suddenly made his appearance in the clearing. They went towards the stranger, who dismounted, and likewise approached them.

"I am Dr. Max Buchner," said he, "a German explorer, sent on a special mission to the regions of Lunda, where I am to encounter the Muata-Janvo. I am in Malanje completing the number of my carriers and waiting for some things which I am to take with me. I knew that you had arrived here, and came with the double intention of making your acquaintance, and of ascending the mountain in front of us; an idea which suggested itself to me as soon as I entered this district." Having invited him to their hut, they breakfasted together and conversed, whereon he departed in the direction in which they had come, but returned at four o'clock in the afternoon with a burning fever, and it became necessary at once to take leave of their sick guest.

Coasting along the mountains to their right, the explorers had on their left, an immense plain, full of brooks, and marched in six days through the borders of the *concelho* of Malanje to Duque de Braganza, sleeping one day near a small hamlet, another on the bush, and again another on the banks of some river.

On the 28th March the river Lucalla was crossed for the first time, at the habitation of Calandula near the rapids of Faba, ascending from which the great cataract of Lianzundo, a beautiful sheet of 30 vertical metres, was encountered, with beautiful primeval vegetation on the sides, and an orange-grove near the foot. On the 30th the fort of Duque de Braganza was reached, where the Portuguese commandant, Captain A. Silveiro, a kind old man, wearied of, and spent in, the service of his country, received them hospitably. After constructing their encampment in three hours, the explorers entered the *residencia* to which they had been invited for dinner, and found it to be a stockade, with two large verandahs in the interior, one containing the kitchen and the other the dining-room. A dozen negroes with a few pigs, hens, a monkey, a gazelle and a parrot, appeared to be the only tenants of this vast enclosure, besides the captain the master of all. We reserve a description of this *concelho* or district, for the second visit to it of the explorers, on their home journey.

The expedition now again marched towards the river Cu-ango in order to trace its lower course, after taking a rest of 26 days at Duque de Braganza. Accordingly they started

Banks of the Cu-ango.—A portion of the diary of the 28th May 1879.

again on the 28th April 1879, precisely 534 days after their departure from Benguela. During this portion of the march, the explorers suffered most, not only from the usual fevers, but also from scorbutic eruptions and even scarcity of provisions; they however reached the banks of the Cu-ango at last in 7°, 27', 18" S. Lat., and 18°, 88', 8" E. Long. on the 27th May, and found a hamlet in which they obtained plenty of food. The people here are Ma-Jaccas, and some account of them, as well as of other tribes, given in a portion of the diary dated 28th May, is here inserted :—

"The aspect of the Ma-Jaccas is not so distinct as that of the peoples of the south. They are mostly peaceful, at least, those of to-day with whom we entered into relations, but they are very wild, and show extreme diffidence. Their head-dress is original and most varied, the hair being so cut as to give it the appearance of a bonnet without a peak, and a portion hanging down around the back of the head in tresses; some have shaved stripes extending from the nape of the neck to the forehead; in fact their hair is arranged in a variety of shapes which cannot be described in any particular manner. They walk about almost naked, having only *mabellas* (a wrapper of a texture of palm-leaves or of the *Hyphæne guinensis*). Their habitations, geometrically well constructed of *marianga* (penisetum?) interlaced with grass present from a distance an interesting perspective. They cultivate the ground but little, they fish, however, on a grand scale, and have no inclination to keep cattle. When speaking to Quizengamo about cattle, he informed us of a strange custom, which is, however, rare in the rest of Africa, and is the reason why the Ma-Jaccas cannot produce oxen, and scarcely any sheep, goats, &c.; the chief, namely, has alone the right to possess and to propagate cattle, and any one infringing it invariably loses his head; in case he should endeavour to flee, the Fetishmen would discover him. He said that if we were to pass through the whole country on the left bank of the Cu-ango, we could not obtain sight of even one ox. This strange custom, about which we intend to make inquiries, has no satisfactory explanation. One of their occupations is the chase, and they hunt *pa-lancas*, enormous antelopes (*Hippotragus*?) of which they showed us the antlers, and gazelles, &c., abounding in that region.

"The regions on both sides of the Cu-ango are divided into many districts, with special names, to which the traveller must pay attention in order to avoid confusion. Thus, to the west, the districts of Quiteia-N'bungo, Macume-N'jimbo, Futa, of which we have already spoken, extend; they are inhabited by the Ma-Sossos,

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who give them various names, in conformity with the localities. Towards the east the case is the same with Jaccas. The principal chief of the Ma-Jaccas is the Mequianvo, Quianvo or Muene Puto Cassongo. His habitation is in S. Lat. 6°, 30',* near a rivulet called N'ganza, at a distance of about four hours from the Cu-ango. The tales narrated to us about the Quilolos were so different and contradictory, that they would be doubtful even if expurgated. Some asserted that the Quianvo is more powerful than the Muata of Lunda, because he performs the ceremony and installs the successor when the Janvo of Lunda dies. Others denied this, and even asserted that the former is a vassal of the latter. Lastly, the interpreters denied all this, as they were not even acquainted with each other; this assertion we, however, suppose to be inaccurate, because it appears that both presented themselves. The Quianvo is a man of regular and athletic stature. On reception days he wraps himself in a cloth, and wears on his forehead a broad bandage of glass-beads, which is tied behind, and has on its upper rim many red feathers of parrots. He wears armlets and wristlets. He drinks a great deal of *maluvo* (the native name for *brandy*) and eats only choice game, such as gazelles, &c. He maintains commercial relations with the coast (Ambriz) by a direct route continued on the river Lojo, by means of the Ma-Sossos, when they go to procure caoutchouc and ivory, and pass through his territory in order to travel as far as Muata Compana and Muene-Congo Tubinge. This last chief appears to be important. His habitation is on the bank of the Muluia and is bounded by a great river said to be named Baccari. His estates are on the frontiers of the country of the Ba-Cundis or Ma-Cundis, ferocious cannibals; extending towards the north-east, it was said; and spoken of with terror. Lastly, they have a great river, like the Cu-ango, which flows into the sea; and we being the first white men who had made our appearance in the territories of Muene Puto, they insisted on our paying them a visit. After the Quizengamo had departed, a native of Sosso was introduced to us who gave us some more information. He says that he resides on the road to S. Salvador, knows the Congo-Zaire, N'cusso, and lives near the habitations of Mambo Assamba and of Malungo Ateca. He offered himself to us as a guide. The sources of the Lu-quiche, the last affluent of the Cu-ango on the left bank, are situated in the Zombo mountains. On ascending the river for two days, numerous rocks obstruct its course at a site named Quicungi, and still further up, the mouth of the Cu-ilo. Quiasosso occurs. He continued to maintain that, hereabouts, there is no further road along the Cu-ango, but a desert.

* This Latitude is also the extreme limit of the progress of the expedition.

He speaks of the union of the Cu-engo with the Cu-ango, and further on of the Cassai and of other rivers, of great extent, saying that they are enormous, and the country inundated. He told us that two years ago a *mun-delle* (white man) had passed there (to the *massan go*, the point of confluence as he says) in a *odto-ia-puto* (European boat), who was, no doubt, Stanley. He certifies the existence of a great lake and that of the celebrated dwarfs. He concludes that, to reach the *massango* [confluence of the Congo-Zaire with the Co-ango], a journey of six months is required!

The aborigines invited the explorers to pay a visit to the residence of Quianvo, their chief, but it was on the other side of the river, as already mentioned in our extract from the diary.

The explorers, determined to advance, started again on the 29th May, in the morning, when the yet dark hills began to assume every shade of green, the intervening plains appeared to be lakes, and the distant mountains reflected the azure tints of the sky. Nature smiled; the fields and the sky were adorned, the former with flowers, and the latter by the rays of the brilliant orb of day. The river Cu-ango having been reached, soundings were taken in a small boat, and the average depth found to be eight feet. It was dotted with small islands of white sand, and on its banks numerous hippopotamuses were observed. The heat was, however, suffocating; and both the fever and the dysentery of the explorers became more obstinate.

March of the expedition back to Duque de Braganza, and description of it.—Departure towards Dondo on the river Cu-anza.—Von Mechow, a German explorer encountered.—Dondo.—Luanda.—Departure to Portugal.

After having, nevertheless, again progressed a few stages, an altercation arose with the guide, who insisted that, in order to reach the habitation of the Quianvo, the river must be crossed and the march continued on its right bank, as no track could be found for a long time on the left. From the 5th to the 8th June the expedition still advanced, but in a state of great despondency, at some distance from the river, through a region which contained no inhabitants at all, and on the 9th it reached the extreme limit of its progress. * Returning thence to Duque de Braganza, it reached that place in about 26 days, and the altitude of the sun was taken for the first time at noon on the 30th June 1879.

Duque de Braganza, of which we have already given the geographical position, is situated on a treeless plain, 1,060 mètres above the sea, on the right bank of the Lu-calla river. The seat of the *concelho* is composed of an ample fort of mud-bricks, with loopholes, parapets and fosse in bad condition, surrounded by two

* Mentioned in the preceding foot-note.

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dozen habitations at the most; among which the residence of the commandant, which fronts the east, is the most notable. The fort was built at a time when the Government sent an expedition to the place to check the excesses of the Jinga aborigines, who threatened the district of Ambaca with their raids. The commerce is almost nil, there being no important firms here. Some little efforts at cultivation are, however, being made in this vast agricultural region, as a little tobacco, cotton, and, further to the north, in Danje, some colossal sugar-cane, with other produce, has been seen.

The uncultivated condition of this region must be attributed to military preponderance. Duque de Braganza is distant from the centre of the Government and contains 50 or 60 military stations, the commandants of which, when they have no occasion to display their prowess against turbulent natives, are covetous enough to extort tithes (which have been abolished) from the Jinga vassals and to commit other depredations. Thus, for instance, the explorers were told that an officer had despatched a private soldier to levy a certain mulct from a chief; which being refused, he marched with the detachment under his command and lifted 180 heads of cattle which the said chief possessed. The consequence was that the latter retired to the Jinga country, as many others had done before him, and depopulated the *concelho*. The people are a mixture of Jingas, Ambacas and some Bondas, who intermarry with the soldiers of Luanda, and, constituting the existing families, cultivate small plots of ground by which they live.

After making excursions into the surrounding country, the explorers departed, on the 14th September, for the last time, from Duque de Braganza, hoping to reach Dondo on the 23rd or 24th. They took an affectionate farewell from Captain Silverio who said:—"Go! go! Europe is waiting to reward you for your sufferings, and to appreciate your services. Now, the time for taking rest, and profiting by it is at hand. As to me, being old, I shall never return to see you again, and the grave will shortly receive my bones."

As the track by which the explorers marched gradually approached the river Cu-anza and the land was sloping towards it, they saw exotic palm-trees, the *Eriodendron*, with a straight trunk partly covered with the branches of the *Cochlospermum angolensis*, full of yellow flowers, *Erythrinas* with rosy clusters, and other plants. Birds gambolled about, and some of the trees were covered with their suspended nests, forty-seven being counted on one. Among those most worthy of mention was the *Bucorax caffer*, called wild turkey, but stouter than those seen in Europe, with a long beak, the breast red in front, and a

large tail. It lives in flocks in these groves, perched on high trees, and is on that account difficult to get at, and also because one, posted as a sentry, gives notice of the least danger by the alarm cry *có có*, whereon all fly away.

The uninterrupted movement of the caravans marching both ways along the track followed by the explorers was something marvellous, scarcely an hour elapsing without dozens of negroes passing, laden with caoutchouc, ivory, &c., but oil was the article most frequently transported. A march with negroes affords opportunities of observing their ornamentation, of which they are fond. Their long tresses are adorned with beads, shells and bits of metal and carefully smeared with palm-oil. They use feathers of birds and skins of animals, horns and even human teeth; they pierce not only their ears but the nose for the insertion of little sticks of wood, and disfigure their bodies by incisions with knives, the scars being considered beautiful. Circumcision is performed among the Ban-Galas, often on adults, who also file their upper front-teeth to separate them; their brutal cupping operations with ox-horns and knives are frightful.

Having on the 17th reached Nhangué-ia-Pepe, the explorers encamped near a *senzala* enclosed by a hedge of euphorbias, with the intention of visiting a cataract on the 18th, which was done. The defile through which the Cu-anza precipitates itself opens out here, so that the river is about 30 mètres broad. Falling from a height of 8 to 10 mètres, the river continues its westward course. There being also many rocks and other difficult passages in the river, it is navigable neither above this locality nor from it to Dondo.

On the morning of the 20th September, after the travelers had crossed some little brooks, and passed a few establishments called Cassoqui, they met a numerous crowd of porters, whose peculiar loads, such as sealed boxes, new trunks, &c., made them suspect the presence of a European. They were not mistaken in this surmise, for a few minutes afterwards two white men emerged from a bend in the road, and the one arriving first appeared to be the chief. He was a robust man, with a fair beard, and an ample hat, but, as he did not break the silence, they took him to be one of the little communicative (*pouco expansivo*) sons of Great Britain. His gentlemanly appearance, however, inspired them with confidence and they saluted him with the customary "Bons dias, cavalheiro" whereon he explained in broken Portuguese that he was a German explorer, Von Mechow by name, coming from Luanda, and travelling to Malanje, where he intended to organize a train of attendants, for descending the Cu-ango in a boat of his

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own, and making a complete reconnaissance of it to its junction with the Congo-Zaire. The illustrious traveller had already encountered much trouble in engaging carriers; his cheerfulness, however, had overcome all obstacles and he was determined to try his luck. Some difficulties the explorers had met with in those regions, chiefly with the Jingas who inhabit them, and the fevers as well as the other hardships they had suffered from in the interior, having been explained to Von Mechow, he seemed to make but little account of them, and the two parties separated again.

When the explorers perceived many telegraph poles they knew that European civilization had begun to invade these parts, and they were soon agreeably surprised by the visit of Duarte Silva, an officer of the Portuguese army employed in the Department of Public Works in Africa, who was encamped there, and came to bid them welcome. The news of the arrival of the explorers soon spread in the adjoining camps, and invitations with congratulations poured in from all sides; the grotesque commercial corporation of Dondo (9°, 41' S. Lat., 14°, 31', 54" E. Long. observed on the 30th September) also offered a few days afterwards a banquet to the explorers, during which they were introduced to the gentlemen who composed it.

On the 11th October the explorers embarked in a steamer and arrived on the 13th at Luanda (just 729 days since their departure to the south) where the Governor-General Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes received them with much kindness, but they lived with all their attendants at the house of St. Manuel Raphael Gorjão, the Director of the Public Works of Angola, who had within the short space of three years established an extensive telegraphic line, built an office and a hospital, organized a professional school, and surveyed a line of railway which is to extend 250 kilometres.

The town of Luanda in 8°, 47', 56" S. Lat. and 13°, 7', 30" E. Long. situated on the sea shore, is divided into the high and the low town (*cidade alta e baixa*), but has also many country houses called *musseques*. The population of the interior does not exceed 9,000 inhabitants, 3,500 of these being men, 3,000 women, 1,200 boys and 1,300 girls. The Europeans number at the utmost 1,100, two-thirds of whom are *degradados*, namely, persons exiled for crimes. The *musseques* contain 2,000 inhabitants, and the suburbs with the island 2,350, so that the total population would amount to about 13,350 persons.

The commercial association of Luanda likewise gave a banquet to the explorers, at which H. E. the Governor with the whole body of merchants was present; but, being desirous of recovering their

strength in the more benignant climate of Mossamedes, they sailed for that port, where they spent two months, and then returned Portugal.

From the experience gathered by the expedition, the following conclusions may be drawn:—The life of Africans is simple,

Final remarks about the customs, character, languages, food, &c., of the aborigines.—The vegetable, animal and mineral products of Africa.—Condition of the Negro and African colonization.

primitive and coarse. In the thousand *senzalas*, or hamlets, visited by the explorers, they met with but little variety, and always the same arrangement of constructing, covering, and grouping the habitations. Poles or canes firmly fixed in the soil, interlaced with grass, or plastered with mud, covered with leaves, and arranged in a round or quadrangular form, constitute a hut, which has two or three divisions inside, but is generally the property of one man. The headman nearly always surrounds his domicile with the huts of all the other inhabitants, encircling the whole hamlet with a stockade which can be closed. Around the stockade there are small patches of plantain trees, stramonium, and fields cultivated for daily subsistence. The will of the chief is law, and, as the strong oppress the weak, he is often displaced by another, the people emigrate elsewhere and the hamlet is broken up.

The conjugal advantages are all on the side of the husband, who compels his wife to work for him like a slave. The African has no religion, and his *Fetish* is supposed by him to be a kind of talisman, by which noxious influences are counteracted, while "conscience," as Captain R. Burton has well said, "does not exist, the only repentance which a native is able to feel, being grief for having allowed an opportunity to escape to commit a crime. Thieving distinguishes a man, and assassination, above all, if accompanied by atrocious incidents, makes a hero of him." This picture is somewhat overdrawn, and it must be admitted that moral sentiment exists among Africans, although in an embryonic state only. Thus, in every tribe visited by the explorers, a rich murderer could indemnify the relatives of his victim by paying a blood-ransom, and then again continue his wicked career; and they knew of a native who had committed three murders without the least compunction as the most natural thing, only at the instigation of a chief. This is just like a still living Arab Sultan, whose name we need not mention, and who simply orders one of his attendants to shoot a man when he dislikes him.

Without inflicting upon the reader the enumeration of a score of languages spoken by various tribes, we may observe that unwritten idioms are most subject to change, and that a small difference in the pronunciation may give rise to subsequent

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modifications, still more enhanced by the migrations of the people and by the transformation of their usages. Thus, for instance, people who have gone from a level country where they had no occasion to shout, into mountains, where they call one to another from different heights, accustom themselves in course of time to draw out certain syllables long in a kind of chanting tone, to be heard at a distance. The result is the same near great rivers, cataracts, &c., where the accents which have been in the middle of words are generally transferred to the final syllables. In course of time it will no doubt appear that some languages, at present considered different, are merely dialects of one, and their number will be considerably reduced.

It is remarkable that the aborigines have very little or no tendency to contradict, and always reply in the affirmative. Accordingly, in order to elicit the truth on any subject, a great deal of circumlocution is required. Their notions of time, distance and quantity are extremely confused, and cause much perplexity to a European. Thus, for instance, the question, "What time will it take us to reach the point where the Cu-ango flows into the Zaire?" was, after a long preamble, answered thus:—"It will be necessary to use up two pairs of sandals!"

In their barter the same confusion prevails. Thus, for instance, an agreement having been arrived at to buy a head of cattle for 54 yards of cloth, the payment in pieces was arranged as follows:—

1 whole of ...	...	...	18
1 cut of ...	...	...	15
1 cut of ...	...	...	16
5 yards more	...	...	5
Total ...			<u>54</u>

Not understanding this calculation, the savages insisted that it should be arranged in lots of 9 yards (half-pieces) as follows:—

Complete ...	...	...	9+9
Cut ...	...	...	9×6+3
Cut ...	...	...	9+7+2
Total ...			<u>27+22+5=54</u>

The chief articles of food in the regions through which the expedition marched, are the following four:—Manioc (*Jatropha manioc*); Massambala (varieties of *Sorghum*), massango (*Penisetum typhoideum*) which belongs at present to the genus *Pencillaria*, and Indian-corn (*Zea mais*), which likewise occurs in great abundance. All these articles are made into bread after being reduced to meal; unfortunately, however, the people have no mills, and grind it only by pounding. With the bread the negro

eats whatever of flesh, fish, or vegetables he can get. *Ginguba* (*Arachis hypogea*) is also of great value to them, and entire tribes live on it, especially the Jingas, the Ma-Hungos, and the Ma-Jaccas, who swallow astonishing quantities of it raw as it is taken from the ground.

Then come indigenous and exotic fruits, too numerous to enumerate, from the *Vitis heraclifolia* to the plantain, as well as the variety of Inhame, tubercles of *Helmia*, potatoes, and little known roots, which are devoured greedily.

Lastly, a stick of sugar-cane, a gourd of soured milk or hydromel, complete the series of aliments in a luscious repast.

Vegetable diet prevails almost exclusively over the whole continent, and a head of cattle is slaughtered only in extraordinary cases, when the native who is generally puerile, gives vent to most stupendous excesses of joy. Able to bear hunger for a long time, he contents himself with four grains of *Arachis*, but when the moment to appease his appetite arrives, he is insatiable. He stuffs himself gradually with several pounds of flour till his abdomen swells, shines, and appears ready to burst. This voracity is most prevalent among old men.

The African manifests a decided propensity for drink. Either the scarcity of European liquors, or the temporary oblivion of the wretched and monotonous life of a negro which their abuse causes, makes him very greedy for drink, and the explorers scarcely knew a case in which, if a chance were given to one of them, he did not drink till he fell down. Some beverages of the country also produce intoxication, but a great deal of them must be swallowed gradually, whereas brandy effects it very speedily, so that the native considered the drinking of it to be as pleasant as that of hydromel is melancholy.

As to the food of the African, it is unsavoury to a palate not habituated to it. He does not recoil even from putrefaction, and European perfume is unpleasant to him, to such a degree, that he would prefer a sweet fruit with a terebinthine flavour to any other which a European would prize. Some fruits with a most disgusting smell, say a variety of the *carica papaya*, are highly appreciated; but inodorous and insipid substances also are devoured with a great gusto.

The vegetable products of Africa embrace, first, the gigantic trees, then a variety of bushes and unknown plants which it would take volumes to describe. We shall in this place enumerate only such as have been utilized in commerce, namely, a variety of *palms* producing oil, especially the *Elais guinensis*. Plants the leaves of which are used in the manufacture of hats and other articles; these are the *Hyphene* and the varieties of the *Borassus*.

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The fibres of the *Adasonianas* are at present exported on a great scale for the manufacture of paper and other articles. The *Palma Christi* is used for medicines. *Aloes* occur in great abundance. *Tobacco* grows everywhere, and that of Ambaca has a special aroma. The *sugar-cane* prospers wherever water is abundant. *Cotton* occurs in the whole province of Benguelas; the *coffee*, which is now appreciated in Portugal, comes from the whole mountainous region, and that from Cazengo is considered the best. *Ginguba* (*arachis hypogea*) which yields much oil, appears to be extremely abundant in the table-land of Ambaca and in the eastern districts. All kinds of *pepper* occur every where. *Rice* was seen under cultivation by the explorers in the district of Bihe, where large tracts of country appeared to be devoted to it. *Indian-corn* was very fertile at Quillengues, Caconda and Duquede Braganza. *Sorghum* was the general food of the people of the interior, but *Massango* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) is invariably the staff of life to the Ganguellas and to the Ma-Quicos. There is an amazing quantity of *Balsamum Elemi*, and along the coast, as well as in the interior, there are notable tracts full of *Copal-gum* trees. *Cauatchouc* is the product of colossal creepers, which the aborigines destroy in order to extract their sap. The production of the resin called *Dragons-blood* has already been attempted.

Animal products are:—*Ivory*, represented by the tusks of the elephant, which is always in great request, but the explorers appear never to have met the animal, nor the *Rhinoceros*, the horn of which is also an article of trade. The Ganguellas are the greatest producers of *wax*. Spiders and worms produce *silk*. The Marabout-bird yields *feathers*, sold in various markets. *Skins* of oxen and of wild beasts, such as leopards, panthers, lions, &c.

Lastly, the mineral products are:—*Iron* and *Brimstone*. In all the mountains and in the interior *Copper* is found, and, when cast, marked with the figure of a cross. Signs of coal exist. *Gold* occurs in the Lombije and other districts. *Silver* is found in Jinga (Dallango), Cambambe, &c. *Rock-Salt* is gathered in many places.

The history of Africa is as old as that of Europe, but excepting the northern portions nothing of it is known. All the races who had come into contact with the negro only subjugated him, and, slavery having been abolished even by European nations in comparatively recent times only, it is not to be wondered at that the hereditary terror and hatred which the negro entertained towards all men of a lighter complexion than his own has not yet disappeared. His physical and moral position will henceforth be modified by other influences than hitherto; let us hope that his future will be brighter than his past, and that he will in course of time become

civilized, although it must be admitted, that at least for the present the prospects of colonization are very scanty in tropical, and chimerical in Central Africa, where the life of Europeans is endangered by maladies and other dangers. There are, indeed, salubrious districts in the interior, and delightful large rivers, but when will they become navigable, and when will railroads or even common tracks connect the interior with the litoral and make European colonies possible which have not been attempted even in this country, although it affords much greater facilities of communication with temperate localities in the North-Western Provinces, in the Himalayas, the Nilgiris, &c., than will be possible in Africa even after a large influx of Europeans has taken place.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. III.—LANDED PROPRIETORSHIP, LAND-TENURES, AND THE VESTIGES OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT UNDER NATIVE RULE IN ORISSA.

"England will arrive at a true knowledge of India only by the concrete study of individual localities. A time for safe synthesis and theorising will come in due course, but meanwhile the most solid service which an Indian investigator can render, is a careful collection of facts."—*W. W. Hunter.*

A T a time when measures for the classification of land-tenures, definition of tenant rights and the establishment of a system of Local Self-Government are being warmly discussed by the public and the Press, an account of the past history, and the existing customs and conditions under which land is held, rent is paid, and village communities are managed, in districts not affected by modern ideas on the subject, will not be out of place. If example is better than precept, living instances must be more valuable than abstract theorems. The ground occupied by the subjects above indicated is no doubt a debatable one. Much may be said on either side. Big champions have appeared in the field; experienced Justices and able civilians have flourished launces of pointed logic and bright rhetoric; but, leaving abler controversialists to argue and fight over their respective lines, we would confine our task to a faithful narrative of facts, drawing such inferences as those facts alone may warrant, and making a distinction of rights of which a confusion alone is now made by the infusion of foreign ideas and foreign modes of thought.

We venture to state that in no other part of the Province of Bengal, not even Behar excepted, does the native system of land-tenure exist in its primitive type of integrity to the extent observable in Orissa. The feudal Barons, their compact territories, the patriarchal institutions, the village organization, vestiges of the landed militia, the village servants, and lastly, the most important class of people, the hereditary cultivators of the soil, have each a distinct existence in the Province. The landmarks are clear which the misrule of neither the Pathans, the Moguls nor the Marhattas, nor the levelling policy of the settlement under British officers in 1805, has yet been able wholly to obliterate. Generally speaking, the people of Orissa are ignorant of law. Any idea of change they religiously avoid. Their ignorance has helped them to adhere tenaciously to customs and traditions, to teach them to live in peace with, rather than in defiance of their ancient and cherished institutions. Foreign

has hardly been able to engraft one foreign literature of their indigenous institutions, of their agricultural terms. The Dalakoran, aricharaka, are titles yet held by public jwaras, or principalities of native chieftains. Entirely given way to such foreign terms as howkidar, or the Mandals, of districts where religious fabric, is at present in a state of gross customs and social institutions are fixtures every aspect of life, social, mental and external, India of the Hindu Period of history, unaffected by external influences. The fondness of the Uria habits distinct is observable even in his colloquial would scrupulously avoid borrowing a foreign access is his *Patha-kara*. The Provincial cess *ra*, and the distributory of the canal is expressed *ranâl*, or the arm of the canal. The Dandasi (man), the Pradhan (village headman), and the supervisor), are, with the Uria, living terms yet.

Unlike more mobile brethren, he shuns reformation, as reformation is perversion according to his estimate. This traditional habit and religious scrupulousness have enabled the Uria to keep himself beyond the influence of foreign regulations. Orissa, therefore, affords the best field for depicting the native institutions and for investigating the rights and interests developed by them.

Nowhere, again, in the province is the native system of land-tenures visible in greater integrity than within the Kihâjatas, or baronies, whose chieftains were virtually the sovereigns of their estates. "They paid a light tribute and were independent within their jurisdiction." (G. Toynbee's *History of Orissa*). The earliest investigators into the claims of these chieftains and their tenures have held that they were the military nobles of the ancient times, who established their principalities either by right of conquest or from grants from the Paramount Power. Their rights were admitted by the greatest of the Orissa monarchs, Ananga Bhuân (1175 A. D.), who divided the province into two parts, making half over to these chiefs, the officers of State, and to the men of the sacerdotal order, retaining the other half only as his royal domain. The territories of the feudal Lords are situated along the seaboard on the east, while those of the military fief-holders are on the mountainous regions on the western borders of the province. The Crown lands lay in the intermediate Deltaic plain; the former amounted to 19,000 square miles in extent, leaving 5,000 square miles only as the portion of the King. Eight of the principalities were situated on the sea-board, known

as the eight *Tālā-Gārhs*, or lower forts; in contradistinction to the hill forts or the military fiefs on the western borders: the latter served as break-waters to such waves of disturbance as could possibly approach from the savage, mountaineer tribes beyond the frontier. These estates were Killāhs Darpan, Sukinda and Modhupur.

The territories of the feudal Lord were Al, with Darabisi Keyanga, Kanika, Chedra, Patya, Hurishpur, Marichpur and Bishanpur. These estates, or Baronies, were held by their respective chieftains subject only to the payment of a small quit-rent and the rendering of certain military services. They were settled in perpetuity by the Board of Commissioners whose proceedings received the confirmation of the Governor-General by Regulation XII. of 1805. The Crown lands called "Mogul Bandi" at the time of the acquisition of the province by the present Government, were settled temporarily with persons in possession whose "land itself was held responsible for the payment of public revenue" (Sec. 2, Reg. XII of 1805.) No distinction was, however, made between the titles of the ancient chiefs, and the landholders or the managers of the Crown lands. In the confusion of rights which ensued from "the Bengal idea of proprietorship" in land, confirmed or created by the Regulation of the Decennial Settlement, these ancient chiefs, it may be noted here, were styled zemindars, equally with the managers of the "Mogul Bandi," or Crown lands, settled by Raja Todar Mul. Their responsibility, however, of furnishing guards and suppressing robberies within the Crown lands bordering on their respective territories was continued for a time. The tax called "Chaupani" or Māngon "Khāndāiti" which they were hitherto allowed to levy for the purpose being abolished and substituted for an "equivalent in money from Government" (Cl. 5, Sec. 4, Act XII of 1805.)

As instances of want of precision on the part of the revenue officers in 1805, we may state that the first three chiefs, i. e., those of Fort Darpan, Sukindi and Modhupur were granted sannads of appointment at the settlement of 1805, and to exchange agreements as ordinary zemindars. The chiefs of Killāhs Kujang, Kanika and Al, Harishpur and Marichpur, were permitted to execute *Ikarnamas*, which were documents of a political character, confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, while the revenue payable by them was styled *Peshkash*, or tribute. The Hurishpur and Bishanpur chiefs were not styled Rajahs in these engagements, although the documents were the same as those executed by the Rajahs of Kujanga and Kanika and Al. The last three were thus, in 1805, placed in a more independent and exalted position than the rest of the chiefs.* The status of these Rajahs has,

* Statistical account, Cuttack District, by W. W. Hunter.

however, been gradually levelled down to that of the ordinary zemindars by the course of the action adopted by public officers on the one hand, and the ignorant readiness with which the Rajahs themselves on the other, submitted to the altered process.

We find also no mention of three other states, Dompurá, Kalkala and Chedrá, in Reg. XII of 1805. The *Peshkas* of Chedrá was, however, settled in perpetuity. Kalkala was formerly included in Darpan, but, on the application of the owner, was separated from the parent estate. The Government Revenue of Dompurá was enhanced by the Commissioners at the settlement; but in April 1829, on a representation to the Board of Revenue, the Jama was reduced by the Governor-General in Council.

With the exception of the three estates in the Western borders of the district and two on the seaboard, the remaining six Gárs, or forts, mentioned in Reg. X, of 1805, have gradually passed away from the hands of their original owners, having been sold for family debts, or for default to pay the Government *Peshkash*. Dompurá, Sukinda and Modhupur on the west, and Al and Kanika on the eastern border of the district, still continue in the hands of the descendants of their original chieftains.

Darpan is held by a gentleman, the scion of an adventurous Brahmin, from Cashmere. Some of the most important of the talgarhs, such as Chedra and Kujang are owned by the zemindars of Bengal, those "great proprietors" who, to quote Dr. Hunter, live in luxuriant villas around Calcutta "and its adjacent districts, with mirror-covered walls and every latest luxury from London or Paris."

The proclamation embodied in Regulation XII. of 1805, regarding the settlement of the Province of Orissa, was, no doubt, based on the idea that lands in Orissa were held by a body of rent-collectors whose right in the soil was homogeneous. It was certainly the preconceived idea of the Calcutta Council "who were led to believe that the tenure of land in Orissa was the same as found in Bengal, previous to the date of the Decennial Settlement." As a matter of fact, however, the conditions on which land was held or owned in the two provinces could not be more different. Moderate in its demand, wise in its intentions, and ever anxious to promote the welfare of the people interested in agriculture, it cannot but be admitted that the Government of those days overlooked the licenses and the privileges of at least one class of proprietors throughout the country. The possessors of territories, estates, or lands, whether they were the ancient nobles, the feudal lords, the military fief-holders, or the officers or managers of fiscal divisions in the king's dominions, who amidst anarchy and misrule obtained a quasi-proprietory

right in land, had but one name—itself a foreign one—to bear, viz., the Zemindar. The Regulations mention no other title. The Maharajahs, the Rajahs, Dandapats, Samantas, Revenue administrators and petty grant holders, had but one name to stand by. The Maharajah of Al, the scion of the ancient sovereign, Mukund Deb, was classed in the same rank as the canongoe of Baliá, in the same way as the Rajahs of Doomraon, Bishenpur, Nagore and Chandra Darpee were grouped in the same revenue roll with the Canongoe of Jagpur and the farmers of Patashpur in the sister province. The recognition of their proprietary titles was all the compensation which the ancient nobles and barons of "the land, received equally with those land-managers" whose rights were thrust upon them at the revenue settlement, and stood at the time on a questionable official basis. The same revenue sale-law, the same rules for the management of the property of minors, the classification of landed property, held under very different titles in the same category, and the same procedure for settlement and survey of *Peshkash* and rent-paying estates reduced the one to the lower grade of the others. This was principally effected during periods when the public officers represented both the interests of Government, and the proprietors managed the *Peshkash* estates on the part of the Court of Wards.

A brief account of the history and the institution of one of these Rajwaras, or *Peshkash* estates, is necessary for the purpose of this article. We take up Kujang, as it is not only one of the most extensive and important of the Talgarhs, or lower forts of the Province, but because it has passed through many a vicissitude and different managements, until now, owned by by one of the wealthiest of the zemindars of Bengal. From the hands of its original chieftains it came to be managed by the Court of Wards; it came again to be managed by the Civil Court, until it was brought ultimately to the hammer, when the "Fort" was purchased by the Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur of Burdwan.

The nucleus of the present Raj of Kujang was originally confined to Dobas Garh which was situated in the seaboard of the Cuttack district, within the meshes of streams and the seclusion of the Orissa Sunderbuns close to the mouths of the Mahanadi, near False Point. The chieftains belonged to the military caste of Rajputs who spread their dominions in all directions when pressed by their Mahomedan conquerors in the north-western parts of the country. The authentic history of the Kujang Raj family commences from 1052 V. S., corresponding with 1641 A. D. From that year down to 1811 A. D. the estate

went on extending its limits, until the territories of eight other neighbouring forts were annexed to it, rendering it continuous with its existing boundaries. It comprised an area of 35,847 square miles or 2,29,366 acres. Of this about one hundred thousand acres, or less than one-half the total area, is cultivated, the remainder being occupied by rivers, jungle and prairies.

We have no account to tell how Dobas Garh was originally formed. The earliest history of the Kujanga Raj commences, as we have above stated, with 1641 A. D., in connexion with the incident which acquired for the family the surname of the "Sundo," or bull. About that year the Rajah of Dobas Gurh owned a Brahmini bull which grew savage and committed great devastations. The brute became a terror to the country, knocked down houses, killed numbers of the people, and destroyed so much of the crops that many of the tenants began to migrate. The Rajah, who was a Hindu Khetri, hearing of the devastation caused by the bull, and that numbers of people were leaving his territory, issued a proclamation that a fourth of the kingdom would be given to any one who would rid the country of the ferocious bull by driving him away without maiming or hurting him in any way. At this time one Mullick Samant, a relation of the Rajah, was staying on a visit at the Gurh and, hearing of the proclamation, offered to accept the terms. He insisted only that the terms be at first engraved on a copper-plate. This being done, on an appointed day, Mullick Samanta fought the bull naked and, unarmed. He is said to have taken the bull by the horns, and after twelve hours' wrestling, to have completely overpowered him, so that on being let off, he ran away, and ran away whenever any man approached him. The bull at last left the country.

Mullick Samanta thus got the one-fourth share of the kingdom, and, from the day of his instalment, was known by the surname of the Sand (bull) which has continued in the family up to this day. On the death of the Rajah of Dobas Gurh, Samanta Sand annexed the whole Raj. He reigned altogether 29 years, or down to the year 1074 V. S. The date of the fight with the bull may thus be put down as 1052 V. S.

His son, Sochendra Sondo Sand, reigned 21 years. His grandson, Damodor Sand, about the year 1113, fought with the chief of the Gokhas, or fisherman of Sen Bench, and added their *Bedi*, or Gurh, to his raj.

The next Raja, Bishumber Sanda, made great friendship with the Raja of Romita Gurh, but when he had found out his strength, fought, and killed him and annexed his Raj (1145.)

His son, Chhater Bhuj, employed himself in successive raids,

killing the Rajah of Kujanga Gurh, which, up to 1165, formed a separate principality, and annexing that estate to his own. He also fought the Rajah of Kankas Daya Gurh and another, and succeeded in taking the entire estate of the former and four villages of the latter. He died childless.

In 1184 Chhatter Bhuj's brother, Krishna Chunder Sanda, took the Raj, and reigned 21 years. He was a powerful man.

In 1205, when the next prince, Gangadhar, succeeded to the throne, the State of Kalladwipa on the seaboard was yet in existence. It stood, however, as a sort of Afghanistan between two large kingdoms. The Raja of Kanika on the one hand, and Kujanga on the other, entered into intrigues which ended in the demolition of the Raj, and its division among themselves, making the Pantia Pal river the boundary of their respective dominions. The Chakrakhandia thus became a portion of the Kujanga Raj.

About this time Gangadhar Sanda collected some 122 families of freebooters and settled them in Jaigeers, named *Bhuraree tenures*, of which more hereafter. These men were robbers, pure and simple, who went out to the neighbouring districts and out to sea in their long boats, manned, it is said, by 40 or 50 rowers, in their thievish and piratic excursions, and returned with their boats to be harboured by the Raja in secure forts within the Sunderbuns and creeks of the Mahanadi opposite Paradwipa. He also instituted the *Paikla Jagirs*, in which he settled some 300 families, the members of which formed his militia, who were bound to turn out at a moment's notice and be ready to fight. He also instituted the *Mati Paricha* (Sardari) jagirs, and the *Paik-rao* system, and gave them to the chiefs of his soldiers. By the help of these men he fought and killed the chiefs of Tikri, Ramchunderpur, Bidyadharpur and Garjanga, Boro Pât and Bara Bander, and annexed some 84 villages to his Raj. The glory of the Raj now reached its climax.

In 1803 A. D. (1219), his son, Chandra Dhajâ, was installed Raja. During Chandra Dhajâ's time, the Province of Orissa passed under British rule. Ignorant of the prowess of the British lion, and secure in his position among the meshes of the delta of the Mahanadi, the Rajah was detected in carrying on a correspondence with the Rajahs of Khurda and Kanika with a view of entering into a triple alliance against the British authority. When the three principal towns of Orissa (Cuttack, Puri and Balasore) were reduced, a detachment of the force was accordingly sent to Kujanga under Colonel Harcourt. The Rajah, hearing of the arrival of the force, fled from his fort. His elder brother, Bir Chandra, whom he kept in confinement in the fort of

Paradwipa, was released and seated on the throne. The Rajah was, however, shortly after captured and sent to the fort Barahati at Cuttack. His fort was also dismantled, and his cannon carried away to Cuttack. Among these were found two brass guns, nearly new, which bore the stamp of the Honourable East India and Company, and which must either have been found as a wreck, or captured by the Rajah's men in one of their excursions. (Toynbee's History of Orissa.)

Disturbances, however, continued in the Killa, as in other parts of the province, the Paiks of the estate forming a disturbing element for a period of years. At the insurrection of the Paiks of Khurda and Puri (1817-18) there was a general rising in the southern and eastern parts of the Province. The Paiks of the Kujang and Kanika estates took an important part, secretly encouraged by the Rajahs of those Killahs. To quote Mr. Toynbee, "their action, however, took more of the nature of various bands of dacoits, acting independently, than striving to rid themselves of a foreign yoke."

When the Khurda insurrection was quelled and the Rajah of Puri was made a captive, it was time to send a detachment of troops to Killa Kujanga. "On the 13th September 1817, Captain Kennet embarked with a small force on board of country boats at Cuttack, and, taking advantage of a high flood, reached Paradwipa the next day. The place was stockaded and strongly defended. His boats being clumsy and the current very strong, Captain Kennet deemed it advisable to run them ashore, and, disembarking, advanced against the stockade and took it by storm.

"A party under Lieutenant Forester pursued the rebels into the village, killed 15 of them and captured three 3-pounder guns which had been placed to defend the main approach. Two other parties under Captain Kennet and Lieutenant Wood also pursued the enemy in other directions, but, night coming on, most of them escaped into the dense jungles, of which that part of the country mainly consists. The troops bivouacked in the stockade during the night, and the Paiks kept up a desultory and random fire of arrows, which, however, happily did no harm. Next morning Captain Kennet marched with two companies against the village of Noagurh. The enemy kept up a random fire on the troops from their shelter in the jungles, but their march was not seriously impeded. All they found at Noagurh was a quantity of arrows, a few cannon, and three elephants. The Paiks had evacuated the place and fled to Kujanga. Captain Kennet then resolved to proceed to Perau, but as the intermediate country was in possession of the Paiks, it was necessary first to come to an action with them. This he succeeded in doing on the

19th September. Though numbering upwards of 2,000, and though greatly favoured by the nature of the country, they were completely routed. Two elephants and eight horses fell into the hands of the victors, and the Rajah, perceiving it hopeless to continue the struggle further, came in and gave himself up to Captain Kennet on the 2nd October. Partly by means of information given; and partly by stratagem, Narayan Furam Guru and Bamdeb Pât Josi, the chief leaders and instigators of the outbreak, were also taken prisoners and carried with the Rajah to Cuttack. The latter was imprisoned for one year in the fort, the former were both transported for life. Captain Kennet returned with the majority of the force, leaving Captain Sampson with a few troops to complete the pacification of the country."

When the Marhattas were finally expelled and peace and order restored in Orissa, the British authorities commenced constructing the revenue system which led to, among other things, an investigation into the rights of the landed aristocracy of the Province. It was found, at the settlement that the Rajah's revenue amounted to 14,011 Kahan Cowries only, for his extensive domain of 220,000 acres of land. The Cowrees were valued at Rs. 11,503-9-7, of which again Rs. 4,000 was remitted on the understanding that the Rajah would keep the embankments in proper order, and that no remission should ever be given to him in future on account of losses by flood or on any excuse whatever; the balance, therefore, Rs. 7,503-9-7 was fixed as the revenue in perpetuity.

At the settlement the Rajah was called upon to give a list of the villages and boundaries of his estate. In doing this the Rajah, with that timid and suspicious spirit which yet marks the Urya, purposely omitted 60 villages, fearing that he had actually more land than he had stated before the Settlement Officer, *viz.*, 22,000 acres. When the survey of the district was finished, this of course was detected, but it was then too late to claim them. The 60 villages were then farmed out as a separate estate, known as the "Satia Mouza" (60 villages), which is now owned by the heirs of the late Dwarika Nath Tagore of Calcutta, yielding a revenue of Rs. 14,000 per annum. From the year 1810-11 to 1867, six more Rajahs owned Kujanga. During the incumbency of one of these Princes, Rajah Janardan Sanda, in the year 1835, a terrific cyclone blew over the coast, and the sea came over the Killa, driving away thousand of the tenants and their cattle, totally destroying the crops for the year, and causing great damage to the fields when the salt evaporated.

In consequence of this total loss the Rajah had to borrow money to pay up his revenue. This was the commencement of the Kujanga Rajahs' debt, which they were never able to free

themselves from, and which gradually increased to upward of five lakhs of Rupees, until the estate was brought to the hammer.

In June 1867 the estate was attached under orders of the Civil Court, notwithstanding the sympathy of the Rajah's creditors for an ancient and respectable family. Bidyodhar Sanda found himself totally unable to extricate the Raj, and, the question was, how to command a bid, which, after payment to the *Mahajans*, would leave the Rajah a handsome balance. Capital was not forthcoming in all Orissa. None of the landlords, nor any of the princes of the Tributary Estates could be persuaded, or was able, to pay out such a sum as half a million of Rupees in purchasing the estate. The present writer then happened to be at Cuttack, and under his advice the Maharajah of Burdwan was induced to purchase the Raj, which was knocked down at Rupees 5,50,000. A strong feeling of sympathy certainly prevailed throughout Orissa for the fallen Raj. The Uria public talked of the purchase as another instance of usurpation on the part of the Bengali zemindar. Scalds were not wanting to sing of the fallen fate of the Sanda Rajah; but years of litigation failed to revoke the sale, or avert the doom. The Maharajah of Burdwan, on the other hand, took advice of his friends and very generously offered to grant a loan of Rs. 7,500, and to assign such an amount of pension as would enable Bidyadhar Sanda to live in ease in his own fort at Paradwipa. But the Rajah was in bad hands. Greedy people, whose ill-gotten gains had launched him into ruin, still impelled him to further depths. He sued the Maharajah of Burdwan and twice carried up his case to the Privy Council, where he lost his claim on both occasions. At last he instituted a civil suit to alienate the religious endowments from the revenue-paying portion of the Raj. The case lay pending in the court of the Sub-judge of Cuttack, the Rajah residing in Cuttack awaiting orders. In 1873 the Sub-judge gave the case against the Kujanga Rajah. As soon as the orders were passed, the Rajah started in his boat for Gurh Paradwipa; but the next morning he was found dead in his cabin at Bosepur lock in the Kendraparah canal. A diamond ring which the Rajah always wore, was missing, and it was said that he died by swallowing it; most probably he exchanged the ring through a servant for a dose of poison, as all hopes of recovering his estates were gone; and he would in a short time have been a wreck and a perfect pauper. The Rajah's fate is to be deplored. But it was merely the lot of a reckless family who never knew the proper use of wealth, and of a comparatively independent position which that wealth conferred. Let us hope better for the large population of this extensive estate, and "let us wish that the wealth and the public spirit of the noblemen into whose

hands it has passed, may invigorate a new life into these parts of Orissa.”—(*Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Cuttack*, p. 29).

We have given a detailed account of the Rajas of Fort Kujanga, to enable our readers to understand the process by which they acquired their property, the relation in which they stood to the sovereigns of Orissa and the neighbouring principalities, and the nature of their title, to which reference will be made hereafter.

“A careful study of Indian History leads to the support of the opinion, that India at a period long antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest, was divided into so many small estates, the owners of which possessed the rights and privileges of sovereigns.”* When valour and prowess raised a chief to the paramountcy of a province or the entire country, confederacies were formed. The feudal ones acknowledged the allegiance, and the King over all was turned into an Emperor by probably the same steps as King Frederick of Prussia has in our own days been acknowledged as the Emperor of Germany. India was too large a country to have been held continuously for centuries under a single sovereign, nor was a central Power, a strong national federation, possible, where provinces and districts were widely scattered without easy modes of communication, where Codes and Regulations and a uniform understanding were wanting, and resources which would command an efficient administration were difficult to organise. It was only in spasmodic periods of valour, in the era of a Yudhistira, or a Bikromaditya of Ujjain, that the entire continent could be held under one umbrella. The powerful paw of the British lion, which holds in one mighty grasp the Indian Empire, could not be expected in the olden times. India was thus necessarily split into a number of principalities, and their chiefs, whether they acquired their territories by the force of their own arms or by favour of the Paramount Power for the time, were not certainly the quasi-landholders, or revenue officers, who, by inheritance and recognition amid Mahomedan misrule and Marhatta disorganization, developed themselves into the zemindars of a subsequent period.

The Chiefs or Lords of the land had a compact territory; they enjoyed the privileges of sovereignty; were the judges and magistrates within their own States, and the *plenum dominium* was vested in them. Their estates lay beyond the boundaries of the Crown lands, and to the latter they either rendered services as occasion required, or paid a small tribute as the admission of a subordinate position, which owed allegiance to the Paramount Power for the time. The Rajah, or the hereditary Prince, was then the abstract owner of the land. “They succeeded by inheritance,

* Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas.

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exercised power of life and death within their lordships or jurisdiction, maintained forces, proportioned to their means, and paid, if any thing, only a light tribute, as their tenure was that of military service. They were rather, therefore, the Princes than proprietors in the European sense of the term, though of course they would not allow anybody to dispute the latter title with them."—*Sterling's Minute*, para 20).

The officers of the Sovereigns of Orissa, the zemindars of the Mogul Bund, or the Crown-lands of the Mahomedan period, were very different from the feudatory nobles. The former held the administration of the Royal Domain situated in the intermediate low alluvial tract. It was divided into a number of Bisis (Bisaya) and Khandas divisions, or fiscal circles, names which yet survive in the Parganas, such as Derahisi, Baluhisi or Lohakhanda and Kokuakhanda. These were administered by revenue-officers known as Bisorji or Khandadhipati—the "owner" of the estate or circle, or the collector of revenue, Chowdri, of the Mahomedan period, his chief accountant (Canongoe) and the chief swordsman (Khandal) who amidst the disorder of the Mahomedan and Marhatta rule, subdivided the territories under their charge and gradually developed themselves into landholders, which resulted in their recognition as the proprietors of the soil. The distribution between these two classes of landowners may be thus noted :

The ancient Rajahs were, during the Mahomedan period, described by Ferishta "Rajan, Zaminderan, as powerful and formidable chiefs, commanding troops and possessing forts, like the Barons of the middle ages"—(*Sterling's Minute*, para. 20). "They manifestly stand in a predicament widely different from that of other landholders, and I believe all are agreed in opinion as to the necessity of maintaining them where they exist, and the policy of cautiously avoiding any steps leading to their revival in cases where they may be out of possession, unless some very urgent reason exists for pursuing an opposite course"—(para, 21.)

The collectors of land-revenue, on the other hand, were the officers of Government, appointed to manage portions of the Royal Domain.

1. They had the right of collecting the Government revenue and were answerable for arrears.
2. Their profits arose from the extension of cultivation.
3. They had the privilege of selling or leasing the jungles or waste-lands, "Benger Kunj Juma."
4. They had a share of the sugar duties and certain taxes on trade and artisans, tithes on fisheries, pasture-grounds, gardens, woods, bamboo-jungles, and the plains called "Bena-bat," yielding the grass for thatching.

5. They were allowed ground for building "Khana-hori" and cultivated certain portions of their estate free of assessment for their subsistence called Khamar, "Nij Jote," or the Nonkar of the Talookdars.

6. Were jointly responsible with the Khandaits and village watchmen for the Police of the country.

7. They derived advantages from fines, forfeitures and bribes, with taxes on marriages so regularly taken under the Marhattas, as to have become an avowed impost in the revenue accounts.

8. During the Marhatta period the profits of the salt land were enjoyed exclusively by the proprietors.

The nature of the tenures of these collectors and managers of revenue may best be judged from the *sannads* they received from the Government and the engagements they entered into for the performance of their duties. Thus a *sannad* conferring a *Khandaiti*

Mahomed Shah
Padsha Ghazee
Fidvee Roostum Jung
Morshed Couiey
Khan Bahadoor.
110.

"It is necessary that he pay his *peshcash* with regularity to Government, never falling a dam or dirhem into balance; perform with zeal all duties attaching to his situation; attend the Foujdar of the above Thanahs with his contingent (*jameat*); protect the Pargunnahs of that quarter in such a way, that there remain no traces of theft and robbery; keep the ryots contented and prosperous, and abstain from levying unauthorized *abwabs*."

The engagement of the Khandait was worded as follows:—

"I do by my own full and free consent, declare that I will perform the duties of the above office with honesty and fidelity; I will behave towards the ryots in such a way as to keep them happy and contented; I will exert myself to the utmost in cultivating the Mouzahs attached to the above Killah, and the separate Mouzah specified, and pay the public dues without fail. It shall be my special care to guard against the occurrence of theft, dacoity and highway robbery; should those crimes at any time be committed, I will apprehend the robbers with the property stolen and bring them before the Foujdar. Whenever the Foujdar may have occasion to march against any rebellious and turbulent persons, I will join him with my *jameat* (contingent); I will never myself join with turbulent and rebellious zemindars, nor will I myself be guilty of disobedience. Should I ever violate the above conditions I shall

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be considered to have forfeited my zemindari. I will collect none of the prohibited *abwabs*. This is written as a Muchalka."

The Danda Patis, Bisorjis, Khand Patis, of the old Hindu period were changed into Talookdars, Canongoes and Chowdhries during the Mahomedan period. These terms came to be used in the Bengal Regulations indiscriminately without, we are afraid, any precise idea of the title they conferred on the holders. In Section 4, Regulation VIII of 1793, it is said :—" These settlements under certain restrictions and exceptions shall be concluded with the actual proprietors of the soil of whatever denominations, whether zemindars, talookdars or chowdhries."

" Nobody," observes Mr. Sterling, " ever supposed that the person called Canongoe by the Moguls was other than a mere servant of Government, though succeeding by regular inheritance to his office." Again :—" There is obviously no more reason to assume that the Chowdhries, or chiefs of Parganas, were the proprietors of the land comprised in them; than that the Canongoes, or Talookdars were; a conclusion from which most minds would probably revolt, however predisposed to see an absolute European landlord in every superior revenue manager connected hereditarily with the soil."

At the settlement of the province in 1805, these feudal nobles and fiscal officers were jumbled together in one class. The only distinction made at the time was the settlement of the permanent revenue on lands of the former, while the assessment of the estates of the latter were fixed for a time only. The latter was termed *Jemá*, the former *Peshkush*, or quit-rent only. Both classes of proprietors, however—the ancient hereditary princes, as well the holders of military fiefs—were equally deprived of their Magisterial and Police power, their licenses and privileges, until by a slow process of the law on the one hand and the imbecility and ignorance of the Rajah's themselves on the other, they have been levelled down to the rank of the ordinary zemindars of the later Mahomedan period.

II.

From the account of the hereditary princes and other landed proprietors in Orissa which we have given above, we turn to the classification of tenures held under various titles in their estates, and which may be noted as follows :—

[*Class 1.*—Rent-paying lands, which are sub-divided into three; 1 Thani, 2 Pahi, 3 Chandna. The Thani ryots are the hereditary occupiers of the soil and the residents of the village in which their tenure is situated, being members of the village corporate body, enjoying all the rights of the villagers. The word is the opposite of the Sanskrit "*Sthaniya*," or local. Besides other

privileges of the village men, such as the free use of the pastures, the Bena Bat or grass plains, and works of irrigation, &c. : the Thani ryots had formerly each an allowance of one mán, 18 ghoot of land within their respective tenures, which they held rent free. In return for this favour the holder was required to furnish labour for the purpose of repairing the village embankments, or do any other kind of work which the prince thought necessary for the general welfare of the tenants. Most of these lands have now been resumed by the Maharaja of Burdwan, and the *Betia* or labour system done away with. At the settlement of 1837 the rights of the resident cultivators were formally recognised by Government and secured to them by Leaf Pottas, or leases. Their strong love of home, however, enabled the landlord to enhance the rent of the holding to a much higher rate than was possible in the case of the Pahi or migrating rayats. Indeed, this system of rack-renting went so far, that the earlier settlement officers observed that the only check to the excesses of the landlord was apprehension of the depopulation of his estates by flight of his tenants. Exactions, however, seldom induced the Thani rayat to migrate; his love of home was strong; his advantages over the Pahi rayat were manifold. He had his home where he and his fathers had lived for ages, on a plot of Chándná exempted from rent. He had improved the lands which he knew to be his own; his classic groves and cultivated croft, his status and character among the village community in which he lived in heartfelt sympathy. Although he could not transfer his tenure, it had a high credit in the market, which enabled him to borrow largely from the village *Mahajan*.

"As far as fixed hereditary occupancy of the soil independent of the will of another can convey a title, the Thani rayat of Cuttack may be considered in some sort a proprietor of land." His rate of rent was liable to enhancement, but none would think of ejecting him so long as he paid the prescribed rent. His right was thus never precarious. The rate was increased only at the periodical settlement conducted by Government officers, and not at the will of the Zemindar, or under the conditions now prescribed by Section 17 of Act X of 1859. "According to the theory and admitted principles of the country" observes Mr. Stirling, "those rates could never be altered except on the occasion of a new general settlement undertaken by the Government, which would supersede the order of things at the preceding one." It was thus unnecessary for the zemindars to take any action for enhancement or to adopt steps for eviction. Indeed, no thought of evicting a hereditary tenant was ever entertained so long as he paid the enhanced rent assessed at each settlement, and so long as, we may

presume, the idea of an occupancy right and the law of limitation were unknown. In this view of the case it seems doubtful whether Section 17 of Act X, which enables proprietors to claim and obtain enhancement at times other than the general settlement, has been an advance on the old revenue system, or has conferred great benefit on the Thani tenants.

The Pahi rayat was a non-resident cultivator, native of a village other than that in which his tenure lay. Whatever might be the extent of his tenure or the amount of his rent, he was never admitted into the corporate rights of the village men. He had no right of occupancy and was subject to enhancement of rent. These once tenants-at-will have, however, acquired rights of occupancy since the enactment of Act X of 1859, and, what with the decay of the village corporate body, and the provisions of the existing law, the line of distinction between the two classes of rayats is gradually fading away.

Chândnā rayats are non-cultivators who hold the land on which their homes stand, and work as labourers and artisans.

Class II.—The history of the next class of tenures, which were service grants or Jagirs, gives an insight into the social state somewhat different from that which the Permanent Settlement has introduced into the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. It will be seen that men of almost every profession and art, from the Brahmins who officiated at religious ceremonies down to the woodcutter and washerman and the torch-bearers, had each an assignment of the village lands which they held generation after generation in lieu of wages for rendering either religious or temporal services to the village community. Wages were almost unknown, and the liberal spirit of the Hindu landed system becomes the more conspicuous when we proceed to notice the various rent-free tenures which were created for social purposes, or for objects tending to the convenience of the community.

(1). On the head of the list of service grants stands the "Māt Porichā" (supervisor of earthwork). This supervisor of the village works had an assignment of 10 to 20 acres of land.

His business was to see to the proper execution of the earthworks and embankments, and the collection of the *Betias*, or labourers who were bound to render service. The supervisor still holds about 350 acres of land in the Kujang estate, paying little or no revenue, and they are evidently the men whose services could be utilized under the local Boards now under contemplation.

(2). The next class of tenures are the Shasnams, or grants to Brahmins, who paid only a rupee as quit-rent for one Bati, or 6 acres of land, known as "Bati Tanke," and two to six cocoanuts per annum. The holders also annually subscribed and presented to the Rajah one gold cord, or sacred *Poita* a year, worth 50 to 60 rupees.

These Shasnam were the most flourishing villages in the District. They could be distinguished by the tall crests of the cocoanut trees which the Brahmins alone were privileged to plant, and by the neat dwellings within their boundaries amidst surrounding darkness and disorder. These Shasnam were the defences of Hinduism and the repositories of Sanskrit learning.

(3). The third kind of tenures under this class have two sub-divisions; they are generally known as the "Máfh," or land exempted from assessment.

The first is enjoyed by Karans, or men of the writer caste who pay only at half the ordinary rate of rent. The other kind of Máfh land is held by the Khasbas, or *Bhadralogs*, gentlemen who enjoy small grants, rent free. Some of these tenures have been lately reserved by the Moharaja, but some villages still hold out and pay no rent whatever.

(4). In the fourth class of Jagir lands are included all grants given to members of the village guild; retainers to the village servants, whose labour was in constant demand among the people. These servants were the *Bhandári*, or village barber, the washerman, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the village confectioner, the oilman, the weaver, the potter, the boatman, and the fisherman, the skinner and the cobbler, the basket-maker and *Paricha*, or the supervisor of the guildsmen, and, last of all, the Náik, or village astrologer.

The duties of some of these village servants, it may be interesting to note. The *Bhandári*, as the name signifies, was the general store-keeper on all occasions of public feasts, marriages and funeral ceremonies; he had charge of the stores of food and served as a barber on all the above occasions. He had also to render service at the Rajah's court for a certain time in the year, and was, moreover, the torch-bearer to benighted travellers. Each village barber keeps himself duly supplied with a store of oil and torch; it is amusing to note the punctuality with which he comes forward at the call of the watchman whenever an officer of Government or the Rajah is in need of his services, or passes by his village-fields overnight.

Apart from his legitimate duty of washing clothes, the village Dhobi is the woodcutter throughout the province. Whenever a tree is to be felled, or wood prepared for fuel, either for domestic purposes, or for festivals, or at the time of the obsequies of the dead, the washerman's service is in demand. Men of no other caste would profane their hands by holding the axe, any more than by adopting the profession of the skinner or cobbler.

Besides serving the village community each of these men were required to attend the servants of the Rajah or the Government officer when out in camp. For the due performance of these duties a Behera, or Chief, was appointed who enjoyed a separate Jagir

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he earnings of these village heads and village servants may be
oted as follows :—

Names of village servants.	Assignment of land in acres.	Services or contribution to the Rajah.
1. Poricha (Porichāraka)	10 to 22	x
2. Priests	10 to 100	x
3. Men of the writer-caste,	Remission of $\frac{1}{4}$ rent	$\frac{1}{4}$ rent.
4. Bhadrlogs, Khasbas	$\frac{1}{4}$ rent	Do.
5. Bhandari, or Barber	1 acre	8 annas per acre.
6. Dhobi, Washerman	Do.	Do.
7. Carpenter	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre land free and pice 5 for diet	Do.
8. Blacksmith	5 acres and food as wages	Do.
9. Confectioner	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre of homestead land	Do.
10. Oilman	$\frac{1}{4}$ Free wood from the jungles	Do.
11. Weaver	$\frac{1}{4}$ an acre	Do.
12. Potter	$\frac{1}{4}$ to one man and free wood from jungles to make pots	Do.
13. Fisherman	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre, 4 pice per day when catching fish	Do.
14. Gokha	$\frac{1}{4}$ a man	Do.
15. Chámmars	$\frac{1}{4}$ a man, 3 pice per day for food	Do.
16. Basket-maker	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ man	Do.
17. Khundit Behara, or Chief of the guildsmen	5 man	Do.
18. Náik, or astrologer	$\frac{1}{2}$ man	Do.
19. Watchman	Do.	Do.

Re. 1 per acre.
Supply *Handis* at all the festivities and to Rajah's servants and officers in camp for which they are paid a pice for each *kandii*.

Supplies each village Hát some fish at the three festivals held on the full moon day of Kártick and Pous, and the Sunya or the new year's day, and also to keep Ferry and supply boats.

Has to supply all the palm leaves required. Has to supply fire-wood at festivals, creepers for ropes, posts and rafters at the annual repairs of the Rajah's kitchen.

Has to supply palm leaves for the records which are still used in lieu of paper, and make mats. Supply baskets at festivals.

As none of the above men know how to read and write, a supervisor has to be appointed to write out the necessary orders and keep accounts with them.

Prepares the Almanacs, and is the fortune-teller.

Records births and deaths and is writer of Horoscopes.

Area of the smallest Jagir tenure 1 Bigha.

Do. largest Jagir 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bigha.

Class III.—Besides the service land, we have in the rent class the regular rent-free, or *Lakhiraj* tenure, such as Debottar, Brahmottar, Baishn'ab Britti, Jogi Britti and Pirottar, the extent of which ranges from 1 to 500, and in some cases to 1,000 acres of land. (Already much land has been lost, as cases have been summarily decreed, as rent-free.)

Foremost among these grants are the endowments assigned to the Thakur Baladevjee of Kendrapara, who has two entire villages, with plots of land in a number of others, yielding altogether a rent of 884 rupees per annum. Lands were also given in free gifts to poets, musicians, and even the jugglers who contributed to the amusements of the Rajah; and the question of assessing rent on these lands is now submitted to the decision of our Courts. The grantees have the prescriptive right, while the landlord pleads the abolition of the services for which the grants were originally made.

IV. Apart from land-rent there were three kinds of taxes or cesses imposed,—the fourth and the last source of the Rajah's revenue:—

(a). The first of these was called the *Patki-jummá*, or Trade-tax. Thus the smiths pay a tax of 8 annas on each bellows, really the bamboo handle attached to leather hood, or *Phaniká*.

(b). The second was the *Mahis Nejuri*, a tax of 4 annas for every buffalo in milk that is allowed to graze in the sand hills or jungles on the seashore.

Jhar Kharida, or purchase of bush. Each rayat pays 1 to 2 annas per annum for the right to bring from the jungle any wood for posts for his house, and also lathis and creepers for thatching. Besides making free grants, the Rajah exercised the privilege of conferring titles for meritorious services on every class of his people, extending from his Beborta, or his minister, to the lowest huntsman and coral fisher, or the artful juggler.

From the sketch we have given above, it will be seen that the conditions of the rent-paying and rent-free class of tenants in the estate were widely different. While the superstition or the whims of a mind not fairly balanced left a large class of men in sufficient ease and affluence, the pressure of rent fell heavily in the really useful class of agriculturists, whose business-habits and liabilities prevented them from adopting an idle profession. Indeed, the bounties of the Rajahs were so great, that the present manager of Kujang writes, that the extent of the rent from grants must equal half the cultivated area of the Killa, and the more inquiry is made, the existence of more such tenures crops up to notice. Nor was the general management of the revenue department quite satisfactory. Every

village was made over to a Jamadar under a short lease, or *outbati* system; answering to the thikadars of Bihar, who at every successive settlement, at the end of three years, offered an enhanced amount of rent for the entire village with the evident intention of recouping himself by rack-renting the poor tenants. These farmers were not generally the well working *Prodhans*, or heads of villages, but, as has been truly observed by one of our settlement officers, "a duplicate set of oppressive zemindars." Nevertheless, amidst a good deal of disorder and exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the ruling chieftain, the convenience of the people and the preservation of the village government formed a subject of careful consideration. A spirit of trading industry was almost unknown. There was much apathy in developing the resources of the land to their fullest extent. Locomotion and communication little understood, migration was equally unknown. Village life consisted in satisfying the more urgent necessities of nature, in raising food-grains, building huts, attending religious ceremonies and husbanding the resources of agriculture, so as to live independently of the market. Division of labour, except in the cases where the rules of religion imposed particular occupations on particular castes, was hardly adopted. Tradition and scrupulous superstition drew a hard-and-fast line between men of different trades, or village guilds, and a spirit of mutual dependence was thus generated. Alongside of the agriculturists, it was necessary, therefore, to unite the artizans and the village servants together for the disposal of questions, religious and social, as well for the decision of temporal rights. The retention of an establishment of priests, Punchayats and their executive subordinates, extending down to the barber, the Kela, or digger, the sweeper and the watchman, was found equally urgent. Within these well defined rural limits the agriculturist, with the artizans, tradesmen and village officials, formed a corporate entity which had little interest in the concerns of the outside world. The wants of life were few, and a bazaar, or even a shop in the village for the supply of provisions, was a rare sight. But for the ceremonials and festivals established by an elaborate system of religion, the villagers' life was uneventful. Every thing was home-spun, the people generally lived from hand to mouth, employed in agricultural affairs, or broils connected with questions of caste and religion. The conservation of the village corporation and the social and religious fabric were, however, subjects of the foremost importance. The authority of the village priest, the village Punchayat and the village supervisor was great. The first two were selected village men, the latter was an official

supported by grants of land and the representative of the feudal Chieftain. Innumerable questions were submitted to the council of the village heads for consideration and decision. This jurisdiction was co-extensive with the social and religious grievances of the village community. The execution of works of public utility, the clearing of water courses and channels of irrigation, the construction of grain *Bheris*, or embankments; village sanitation and repairs of the village temple at the expense, and with the aid, of the villagers, were the first items of duty. Next to these, the disposal of social questions arising out of marriage, offences against the rules of castes, ranging from abduction and illicit intercourse of the sexes down to the profane touch of the Paria, and other petty disputes, fell within the jurisdiction of the village council. In short, the members transacted all matters tending to the common welfare or amusement. The provision of funds and their administration for the above purposes were also entrusted to the village heads; nor were funds wanted when the raising of subscriptions under the various names of Mathot, Magap, Chand, rested in the hands of these village elders. Indeed, no marriage took place, no common or petty offence was detected, no party disputes were reconciled, no caste question was decided, which did not add to the village funds. These institutions, indeed, were founded on the suffrage of the entire nation; and therefore retained an element of stability and vitality which survived the commotions of ages. The Hindu sovereigns of Orissa were overturned by the Pathans, the Moguls turned out the Pathans, and were in their turn turned out by the Marhattas. Each set of sovereigns had their own polity and code of regulations, but they no more touched or disturbed these village institutions than the roar of the sea disturbs the sleep of the young eagle in the solitude of its native mountain.

It was left, however, to existing regulations, to Land Settlements, Rent Laws, Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, to give a rude shock to these ancient and useful institutions. We will trace their decay step by step. The land-revenue settlement of the Cuttack District absolved the zemindars from all police and administrative duties. The smallest exercise of the latter functions came to be watched with jealousy and visited with severe punishment. From the heads of the social fabric the landlords dwindled to mere rent-collectors, and all institutions which flourished and lived with their permission and their authority, commenced, from the earliest days of British rule, to fall and fade away. The public servants and the humblest police assumed the functions of the village heads and threatened the members of the village, *Bhalo Manushya* (good men as the umpires were styled), with penal consequences if detected in the legitimate exercise of their duties sanctioned

by prescription and age. It has been already stated here that the chieftains of the Killajat, termed Rajas at the settlements, in time became ordinary zemindars; their functions were curtailed, and, bereft of all other sources of income, they made it a point to increase their revenue by the gradual absorption of the service lands which supported the village servants. Some, indeed, and the most necessary ones, yet survive, but others have vanished, and large areas of land, which properly belonged to the public, have been turned into private property of the Zemindar here as elsewhere throughout the country. The loss in this respect to the public, and ultimately to Government, has been irreparable. The social and official influence of the village heads and the village Panchayats has disappeared. Their power of raising funds even for the most beneficial purposes has been challenged and gradually set at naught. Zealous public servants, more anxious to foster their own authority than promote the public wealth, treated every attempt at a village organisation with severity and hardship; one had to raise the cant of "illegal cess" to command the sympathy of the local authority, until, however, in the course of time, in some instances, these cesses have been legalised, though raised by a different and more costly agency, yet for precisely the same objects as ever. In the meantime, however, the resumption of the service land, the abolition of the posts of village officials, and the fear of the law, have completely disorganized the village institutions. No doubt, in one way, it has tended to great good. A wise code of laws and administrative vigour have tended to the growth of individual rights. Exactions at the hands of the landlord and village managers have decreased, and the rayat has learnt to know his rights and is learning to hold them firmly. But at the same time the decay of corporate rights has resulted in some evil to the country generally. It can hardly be denied that great care for the individual has led to the decline of a public body whose function, on the whole, was beneficial to the general community. It could be invoked by the poorest rayat at the smallest cost. Under the existing system a more expensive mode of litigation has, however, become the general fashion. We congratulate ourselves annually on the growing elasticity of the public revenues, on the increased proceeds of the Judicial Stamp duty, increased profits of Jail industry, increased receipts of Judicial fines and deposits. But do not these increased receipts represent largely outlay from the funds of the village agriculturists? Do not the receipts under each of the above heads at times absorb the savings of entire classes and entire villages engaged in litigation, or carrying on actions at law? All the penalties which the village heads ever hoped to collect, all the

illegal cesses or *awabs* which the zemindars could ever aspire to extort, all the contributions which the village Panchayats ever dared to levy for village purposes, were lighter in the scale than what the rayat now pays to obtain redress and squanders in litigation. The amounts representing the so-called exactions of the village authorities were within a short space of time redistributed in the locality where the money was realized. The contributions to the stamp revenue and judicial fines, stream into the ocean of the Imperial treasury, whence the opposite current is not quick to flow out to the locality which contributes it. The formation of funds for purely local purposes would thus be a boon to the village men: in Orissa the justice of the British Raj is universally respected; but its elaborate and expensive system of Judicature is unfavorably contrasted with the cheaper indigenous institutions of old. The revival of the latter under a cheap controlling agency would no doubt recommend itself to the circumstances or the poor people of Orissa. The fashion of running to court on the most trifling causes has marred the old spirit of fellow-feeling and sympathy among the village men. The functions of the village heads and supervisors have ceased, and what has been the effect? All works of public utility have suffered; old village roads have been effaced, or overgrown with jungle, village embankments, have been gradually washed down, water channels filled in, tanks have become choked with moss and weeds, area of pasture-land has diminished, cattle have deteriorated, and the state of village sanitation has throughout the province become unsatisfactory. The amusements of the people also, which tended to ward off the gloom of rural life, have suffered from the decay of the influence of the corporate body which formerly provided the necessary funds. The promotion of the local boards and the local unions would thus be a very wholesome, as well as a timely measure. The laws on the subject would merely necessitate institutions which were permitted to fall into decay because their utility was never before properly enquired into. When these proposed Local Boards are formed, it may be found that the local rates which had the sanction of custom and were quietly levied, were not so obnoxious in their objects as has been hitherto supposed. They have, as occasion required, received the sanction of Government in somewhat different garbs, as there was a measure of wisdom in these humble indigenous institutions which went for a long time unrecognised. Nor is this to be wondered at: we live under the auspices of legislators whose measures, as has been shrewdly observed, are never above the necessity of revision. Whether from want of forethought, or leniency towards their own cherished ideas, or reluctance to grasp at vexed questions, or from the mere

love of change, or say desire of progress, their legislative measures change with a speed which keeps pace only with their advanced modes of locomotion. Our Legislative Council is a standing committee of change, whose aim seems to be to thrust on the country new codes with the best of objects, but with little consideration for the old and hallowed institutions which they are made to supersede or the influence which they are likely to exert over native society. Errors have not therefore been unfrequent, or their acknowledgment less so. The amended Acts are numerous and as speedily introduced as the original codes are hurriedly passed. But great minds are open to conviction, and we feel assured that, should our legislators stoop to enquire into the efficacy of the indigenous measures and existing native institutions, they might be satisfied, in many instances, that practical wisdom is not the monopoly of any particular nation. It would be well, therefore, if the efficacy of existing institutions were properly weighed before they are condemned one day as sources of irremediable evil, to be hailed back at another time in a new garb, as measures of great and original reform.

Much anxiety, indeed, has ever been felt to improve the condition of the rayat, to protect him from exactions and to confer on him fresh privileges; but what has been the effect of the rent-law, of the occupancy and tenancy rights, as compared with the old revenue system of the country? While the law has conferred new rights on the tenants, his sense of security in the tenure has suffered. Very unfortunately, mutual good understanding between the landlord and the tenant in the country has declined. Rayats, indeed, have partly prospered everywhere in the country, but this is owing to those influences under which the country is generally advancing, rather than to the definition of tenant-right, or the grant of privileges by the rent-law alone. The landlords have exercised more actively of late the rights to evict and to enhance rent, than was the case when the right of occupancy rested on custom and not legislative enactment. They have also grown more exacting and uncompromising in realising rent now than when there was no law of limitation of three years. The relief, indeed, given by Act X of 1859, has been considered so small and unsatisfactory, that it is now intended to enact laws aiming at the opposite extreme, and tending virtually to transfer rights hitherto vested in the proprietors. It is certainly the duty of the ruling power to enact rules, to encourage rayats to industry, and secure them in the fruits of that industry. But the great question to be solved is, should these objects be attained by the total extinction of the existing rights of any other class of men, or should these be so qualified as not to

over-step the bounds which divide the use of privileges from their abuse. Amidst discord and disputes regarding the rate of rent and its collection, the one idea in former times, equally entertained by landlords and tenants, was that their best interests in the long run were identical. Has the tendency of the rent laws been to strengthen that belief or to create a spirit of jealousy, if not of opposition, between the two classes? More tenancy rights have immersed the people in more debt. They have benefited the money-lender more than those for whom they were intended, for privileges can benefit those only who know how to use them.

The general indebtedness of the rayats has been urged as a reason for extending to him greater protection. The reform of the rent-law of the country has thus been suggested as a way of rendering the rayat independent of the landlord. But how did this indebtedness arise? For the purposes of agricultural operations the rayat wants money as much as the showers of heaven. Generally speaking, his holding is large enough for his support only in ordinary years. Little is left to him for laying by a provision for a rainy day. In this country, where a good outturn of crops depends on the chances of the seasons, where the payment of rent or the provision of food is facilitated, or not, as the clouds may melt at a particular season or not, when help has to be taken of a capitalist on marriage as well as funeral occasions, on the occurrence of a cyclone, or a destructive fire, during a season of disease or cattle-plague, or one of extraordinary drought or extraordinary flood, sympathy and co-operation between the landlord, as the local capitalist, and the rayat, is a matter of the greatest importance. So long as the last grains of such a good feeling remained, enhancement of rent and eviction were never thought of, but as the exceptional punishment for insubordination or systematic refusal of payment of rent. The Zemindar thought it as much his duty to advance seed-grain, supply funds for purchase of agricultural implements and cattle, and take all other steps for the conduct of agricultural operations and to prove the guardian of the people, as to support his own family. The rayat had, indeed, to pay back the advances he took with interest, and with large interest, to the Zemindar. But the convenience of the tenant and the prosperity of the season were consulted. There was no hurry, no fear of lapses, or of the law of limitation to hasten an adjustment. Nor were there any court fees, lawyers' fees, registration fees, or commissions to pay. There was, indeed, a chronic burden to bear. Has it been made light, however, by the recent laws, or have the latter merely conjured up a duplicate set of oppressions? "We have found," said the Famine Commission, "no reason to believe that

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the agricultural population of India have at any known period of History been generally free from debt." "The recourse of zemindars and cultivators to money-lenders has the effect of diverting much of the rental fund from the proprietors to usurers, and Government has thereby lost a serious amount of revenue." It was then a convenient and safe system of banking when the landlord and the *Mahajan* happened to be same individual. The rate of interest on arrears of rent was smaller than that charged by the money-lender, and was therefore no less advantageous to the rayat than to the Zemindar. So far as Orissa is concerned, great changes have come over those relations. On the 23rd May 1817, in a letter to the Board of Revenue, Mr. Collector Trowser wrote, "The country has decayed ever since the Marhatta conquest; under the Moguls it was happy and prosperous. Our first assessment exceeded even the collection of the Marhattas by a lakh of rupes, to say nothing of other taxation and *Salami*, &c., to the Amlá at each new settlement." At the same time the revenue sale law was put into force with great rigidity, so that between the years 1805 and 1818-9 no less than 1,129 estates, bearing a jama of Rupees 965,958, were sold for arrears. Many of those estates were sold more than once in the same year. One was even sold seven times in four years, one six times in the same period, another three times in three years, and a fourth four times in five years. Another officer wrote: "Public sales, instead of being the last resort, had in Orissa been the first and only one. The practice of issuing written demands for arrears of revenue fell into disuse at a very early period." "These measures ruined the old Uriya zemindars and transferred their lands to absentee Bengali zemindars and the Amlá of the Courts." The zemindar, as the local capitalist, thus became extinct, and the rayat was thrown on the mercy of a new class of village *Mahajans*, or money-lenders, whose practice has proved "fatal to all successful agricultural enterprise" throughout the country. In another important respect also the Government itself receded from the people. It has ceased to make advances which "had formed an integral part of the Imperial Revenue system." The zemindars have, in their turn, followed the example of Government. Tucavi advances have fallen into disuse. The *Mahajan's* rate of interest has thus disproportionately increased, and no wonder that the borrowing portion of the people of Orissa have taken rank among those "individuals or classes who have fallen into deeper embarrassment than was common under the native dynasties which preceded it." On what measures, then, does the emancipation of the rayats depend? Not merely on tenancy titles, occupancy rights, or transferability of holdings, but on conditions entirely different: ability to make head against the reverses of the seasons and freedom from indebtedness.

Ignorant and poor, the rayat cannot also be expected at present to make head against intelligence and wealth. Under present circumstances no fighting will avail. You may enfranchise the rayat from the hold of the Zemindar, but how do you mean to save him from the casualties of the seasons or from the clutches of the *Mahajan*? The prosperity of the people must depend more on the strength and well-regulated conduct of its individual members than the privileges conferred on it by the Legislature. We must hesitate to create rights and grant privileges which cannot be used to advantage, but would merely tend to open sores and create jealousy between classes among which a spirit of sympathy is most desirable. The condition of the people can not be suddenly and adequately raised by mere legislative acts or administrative vigilance. We should at the same time attempt to uplift the load of ignorance which the mass of the Uriya people have been for years sadly groaning under. In no other part of the country are the wants of education more urgent. Dispel the darkness of their provoking ignorance, teach them a knowledge of their own rights, and the Uriyas will not only use their rights for their own good, but rebuild the revenue system of the country on the broad basis of knowledge. The Government, indeed, is so sensible of the weakness of the tenant, that the provisions of the proposed rent bill appear to have been drafted more with a view to its introduction among idiots, minors and wards than among agents that are free—(*Vide* sections 59 and 60, *et seq.* of the Tenancy Bill.)

In the relation of landlord and tenant scarcely any friction is observed in Orissa; the existing rent-law gives ample protection to all classes. The province has fortunately very minute records of tenures and tenant-rights prepared at each successive settlement of the land-revenue after elaborate investigation. Every field has its number and class in the village field book. The village accountant, or Patwari's papers of classification and collection, are filed at the district offices year after year. It has also a local agency in the Purgannah,—Canongoes, who are daily engaged in taking notes of agricultural prospects and operations and embodying agricultural statistics which materially help the revenue officers in the disposal of questions regarding land and rent.

The right of occupancy and the right of enhancement have not placed the tenantry on a precarious footing. The difficulty experienced in finding the local measure of land or the local rate of rent, in classifying the different descriptions of land and in deciding what would be a fair and equitable rate in claims of enhancement, which have exercised the minds of the judges in Bengal, and is said to have established the necessity for amending the rent-law, is not felt in Orissa. These difficulties can be experienced in

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Districts only where a most important duty was originally neglected or delegated to the proprietors, *viz.*, the record of the rights of the tenants. They require, however, that the existing rights should be ascertained and recorded, rather than new rights created, or existing ones extinguished, or indigenous ideas regarding property and existing customs ignored. A reform in the usury law, the establishment of agricultural banks, or loan offices, the restoration of the local system of Tucavi advances for agricultural operations, are probably more urgently wanted than amendments in the existing rent-law. A tenancy bill to disturb existing relations, without adequate provisions to extricate the rayat from chronic indebtedness, would not alone, under present circumstances, secure freedom to the rayat.

C. S. B.

ART. IV.—TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.

I.

Solidarity and Continuity.

M. COMTE rests his system of universal morality virtually upon certain simple ideas conveyed by the two words *Solidarity and Continuity*. The one represents that feature of man's social life which puts together the varied experiences of different men in any given unit of time as a net result of many forces, *i. e.*, in the form of a general consensus, or like many rays of light brought into a common focus. Continuity suggests what follows, when this consensus is viewed as carried forward in the course of time. It serves, as it were, to project the successive pictures of each unit of time, upon the same spot in the mental background, and yields at last something like a polyorama, representing what is especially the HUMAN at once in the past, the present, and the future. There is between man and man a divergence as well as a convergence, but the aggregate result thereof, whether by addition or by subtraction, is fairly proved to be definite, by facts showing the historic truth of men's collective existence. And the sum of a series of such aggregates, each confined to a certain space of time, though far from being wholly true of every one, must still be generally true of all of the elements which may have been brought together.

The doctrine, broad as I believe it to be, may thus be presented as a simple truism: That which is common to a given number of phenomena, is true of them all. That which is true of all, is true of each. Exceptions certainly there must be; but for purposes of generalisation, as well as for regulating our activity, they may be put aside. It is only necessary to understand the process by which the aggregate is made up, and the totality will present a distinct image.

Modern Science takes facts as they are; assumes a kind of fixity in phenomena, and as apart from the observation thereof, and, taking the phenomena variously, as observed at different points and successive moments. Science, strikes a sum-total, and in doing so fairly eliminates what may have been peculiar to each observer. Man now distrusts himself more than he does the outer world, and we therefore compare notes as between one observer and another. And thus, where the notes coincide, a safe basis is obtained for our mutual guidance in spite of the impossibility of knowing *the absolute*.

What is acceptable to one is tested by the experience of another. And the same process is also applied to successive experiences of each and of all. And the result obtained is what we call man's wisdom: an aggregate not of absolute truths, but of opinions accepted by the *soi-disant* ALL.

Each man's observation, however, to be made broad enough, must be extended as far as human thought can reach. And, in fact, our memory generally helps us to project upon the same background, the successive experiences of our own lives. The skill of the operator, indeed, is taxed not a little, in arranging the relative proportions of the various images brought together in this mental polyorama; but the collocation assumedly effected by the same agent is a phenomenon no less substantial than each of the distinct experiences put together; for the integral character of a whole life's experience is not now called in question, the man's mental identity being inferred from his physical individualism. Such, then, are our ultimate units.

But between one individual and another the separation is wider and oftener perceived to be such. Hence that which pleases one man in the rose, needs to be carefully compared with the source of another man's gratification in or about the same object. Here, as it were, the screen on which the image has to be projected is itself uncertain, and the size and proportion of each focus, as well as the portion of the screen occupied by each and all of them are all sources of the utmost perplexity.

However, the gulf between one individual and another has been bridged, and the units are massed even from day to day, and all by that most wonderful of all our inventions—LANGUAGE. Moreover, commercial intercourse promises to furnish means to bring into a still more complex focus all the languages of the world. Imperfect as this contrivance (a common language) may be, there can be no question that it imparts a powerful vitality to the solidarity of men; but this growing solidarity arising from different languages interpreting one into another, collects the continuity of each nation into a common whole of which the vastness is enough to gratify all the normal requirements of human contemplation and meditation.

After all, then, solidarity and continuity respectively represent only the language and the history of mankind. Language, when regarded not as the instrument but as the product of human utterance, masses into an audible and visible whole those super-spiritual entities, the thoughts and feelings of the human being; history collects these varied masses for sociology to systematize into science, and sociology leads quietly on to the science of morals.

2. But let us for one moment try to forget the gigantic power that we now wield with these two grand heritages from the past. Let us forget how man can thus penetrate into the mind of man, and how individual men may be leavened together into one uniform mass. Let us forget, too, that the records of one age furnish, with those of another, the materials for an induction which must effectively resist all scepticism in any questions of prime necessity to man. And let us then try to discover a means which, however feeble, when compared with our present possessions, would somehow gratify our craving for the ethical products derivable from language and history. The idea is obviously bewildering. But let us ply our imagination a little even in dull prose.

Our first requisite is, that the soul of one being should penetrate into the body of another, and that this should be done otherwise than by language. Now, if John may not by language pass into the soul of James so as to move James' body, as if it were his own, we shall suppose him by some supernatural agency to effect the entrance, and thus attain the wished-for end. Thus we will assume, James comes to think and feel as John had done, except in so far as the body out of which John had passed happened to yield experiences peculiar to himself. If, originally, James was white and John black, the transformation would require James' soul to get accustomed to the black complexion of John as his own. Such special experiences, however, of John or James may be easily left out of account as foreign to either. And the result of the process adverted to, will be a mass of experience common to John and James both.

Our next requisite is, that the experiences of one age should be added to those of another. History is the modern means to attain this end. An allied instrument may also be traced in the doctrine of heredity. For just as a nation's character is depicted by the aggregate of what is traced in its history, from year to year, so the life of each individual is understood to contain in itself the habits of all his ancestors. But we have given up history, as if it were unavailable, and heredity is, after all, too feeble to gather the nice and varied experiences of the past to the extent we require. So we shall suppose that the same human soul has the power to occupy one body after another, as they are successively cast out in the course of natural death. The experiences of successive existences would thus live, though the material receptacles which held them from time to time had been reduced into atoms, and the memory of those experiences might revive at some stage or other, though it had undergone an indefinite period of hybernation.

To sum up: let us suppose that the soul can pass from one body into another, and collect, of and in itself, the varied experiences, such

as would be yielded by different people and in successive generations, and we shall conceive of an instrument which would serve us well enough instead of language and history both. The acquisition of such an instrument may be as hopeless as the philosopher's-stone or elixir vitæ. But the conception is clear and precise enough. And there is no doubt that the ends of solidarity and continuity could be attained, and by a royal road too, with the help of the hypothetical process above described. Nothing could so enable us to wind ourselves into one another and produce a solid consensus, nothing so to carry us from age to age in order to yield a ripe philosophy as this supposed supernal means, binding as it were, all sorts of beings, and removing the cold obstruction of death itself. I say, all sorts of beings, for the process would apply equally to man, beast, or even inert matter, being independent of all such human instruments of acquiring wisdom as speech, language or history.

3. Where is the good of such a ludicrously impossible conception? The good of it is, that such a conception is a historical fact, and, therefore, useful for the very ends of man's solidarity and continuity.

The Hindus have a department of literature known by the name of "Yog Philosophy," which might be better called Yog mysteries, and adepts in the art were believed to be able to leave their own bodies and pass into those of others. "When a Yogi knows the process . . . he can enter . . . into the body of another, whether it be dead or alive . . . And the Yogi who has entered another body uses it as his own." *

These mysteries have fallen into decadence for reasons which may be diversely described by friends and opponents as natural growth of wisdom, or as fading popularity and extinction of teachers. But, whether as part of them, or as an independent product of the human mind, another doctrine exists, and is implicitly accepted by a considerable portion of the human population. I allude to the doctrine of transmigration.

4. Transmigration is generally regarded by several Asiatic peoples, as distinct from the processes of Yog mysteries. In the one case, the soul passes from one body to another after death, the common fate of men, and in the other, the effects of death can be counteracted at the will of the Yogi. But for collecting into one mass the experiences of different beings and times, both the conceptions are pretty much on a par.

[This doctrine viewed barely as a subjective construction has, however, had a remarkable influence in the education of the

* Dr. R. Mitra's *Patanjali*, p. 152.

Indian mind. It comports at once with the Buddhist doctrine that it is nothingness alone which exists, and with the pantheism of the Hindu and the Buddhists, that the grandest and the sole existent being is the ALL. It comports with a belief in the dogma that cause is অন্যথা নিদ্ধিশূন্য নিয়তা পূর্ববর্তিতা i.e., uniform antecedence (effectuation in any other manner being absent), as well as with the belief in the existence of innumerable orders of imaginary beings possessing extra-human powers, such as the Devas, the Gandharvas, Yak'has, Kinnaras, and even the speaking monkeys, and so forth. It is acceptable as much to the fatalist or the evolutionist, as to the man who believes in astrology and refuses to assume the personal identity of the individual. It is consistent at once with the convictions of the self-immolating *Sati* (Hindu widow) and Gymnosophist, the mysterious Yogi, the Tantric debauchee and the ecstatic Vishnuvite. It is vigorously endorsed by the apparently inert mind of the Hindu woman and proletary; and it would not be rejected by the transcendental and accomplished professor who claims to look upon the religion of Humanity as a chapter of Tantric Philosophy.

5. I have endeavoured only to draw attention to this doctrine, but I do not venture to substantiate that, between the elements which make up the doctrine of solidarity and continuity on the one hand, and those which have gone to build up this Hindu conception, on the other, the wide discrepancy has to be accounted for by what in Comte's system is set forth under the hierarchy of the sciences. But what shall we say of the primitive people of India who also sought to establish their ethics apart from revelation and theology upon a merely subjective construction, and one which could at one time serve so well as a substitute for both cosmology and sociology,—a people with whom such an elaborate and well considered fiction as the theory of transmigration could grow to be regarded as objective truth?

II. Transmigration in relation to development of Bodhi knowledge.

1. "The merits of a Tathagata (Buddhist saint) are that he is perfectly enlightened, learned, well conducted, well bestowed that he is perfectly conversant with the ways of men, he is without a superior, he has a complete control over the senses." This we learn from the valuable book recently brought out by Dr. R. Mitra, entitled *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (see p. 208.) Elsewhere we read as follows:—"When the Lord was on the C dhrakuta hill, Maudgalyayana, son of Sari, vanished like a when the fuel had been burnt out. The Bhikshus (mendicant Buddhists) asked the Lord if this was his final deliverance."

the lot which his forefathers had been destined to. The Lord said, Maudgalyayana had obtained final deliverance, and not the lot of his forefathers, and then recounted the former history of the departed hermits." Then follows a story of one Chandraprabha, a king of a city called Bhadrasila, concluding in the following words:—

The Lord said:—"The town which formerly was Bhadrasila is now called Takshasila. He who was king Chandraprabha is now myself, the two ministers (of the king in the story) are now Sariputra and Maudgalyayana, and Rudraksha, the beggar Brahman, is Devadatta" (p. 310.)

The founder of Buddhism was, indeed, believed to have gone through many existences. And from the case of Maudgalyayana we learn that the education thus received would point only to the final deliverance called *Nirvan*. There were also innumerable model-men (Tathagatas), each without a superior, and one essentially like another in the possession of Bodhi knowledge. Thus each saint, however imaginary, was a model-man and the outcome of the education afforded by many existences. And, considering that each of these fictitious existences must have been drawn from at least supposed types in contemporary life, we infer that the Buddhist Saint, or Tathagata, represented in one sense, the solidarity of all his constituent types; and that the long range of time given to his growth, coupled with the notions of permanence characteristic of primitive history, not unnaturally precluded all thought of a further development in the future. There was a continuity distinctly recognised, in this education covering several existences. But the continuity was one at last determined by the perfection of the Saint. On the other hand, a succession of the Tathagatas was accepted to keep up the continuity of the perfect founder, though necessarily without any further development in his wisdom or character.

2. We are told also that when the Lord suffered himself, as Chandraprabha, to be decapitated at the instance of his great enemy Devadatta, he was anxious not only for Bodhi knowledge—"acquiring which, one may control the uncontrollable, restrain the unrestrainable, redeem the condemned, and quench the unquenchable"—but he desired his remains to be preserved in a *chaitya* (tomb, monument, &c.) In other words, we see that the Buddhist conception of the Tathagata had not only formed a perfect model from mundane elements, but had coupled with it an element of a quite incongruous kind, *viz.*, a solicitude entirely inconsistent with the character of Nirvana, or perfection, such as would be acceptable to the Indian mind, whether Buddhist or Hindu. One who was conceived to be constantly looking forward to final deliverance, and with whom the highest ambition was a state of

perfect unconcern with the affairs of the world, even such a one, we see, was giving specific directions about the keeping of his relics after death; even such one was solicitous about a *chaitya*, of which the rational significance could only be to furnish a solemn remembrancer of his holy teachings, certainly a most valuable instrument of man's moral education and activity.

That the doctrine of transmigration was actually resorted to as an instrument of education, would also appear from the story of a whale which, more sensible than that of Jonah, not only vomited out certain Buddhist merchants in the situation of the Hebrew Prophet, but, struck by their miraculous deliverance, thenceforth "ceased to be a carnivorous animal, and died for want of proper food." And then the whale's putrid carcass was thrown on the sea-shore "where the bones formed a hill of no small height." Meantime the penitent whale was born again, and in the family of a Brahman. But even as a babe, and despite his subsequent conversion to Buddhism, he could not get quite rid of the taint of heredity. His whale-like voracity survived his cetacean existence, and rendered him, both as child and man, a veritable pest of society. Eventually the Lord came to his help. And here at last we find the rationale of what would otherwise have been a mere nursery tale. The Lord "took him to the above mentioned bone-hill and reminded him of his doings in his previous existence which exerted in his mind a feeling of resignation. He obtained Arhatship from Lord Buddha."—(*Do.* pp. 71-72.)

3. I cannot venture to assert that the genesis of the Tantric or Sivite symbols, is to be found in the logic of the Buddhist *chaitya*. But certain it is, that the originator of the conception of Bodhi-knowledge, attempted to break through the sanctity and continuity of the Vedic word (Veda is knowledge, and knowledge embalmed in sacred and unbeginning words), and that this primitive revolution, whilst violating the ties of caste, naturally led to the formation of the Buddhist congregation called णं व (Sangha). These two first principles, *Buddha* (knowledge) and *Sangha*, seem, however, to have early proved insufficient. And the exigencies of propagating Bodhi-knowledge, in and around the new organization, must have suggested the third principle *Dharma* (religious feelings,) which then went to form the Buddhist Triad. Mere knowledge is after all a feeble influence as compared with feelings, whether good or bad. So that feeling could not fail to be early recognised as an indispensable instrument with a view to perfect the mind and gratify the heart. And then, not only did these abstract conceptions crystallize into definite images, like those of the abstract Triad, knowledge, society and religious feeling, but material representations of such images, as well symbols of a more pronounced character, to help meditation, were also called

into requisition. These symbols, often mistaken for fetichés or images of divine beings, are after all a valuable help to the mind. They ought at least to recall by their very sight, long trains of definite ideas, which would be the natural antecedents of appropriate feelings and consequent activity. In any case, subjectivism of this kind should least deserve to be scorned or condemned as objective, useless, and stupid, or as vicious idolatry, in an age remarkable alike for its doctrines of hero-worship and æstheticism and for its scientific views of historic development.

4. We have thus for our data certain felt wants of quite a definite character. First of all, the congregation of Buddhists, whose size and condition would naturally suggest the inquiry, how knowledge of an admittedly most abstract kind was to be instilled into the minds of people taken indiscriminately from all castes of the primitive Hindu Society. Then there was the subjective construction termed *Dharma* (religious feeling). In other words, a spiritual condition of the human being, was invoked, evidently with a view to supplement the comparatively barren dogmas about Buddha and Sangha. Finally we know that mnemonic instruments—to wit the Triad,—were laid hold of both as ideas and images in furtherance of the same propagandist movement. But an element suggesting *growth* was still sadly wanted; and this must have been felt all the more keenly when the opposing orthodox school of Brahmaus naturally plumed themselves upon having taken generations to cultivate their Vedic knowledge. Hence, I suppose, it would not be surprising if the then widely prevalent doctrine of transmigration had been utilized to suggest a way of perfecting Bodhi—i. e., the new substitute for Vedic—knowledge. And evidence has been adduced to show how the perfection of the Tathagata was made a matter of gradual evolution upon the basis of the prevailing notions of cosmology.

5. The extract given in the foot-note, from the Bhagabad Gita, will probably also yield a link between the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of the perfect man, the Tathagata, and the Avatar.* The Vishnuvite conception has, however, a more theological character, and evinces no traces of the gradual development

* The Holy One spoke: 'I delivered this imperishable doctrine of Yoga to Vivaswat. Vivaswat declared it to Manu, Manu told it to Ikshwaku. Thus the Rajashtis learnt it, handed down from one to another. During a considerable period of time this doctrine has been lost in the world, O harasser of the foes, I have now explained to thee this same ancient doctrine, (as I considered) that thou wert both my worshipper and my friend. For this mystery is very important.'

Arjuna spoke: Thy birth was posterior, that of Vivaswat anterior. How shall I comprehend this (that thou sayest) "I was the first to declare it?"

characterising human existence. Consequently the doctrine of Transmigration here loses an important significance and helps only to establish a continuity in the one eternal and perfect, but concrete and human instructor. Thus it would seem that the human conception of the Tathagata has been subjected to a process of excision in order to furnish forth the conception of the Avatar, and must, as such, be held as the more primitive of the two, whatever may have been its actual history or may yet be the result of the present researches in Indian chronology of doubtful value.

III.

Transmigration in relation to Yog.

1. The doctrine of Transmigration, thus viewed in connection with Buddhism, may possibly furnish another key to the history of the Hindu mind. It is generally accepted that the founder of Buddhism, on renouncing his worldly career, took for a time to the practice of Yog mysteries, and then left them off in order to spread the gospel of his subsequent inspiration—the tenets of the Buddhist religion. Now the mysteries of Yog are supposed to have emanated from Siva; Siva is known by the significant name of Yajnari, *i. e.*, the enemy of Yâg, and Yâg again is unmistakably suggestive of Vedic rites. In other words, Yog is to be regarded as antagonistic to Vedic worship and antecedent to Buddhist revolution.

Thus the substitution of Bodhi knowledge in place of Vedic knowledge appears to have been preceded by a similar attempt to substitute Yog in the place of the probably effete Yâg. The Yâg-rites are usually rendered into English by the expression burnt-offerings; they were obviously connected with Fetichistic worship of fire, and were supposed to yield such tangible blessings as rain, wealth, children, success, and so forth, by the mere utterance of the unbeginning, miracle-making words of the Vedas.

2. It would also seem that Yâg or Vedic worship retained its fullest influence only till the origin and development of the various

The Holy One spoke: 'I and thou, O Arjuna,' have passed through many transmigrations. I know all these. Thou dost not know them, O harasser of thy foes! Even though I am unborn, of changeless essence, and the lord also of all which exist, yet, presiding over nature (Prakriti) which is mine, I am born by my own mystic power (mâyâ). For whenever there is a relaxation of duty, O son of Bharat! and an increase of impiety, I then reproduce myself for the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers. I am produced in every age for the purpose of establishing duty. He who truly comprehends my divine birth and action, does not undergo regeneration when he quits the body, but comes to me, Arjuna!—*Thomson's Bhagabad Gita*, pp. 29-30.

schools of Hindu philosophy. In other words, the progress of the Hindu mind, as evidenced by these schools of philosophy, helped, and very naturally too, to displace the primitive fetichism of the Vedic times, which then ceased to be a living faith. We know that the atheistic Sankhya School explained the origin of the world upon a dualistic basis, signifying an inert and active agency, or permanence and change, rather than male and female. We know, too, that the dogma of Indian Logic, that cause is *অন্যথা সিদ্ধি শূন্য নিষত্তা পূর্ববর্তিতা* uniform antecedence, effectuation in any other manner being absent—so suprisingly in accord with the modern doctrine about relations between phenomena—was no recent discovery of the Hindu mind. Thus it would be no great wonder, if, when these ideas were evolved, the sanctity and influence of the Vedas and Vedic rites should have naturally faded away from the Hindu mind.

3. But what had they then to occupy their minds with instead? The answer offered to this in the following paragraphs, necessarily with a large measure of conjecture, is briefly this:—a mystical knowledge called yog, which had the semblance of science, and, which if it did not originate, at all events, largely fostered, the doctrine of transmigration, and served in that regard the same purpose that modern science does to the doctrine of the solidarity and continuity of mankind.

At the time we are speaking of, algebra, geometry and astronomy had made considerable progress. But the time for mechanics had not come yet, and physics, chemistry, physiology and medicine could not pass the empiric stage. I owe it to a venerable friend to suggest that the Yog exercises were essentially an attempt to bring under voluntary control the involuntary functions of the body. And it is well known that with this essentially human instrument they sought to attain more than the early Vedic rites had ever promised. The representative of Yog—the ascetic Siva—was the enemy of Vedic rites, and this conception obviously connects an anti-theological evolution with man's normal ambition to overmaster the forces of nature. But what is now, and to the modern world, the only means to this end—*viz.*, development of objective science, was then completely inaccessible. And thus it seems primitive unbelief attempted, by means of Yog, to cut the Gordian knot. The enemy of theologism was in this case intensely metaphysical, but the armour put on bore an unmistakeable resemblance to the positivism of true science.

In these days of Theosophic ardour, when the Hindu mind is not unnaturally tickled by genuine or make-believe admiration for

Yog, it would require a better knowledge of the physical sciences than I possess, to proclaim, with my betters, the absurdity of the occult sciences. But if the Nineteenth Century can tolerate, before the light of science, aught that savors of occultism, it cannot certainly be too much out of the way to claim for Yog a place in the history of scientific progress at a time which preceded the evolution of Buddhism itself. The perfect master of Yog, it is maintained, could do all that science ever hopes to attain and many things more. And this he could do, not by the help of Divine aid, nor even by the ultra-human agency of such imaginary beings as Pisaches, Yakshas, or Gandharvas, but by the self-directed energy of the Yogi to bring under voluntary control the involuntary functions of the human organism. Again, the processes of Yog, however deserving to be withdrawn, like nitro-glycerine and similar explosive compounds, from general access, are fully believed to be governed by nothing short of invariable laws. And thus, too, the Yogi may be classed with the ordinary votaries of physiological science. Now it was a part of the teaching of this occult science that the spirit of man might by Yog leave his own body to occupy that of another.

4. Let us suppose that, for some reason or other, the doctrine of transmigration had so strong a hold upon the early Hindu society that it survived even the belief in a god-head, and it would not be hard to conceive how the primitive scientist still revelled in vagaries about the disembodied spirit. The Vedic longings for increased longevity had not vanished with the faith in the efficacy of Vedic rites. Siva was significantly called the conqueror of Death. A Hindu Kaviraj* (professor of medicine under the native system), gulltless of any predilection for European science, once freely admitted to me that the predictions of Hindu astrology could not be consistently accepted by his fraternity, who professed to resist fate and the ravages of death, and then, by way of showing more clearly the futility of astrology, he referred to Yog, which he said was a power even higher than that of medicine.

When the study of science had not advanced far enough to restrict itself entirely to phenomena and give up all speculation about the Noumena, and when yet, by a happy guess, men had attained that grandest of all inductions, the one about invariability of relation between antecedences and sequences, it was not after all, too great an aberration of the primitive Hindu intellect, to apply the principle to entities like the disembodied spirits. And when once this positive principle was associated with such metaphysical entities, the whole host of primitive beliefs,

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however incoherent as between themselves, or inconsistent with the results of modern research, naturally laid themselves open to systematization, such as we have had in our literature and religious convictions. The doctrine of Comte, that the sciences can be best systematized with the help of subjective assumptions, has yet to fight out its way through the fatalism which underlies the current faith in the universality of spontaneous evolution. But the history of the Hindu mind clearly proves what a stable system of belief can be constructed from merely metaphysical ideas, but upon a harmonious relation between the objective and the subjective.

5. Be that as it may, we are now able to see how the doctrine of transmigration, if it survived Vedic theologism, might subserve a metaphysical belief in imaginary beings, lead to a vigorous prosecution of the occult sciences, and even establish a more or less perfect system of ethics, though history, and the universal brotherhood which results from language and commercial intercourse, were entirely wanting. And all this, I should like to account for, by showing how transmigration furnished the important teaching in respect of solidarity and continuity which is now derived from sociology and other sciences.

IV

Sraddha and Communal Life.

A further step in the study of the past would disclose that the primitive Fire worship of the Hindus prevailed side by side with considerable progress in industry and the abnormal solidarity of our early communal life. The family organism was somehow or other enlarged to inordinate dimensions, so that the loss or accession of individual units failed to receive the attention due to such events. The son quietly took the place of the father, and the brother that of the brother. Possibly also, the daughter had not then, as now, to be cast out, nor the wife taken from beyond the limits of the family, or rather gens. The work of tillage and pasturage went on uniformly and regardless of domestic occurrences. In such societies the Pitris (ancestors) became not unnaturally some of the most important objects of worship. But the requirements of industry, of functions of proprietorship, and of safe inheritance, seem to have suggested the fiction—"the soul is born again in the son" (ভাৰ্ত্তৱৈৰ জন্মতে পুত্ৰঃ), aided, as it must have been, by the positive evidence of maternity and the no less unmistakable effects of heredity. And after the ancestral rites had once got mixed with Vedic ceremonies, even Siva, the arch-ency of Yag, would fail to oust the faith in the existence of spirits which, on the one hand, were supposed to pass into their heirs, and on the

other, to gather around the Sraddha entertainments prepared for them from time to time.

Thus it would seem that a rapid progress of industry, which was probably due to climatic causes, became adapted to rather untoward social conditions, *viz.*, primitive communal life; an extraordinary hankering for systematization mixed up the worship of fire with that of ancestral spirits, and suggested the progress of these spirits from generation to generation. Primitive science, in the form of Yog, failed to uproot the belief in imaginary beings, though it openly rebelled against the sovereignty of the Most High. Nay, the crude conceptions of Yog, it seems, improved upon the existing preternatural beliefs and gave currency to still more marvellous stories and pretensions. Buddhism arose, and rejected the questionable morality of Yog, but it could not throw over the doctrine of transmigration. On the contrary, it seems to have utilized that doctrine for educational purposes. And this led to a spirit of anthropomorphism, both Buddhist and Hindu, which was subsequently employed to replace atheism by pantheism, and also to transform or construct a worship of cosmic forces furnishing the most elaborate cultus ever heard of. All along, however, the positive spirit involved in a sound doctrine of causation has worked upon the Hindu mind, in which a "theological temperament," rather than the genuine primitive feeling which goes by that name, is associated with a confused belief in metaphysical existences and untenable physical laws.

Is it desirable that this long evolution must now cease for ever, because we are enabled to establish our ethics and even our worship upon the cosmology and sociology of Europe? And shall it be impossible to connect our ethics, such as we find it handed down to us, logically with European progress, and historically with Indian antecedents?

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. V.—ENGLISH SPELLING AND THE SPELLING-REFORM.

(*Independent Section.*)

SINCE the opening of Dr. Duff's five pupil schools in 1830, higher education in India has been steadily advancing. Its history is instructive and interesting from various points of view, and it has not yet arrived at a period of still waters. One of the points now attracting attention is the improvement of our elementary and lower schools. In the code of education drafted last year by the Education Committee, a decided advance is made in the direction of science. It is proposed that in elementary (or primary) schools instruction should be given in form and colour, the uses of plants and animals, and the properties of air and water. Every teacher knows how much such instruction is needed. Even our Entrance candidates are wofully ignorant of these matters. To them lever and pulley are, as a rule, unknown: *barometer* and *gravitation* are only terms in Blandford's Physical Geography; and light and heat have no more meaning for them than for their domestics. These subjects are now laid down for the middle schools, and botany and drawing are in addition recommended as optional subjects.

Now the question must arise in the minds of thinking men whether time can be found for all this work. The standards of the code, ranging up to the Entrance Course, correspond pretty nearly, as far as the elementary subjects go, with the classes in the chief schools of the day. It is clear enough, then, that the present work of these schools is ample for the time at their command. Doubtless good management could find time for a little extra work; but in this case simple economy cannot do much. There is one of the elementary subjects on which a deal of valuable time is wasted, and that is—*English*. This is the most necessary and most difficult subject we have to teach, and we do not think enough attention is paid to it. It may seem a paradox to say that time is wasted on it, and yet enough attention is not paid to it. The explanation is simple. In the elementary schools, it takes up too much time; in the middle schools it has not enough attention. In these papers we will show that reason and experiment teach us that a great reduction can be made in the time and energy spent in teaching English. Assuming the number of working hours in a week to be twenty-five, it may fairly be said that thirteen are spent on English in elementary schools. Yet our children pass with a bad grounding to the middle school, where other subjects

cramp the study of English into, let us say, eight hours a week, and at the end of a course of seven years the result is bad composition, a poor vocabulary, little or no etymology, and unintelligible reading.

The cause of this unsatisfactory state of things is to be found in the present method of spelling English. If English spelling were phonetic, no more than eight hours a week would be required in the elementary school, for a thoroughly good grounding in the course of three years, and no more than five hours a week would be needed in the middle school to build on that foundation a nobler and sounder knowledge of the language than can now be done with eight hours' work. The time thus saved could be devoted to the subjects recommended in the code, with, perhaps, the addition of shorthand in the upper forms of middle schools.

The utter absurdity of English spelling has been shown by the leading philologists of the day, and yet how high a place among accomplishments is given to a knowledge of its eccentricities. It is the bug-bear that attends us from the nursery to the grave. As soon as the child speaks a few words distinctly, he begins his share of labour in the world by learning to spell. Passing from his mother's knee to the school form, he finds that spelling is still the most important work demanded of him. A little later, spelling has no rival as a plague, with the doubtful exception of the weights and measures. By and bye, the youth finds that there are many other branches of knowledge that he is to work at, and so much attention is not given to his spelling lessons. This he feels to be a relief, and yet, to his utter bewilderment, no private letter, no class exercise, no examination paper meets favour unless it shows such a familiarity with the received spelling as he certainly did not acquire at the "Infant School." And, then, when the youth becomes a man, and is called upon to earn his own livelihood, he sees that the spell of spelling must last 'till the spell of life is broken.'

That English spelling is really difficult to learn will easily be seen. The very alphabet, as boys in some of our elementary schools already learn from Dr. Morris, is imperfect and redundant. This is the root of the evil, but it is not the whole evil. Imperfect and redundant alphabets can be and have been used consistently; but the application of the English alphabet is so whimsical that, as Mr. Ellis says, "no Englishman can tell with certainty how to pronounce any word which he has only seen written, and has not heard spoken, and no Englishman can tell with certainty how to spell any word which he has only heard spoken and has never seen written." There are, again, some languages which profess to retain in the forms of words an indication of

their origin, such as the Dutch and the Hindustani. But there is scarcely a language in which the derivations of words are so hopelessly obscured as in English. The great majority of present English spellings date no further back than the sixteenth century. English spelling, in short, is neither etymological nor historical, neither phonetic nor consistent; it is "corrupt, effete, and utterly irrational." This state of things causes a great waste of time; it is an obstacle to popular education and a hindrance to advancement. Something therefore must be done; English spelling must be reformed so as to present a tolerably good picture of English speech.

English spelling must be reformed. To most readers in India this statement seems surprisingly strange. We are told, that we are merely dogmatising, that there is no reason for our views, that a reform of English spelling is seriously to be objected to. Let us therefore hear what can be said against a spelling-reform, and if we answer the objections we shall have gained our point. This shall be the main purpose of the present article, and in a second, we will mention some further reasons for the reform. Spelling-reform is as old as spelling itself, and the arguments that will most readily occur to our readers have all been advanced before. There is at present a considerable spelling-reform, partly in England, and partly in America. The subject has been attracting great notice, and is making rapid progress in public favour. It is a strange fact, however, that although every other reform proposed in Europe is widely reported in India, this important one is hardly mentioned. We hope to be able to show that a reform is necessary, practicable, pending, of which most Indian readers and students know little or nothing.

The first important objection to a spelling-reform is the *conservative objection*. This is the most natural of all. There is, deep-seated in the human heart, a general disinclination to part with what has long been. But this feeling should not be carried to an extreme. While taking care that we do not let ourselves be tossed about by every breeze that blows, we ought to consider thoroughly all proposed schemes of reform to see if there be any real advantage to be gained by change. No man should be allowed to say on any matter, as Archbishop Trench does on this of spelling, that "custom is law here for better and for worse." This is tantamount to saying that what is bad must continue in use simply because it is now in use. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that most changes that have had the welfare of mankind for their object, have been adopted at last, though laughed at and attacked when proposed. In the words of Max Müller, "The innate regard for truth and reason, however dormant or timid at times, has

always proved irresistible in the end, enabling men to part with all they hold most dear and sacred, whether corn-laws, or Stuart dynasties, or Papal legates, or heathen idols. Nations have before now changed their numerical figures, their letters, their chronology, their weights and measures." But this is not all. The defenders of conservative spelling forget that the subject of spelling-reform must come up, some time or other, in the history of every written language. Spoken language *must* vary; changes *must* take place. Of course, there are men who meet every argument with a flat denial. Thus in the Educational Blue-Book for 1881-82, Mr. Brodie, the Inspector of Schools for the district of Worcester, says, that "pronunciation has altered very little since the days of Shakespeare." Very different is the idea of the learned writer of the article on the alphabet in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," when he says that "if Shakespeare could now stand on our stage, he would seem to speak to us in an unknown tongue." We need say no more on this remark of the last professed champion of settled spelling than that the great champions of the past Bacon, Alford, and Trench, acknowledge that pronunciation must change, and that it is continually changing.* The argument of Bacon and Trench here is that if we alter our spelling to suit pronunciation now, we shall have to do so again and again as pronunciation keeps changing. This argument is based on a wrong hypothesis. It takes for granted that a word is something that is written, and that spoken language is only of secondary value. This opinion is very largely held in India; but the case really stands the other way. Language is essentially spoken, and written language is to be valued only in as far as it gives us a faithful representation of spoken language. This is the foundation of philology and phonetics. If, therefore, the pronunciation of any word change after a phonetic notation has been adopted, the form of that particular word should undergo a further modification. We find the following sentences in Chamber's Encyclopædia. "The Sanscrit language furnishes the most convincing proof of the originally phonetic character of alphabetic writing, for not only were the words written exactly as they were sounded, but every change which a word

* We speak of Trench as a past champion, because his views are antiquated. The great philological lights of the present day are all in favour of a spelling-reform. See what Dr. Murray says: "It is not only pitiful to see the expressions of Archbishop Trench quoted against the rational reconstruction of our spelling, but

it is unfair to Dr. Trench himself, who then stood so well in the front of philology, and we may be perfectly sure that, if leisure had been given him to keep pace with the progress of science, he would now have been second to no one as a spelling reformer."

underwent was consistently indicated by a change in the writing. Notwithstanding this fact, there is no language in which the etymological and grammatical relations of words are more clearly exhibited or more easily traced than in Sanscrit." It is also a well known fact that in phonetically represented languages pronunciation changes much more slowly than in those that have a capricious notation like the English, and this has been abundantly proved by students of Italian and Spanish. On the other hand, if a capricious spelling is considered unchangeable while the pronunciation goes on changing, the time must come when the spelling and pronunciation will bear no resemblance to each other. This has already taken place in Thibet and China. The Chinese written language is composed of several thousand word-signs instead of letters, and there are thus 1,100 ways of representing the simple vowel sound of *be*. From Dr. Tylor we learn that the Thibetans obtained their alphabet from the Sanscrit, and yet the word spelt *s-g-i-o-l-m-a* (according to Roman letters) is pronounced *dolma*, and the name of the province of which Lassa is the capital is sounded *oo*, but spelt *D-b-u-s*. There is deep wisdom in Bacon's remark, "Time is the great innovator, and if time of course alters things to the worse and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall the end be?"

We will now go on to speak of some of the spelling-reforms of the past, with a view to show that the subject is by no means the crotchet of a few, that it is, indeed, as we said, inevitable in a written tongue. When the Greeks of old borrowed the alphabet from the Phœnicians, they did not take it as they found it, but made several alterations in the forms and uses of the letters, and even added to their number. They traced their characters from left to right, and employed as vowels what before were only breathings. As time went on, and education spread, the alphabet underwent continual changes, and in B. C. 403, the Athenians officially altered their spelling. The Romans adapted the Greek alphabet to their language; but they abandoned the significant names of the letters, which the Greeks had taken over from the Phœnicians, and named each letter according to the nature and quantity of its sound. The letter they used least was the Greek *kappa*, *c* representing both the sound of that letter and the hard sound of *g*. This imperfection is said to have been remedied by the keeper of the first writing school in Rome, about B. C. 230. A separate character was introduced for *g*, and *c* was kept for the sound of *kappa*. The only other glaring imperfection in the Roman alphabet was the use of *v* as both a vowel and a consonant. The Emperor Claudius proposed to adopt a turned *f* for the

consonant sound; but this and a few other attempts of the Emperors were unsuccessful. Yet the Roman notation was to a great extent phonetic, and the spelling followed the pronunciation. Professor Max Müller says, "when the copies of books could easily be counted, and when the *norma scribendi* was in the hands of a few persons, the difficulty of adapting the writing to the ever varying pronunciation of the language was comparatively small. The small minority of people who were able to read and write pleased themselves as best they could, and by timely concessions prevented a complete estrangement between the written and the spoken language." The phonetic notation of the Romans lives, with but slight change, in the modern Italian, which is therefore justly considered one of the easiest languages to learn. The language of Spain, composed as it is of various elements, had originally almost corrupt and confused spelling. The labours of Lebrixa and Aleman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did much to reduce it to order. The Academy then took up the work, and by repeated efforts at last succeeded, at the beginning of the present century, in bringing about so thorough a reform that the pronunciation of any word is now immediately known to one who is acquainted with the phonetic values of the letters. (*See* Ticknor's "Spanish Literature," part III.) In French, which is mainly derived from Latin, the written and spoken languages are very dissimilar; but the old idea of consistency is still distinctly traceable, in the use of digraphs and combinations of letters, as well as in that of single characters; and the employment of accents is an additional help. Yet see what Mr. Pagliardini says: "I may just call your attention to the fact that so far from a reform of spelling being repulsive to the feelings of philologists and great writers in France, such men as Fénelon, Labruyère, Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Voltaire, Rousseau, Charles Nodier, Firmin Didot, the Philological Society of Paris, and a host of others were favourable to phonetic spelling for the French language." In Germany, where the spelling never deviated much from the phonetic standard, there is a strong spelling-reform movement. The *Kölnische Zeitung* a very influential paper, following the example of Schleicher, has dropped all silent letters, and advocates the adoption of the Roman character. Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg have now an official spelling, and the Prussian minister of education published a couple of years ago the Government rules on orthography, to be introduced into all Government and military schools. Most of the great political papers have adopted this spelling. There are also said to be good phonetic systems by Professors Rammer and Sanders. The

reform of Spelling in Holland was an accomplished fact a hundred years ago. The spelling, however, is not entirely phonetic, though very largely so; in some instances an etymological spelling has been preferred. In England there have been several attempts at spelling-reform of more or less merit. The first great spelling reformer was the author of the *Ormulum*, in the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century. He adopted a consistent representation of the sounds of his own dialect, and tried to introduce a uniform system of orthography. On this account his work is said by Dr. Morris to be "a mine of philological wealth." In the sixteenth century the great scholars, Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith, the latter Secretary of State to Edward VI. and Elizabeth, were in favour of a phonetic reform of spelling. There were also Thomas Churchyard and the great schoolmaster Alexander Gil. In 1569 a writer, named John Hart, published a book printed phonetically, and recommending a reform of English spelling. In the following century, Dr. John Wilkins, the eloquent and scientific Bishop of Chester, argued strongly for a reform, and it requires no Macaulay's school-boy to discover that Milton, who had studied under Gil at St. Paul's school, in many cases, preferred a phonetic to a stereotyped spelling. But, as Marsh justly remarks, "all the old English writers on orthography and pronunciation fail alike in the want of clear and descriptive analysis of sounds, and the illustration by comparison with the orthoepy of other languages more stable and uniform in articulation." And this was the cause of their failure in carrying a reform. The only way to effect a reform of spelling is to analyse carefully, and yet not too fastidiously, the sounds of the language, and this is what is done by the best spelling-reformers of the present day. Among the reformers of the last century and the early part of the present, the names of Benjamin Franklin and Noah Webster will live to show that America has not been behindhand in this effort to cast aside a pet abuse. Dr. Franklin was in favour of a strictly phonetic notation, and Dr. Webster, working in the time of Lowth and Walker, changed the spelling of hundreds of words on the grounds of analogy and etymology.

The next important objection to a phonetic spelling reform is, that "the derivations of words, especially from foreign languages, are utterly defaced and extinguished," or, as Trench puts it, that "it would obliterate those clear marks of birth and parentage which words out of number bear now upon their very fronts, or are ready upon a very slight interrogation to declare to us." Now it might and should be considered a sufficient answer to such an objection that it is not

the purpose of alphabetic writing to teach etymology. This answer acquires additional weight from the testimony of such men as Professor Sayce and Mr. Ellis. The former says, "Historical comparative philology is based on the assumption that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, or any other of the ancient tongues were pronounced, roughly speaking, as we find them spelt, and it is upon this assumption that the laws of letter change and the whole framework of modern philology have been built." Mr. Ellis is even more explicit. "Those," he says, "who will be at the pains to examine any *original language*, such as the Sanskrit, the Phœnician, the Arabic, the Gothic, the Russian, or the Cherokee, will at once perceive that the fundamental idea which actuated their inventors, was, to create a set of symbols, sufficiently distinct in outline and easy of formation, which should correspond with the elementary sounds of any particular language, in such a way, that the sight of any combination of symbols should instantly re-call the correspondent combination of elementary sounds to one familiar with the language; and conversely, that the hearing of any combination of those elementary sounds which were considered in the invention of an alphabet, should instantly suggest to one who is familiar with its use, the correspondent combination of symbols. In other words, all original alphabets are essentially phonetic." That alphabetic writing was originally phonetic the upholders of the present orthography cannot and do not deny. They seem to glory in the changes of the past, but shudder at further change. In the actual using of words, moreover, whether in speaking or writing, we never stop to think of their derivation, and only exceptionally of their relation to the words of other languages. If we know the correct meanings of the words we use and are sure that we use them in a received sense, we are content. And then, again, the number of the students of etymology is very small in proportion to the number of general readers and writers, for most men take etymology on trust.

But the believer in etymological spelling is not to be so easily satisfied. And we will go on to show what we said above, that our present spelling is *not* etymological. There are hundreds of unetymological spellings in English, but time and space will admit of our noticing only the typical words of two of the most important classes of such spellings, those that entirely fail to suggest their etymons, and those that are positively misleading as to their derivation.

It is a strange fact that the majority of etymological objectors among Indian students are but disciples of Archbishop Trench, and feebly echo his plea that 'in English words a letter silent to the ear is yet most eloquent to the eye,—the *g*, for instance, in *deign*,

reign, and *impugn*, telling as it does of *dignor*, *regno*, and *impugno*; even as the *b* in *debt* and *doubt* is not idle, but tells of *debitum* and *dubium*. All these words will be noticed in their proper place. Suffice it here to say, that the *g* landed by Trench is not used systematically. If it is to appear in *deign*, why not in *disdain*? if in *reign*, why not in *rule* and *realm*? if in *impugn*, why not in *pontard*? But it is even stranger than this to find Trench, after speaking up thus boldly for the existing spelling on etymological grounds, actually going on to prove, in the most conclusive way, that English spelling is by no means etymological. Among the words he cites for examination are *scent*, *ceiling*, *ell*, and these come under the first class of the words we will take up. Trench's remarks on the first and last of these tell more against than for his purpose. "In the earlier editions of 'Paradise Lost,' and in the writings of that age, you will find *scent*, an odour, spelt *sent*. It was better so; there is no other noun substantive with which it is in danger of being confounded; while its relation with *sentio*, with *result*, *consent*, and the like, is put out of sight by its novel spelling; the intrusive *c* serving only to mislead. *Ell* gives us no clue to its own meaning; but in *eln*, used in Holland's translation of Camden, we recognise *ulna* at once." The French *sentir* and the Anglo-Saxon *eln* are the direct etymons of these words. In *ceiling* the Archbishop is deceived. The best authorities agree in the opinion that it is a different word from *sealing*, and owes its origin to the French *ciel*, heaven, a canopy. *Feather*, *measure*, and *treasure* have no right to the *a*. The original Anglo-Saxon *is* and *wrecca* are entirely disguised in the modern *ice* and *wretch*. *Newt* and *nickname* have stolen an *n* from the indefinite article, the original forms being *ewt* and *ekenname*,* while *adder* has lost an original *n* (Anglo-Saxon *næddre*). The *ph* in *nephew* is neither etymological nor phonetic; both the Old English and the French forms were *neveu*. It is only to those who are acquainted with Hindustani that the derivation of *sepoy* through that language from the Persian *sipah*, an army, is at all clear. *Candidate* and *pontiff* have changed so much in meaning, that their descent from *candidus* and *pontifex* is by no means evident.

In treating of the words that mislead as to their origin, we will first deal with the extolled silent *g* and *b*. It is said that the *g* in *deign*, *reign*, and *impugn* tells of *dignor*, *regno*, and *impugno*; but the fact is that the *g* has crept into the English words, not because it appeared in the Latin, but because it was retained in the old French forms from which they were directly taken. But in:

* Anglo-Saxon *ecán*, to add. to be similar in formation. Thus *nickname* and *surname* are seen

Old French, as also in modern French, the *g* was preserved for a distinct orthoëpic purpose, and where no such purpose would be answered the letter was dropt, as in *daintie*, *desdein*, *reule*, *realme*. The 'orthoëpic *g*,' as we may style it, is seen in many French words which had no *g* at all in their Roman forms. Let the *g* in the English *dignify*, *regular*, and *regal* tell of their immediate French etymons or of their ultimate Latin roots; it has the best right to hold its place, and that is, it is *sounded*. In *feign*, moreover, the silent consonant is worse than useless; for the word comes, not directly from the Latin *fingere*, but from the French *feindre*. The old English forms were *ſaynen* and *ſeynen*, and the middle English *feinen*; and, as Max Müller says, "It was a mere etymological feint to insert the *g* of the Latin *ſingo* and the French *ſeignant*." Similar is the case of the words *sovereign*, *foreign*, *debt* and *doubt*. *Sovereign* and *foreign* have nothing to do with the French *régne* and the Latin *regnum*. They come finally from the Latin *super* and *foras* modified by the adjective termination *anus*. The old French words were *soverain* and *forain*, and the middle English forms actually had no *g*, but were simply *soverain* and *foraine*. *Debt* and *doubt* do not come directly from the Latin *debitum*, and *dubium*, but from the old French *dette* and *douter*, and the words were first spelt *dette* and *doute* in English. A *b* was afterwards introduced into the old French words, but it has again been thrown out. In English the *b* is not found in these words till the sixteenth century. As instances of words that easily tell their derivation, French mentions *grogram*, *pigmy currants*, *bran-new*, *scrip* (of paper), and *frontispiece*, and, these like all the rest, serve only to weaken his position, for *grogram* (O. E. *grosgrain*) has no connection with *gram*, nor *pigmy* (Fr. *pygmé*, from the Latin and Greek) with *pig*, nor *currants* (L. *corinthus*) with *current*, nor *bran-new* (A. S. *brand*, a burning,) with *bran*, nor *scrip* (O. F. *escript*, from L. *scribere*) with *scrap*, nor *frontispiece* (O. Fr. *frontispiece*, from L. *frontem* and *spicere*) with *piece*. *Bridegroom*, again, is the Anglo-Saxon *brydguma*, the bride's man, and *drake* is compounded of *end* the old word for *duck*, and the masculine suffix *rake*. *Lanthorn* was formed on the supposition that the word had some connection with *horn*, because the sides of lanterns were originally made of horn. But the true derivation, Latin *lanterna* through the French *lanterne*, is now well-known, and the form *lanthorn* has all but passed away. *Pickaxe* is unconnected with *axe*, the middle English and old English *pikois* meaning a mattock and coming from the old French *piquer*, to pierce. *Stirrur* is the Anglo-Saxon *stigrap*, a rope for mounting. The strange form

I wis arose from the mistaken notion that *wis* is an inflection of the old verb *witan*, to know. The real old form was *gewis*, an adjective connected etymologically with *witan*, but used adverbially in the sense of *certainty*. The middle English forms were *ywis* and *iwis*. *Isinglass* is not a derivative of *is* (*ice*) and *glæs* (*glass*), but a corruption of the old Dutch *huzenblas*, from *huyzen*, a sturgeon, and *blas*, a bladder. *Shame-faced* is similar in formation to *steadfast*, having nothing to do with the Latin *facies*. It comes from the Anglo-Saxon *scámu*, modesty, and the suffix *fast*, fixed. The form *shamefastness* appears in Tyndale's *New Testament*, and *shammfasst* in the *Ormulum*. The spelling *scissors* reminds us of the Latin *scissus*, passive participle of *scindere*, to split, and the meaning seems to endorse such a derivation; but the middle English forms were *sisoures* and *cisoures*, which point to the old French *cisoires*, ~~scissors~~, derived from the Latin *cisus*, passive participle of *cœdere*, to cut. The etymological spelling would be *cisors*, which would be consistent with *incisors* and *incision*. *Controller* is bad etymological spelling, but *comptroller* is positively misleading, having been introduced under the mistaken idea that it is connected with the French *compte*, whereas it comes from the old French *countre-rolle*, a cross-register to check an original. The words *island*, *tongue*, *icicle*, *deuce*, *clerk*, and *disk*, wear a decidedly French appearance; but the first three are genuine Teutonic words, and the last three were taken directly from the Latin. The *s* in *island* was inserted from the fancied connection of the word with the French *isle*; but the spelling *iland* was common in Shakespear's time, and the Anglo-Saxon word was *ealand* or *igland*. *Tongue* is etymologically independent of *langue* and *iingua*, for *tunge* is the Anglo-Saxon, old English, and middle English form, while *tung* was by no means uncommon in middle English. The Anglo-Saxon *isgicel* (*icicle*) was formed from the word *is* and the diminutive termination *gicel*. *Deuce* is nothing but the vocative case of the Latin *Deus*, God, used as an interjection in France and England. *Clerk* and *disk* were introduced at the time of the mission of St. Augustine, under the forms *clerc* and *disc* from the Latin *clericus* and *discus*. *Adventure*, *assault*, *default*, and *vituals*, on the other hand, seem to come directly from the Latin, but they owe their present forms to the pedantry rife at the revival of learning. The old forms of these words in English were *aventure*, *assaute*, *defaut*, and *vitailles*, which are plainly of French origin. *Rhyme* and *scythe*, again, are falsely suggestive of Greek roots; but *sithe* is the genuine Anglo-Saxon and old English spelling, while the form *rhyme* for *rime* (Teutonic *rim*, number) according to Skeat, cannot be found earlier

than 1550. *Whole* and *could* have been formed on the false analogy of *who* and *would*; but the old forms were *hole* and *coude*. In many English words a distinctly phonetic tendency can be seen in their departure from an etymological spelling, and first among these comes *ant*, which Trench traces through five stages of its history. But on Trench's etymological hypothesis the word should be pronounced as it now is pronounced, and yet spelt *amt*. The word comes from the Anglo-Saxon *æmette*, and all the old spellings preserve the *m*. But *historical* spelling is not now possible, and the *n* in the word *ant*, is neither etymological nor historical, but phonetic. *Lord*, *lean*, *laugh*, *lot*, *loud*, *nut*, and *roof* had their Anglo-Saxon etymons beginning with *h*, and *nail* and *tail* are all that now remain of the ancient *nægel* and *tægel*. *Tense* was spelt *temps* by Chaucer and is undoubtedly of French derivation. *Savage* is the Old French *salvage* and the Latin *silvaticus*. And the common words *eo^{us}*, *which*, and *such* have dropped an *l*, which they had in the Anglo-Saxon and old English.* Many amusing mistakes are made about such common words as *gibberish*, *turpauling gin* (spirit,) *cousin-german*, *gherkin*, *grass-widow*, *equerry*.

This section would be incomplete if we said nothing of the words ending in *our*, those beginning with *ph* and *kn*, and those containing the *gh* which was once a guttural, for it is about these words that etymological objectors are particularly furious now, though many of our readers doubtless know that Dean Alford, oppose such spellings as *color* and *labor* adopted by the Americans, but few of them can be aware of the facts contained in the following extract from an article by Mr. E. Jones in the *Schoolmaster*, for October 1872.

"As an instance of the futility of his objection to phonetic spelling, we may refer to the letter of the late Dean Alford published in *Good Words*, a few years ago. In spite of his great learning and ability, the Dean, like many other highly educated Englishmen, was led away by this popular fallacy to write as follows: 'I remark, as to spelling, on the trick now so universal across the Atlantic, and becoming in some quarters common with us in England, of leaving out the *u* in the termination *our*, writing *honor*, *favor*, *neighbor*, *savior*, etc. Now the objection to this is not only that it makes very ugly words, totally unlike any thing in the English language before, but that it obliterates all trace of the derivation of the word. It is true, that *honor* and *favor* are derived originally from Latin words spelt exactly the

* This subject of past phonetic changes in English words will be more fully dwelt on in our second article.

same, but it is also true, that we do not get them direct from the Latin, but through the French forms which ended in *eur*.'

"It was pointed out, however, to the learned Dean by some of the readers of *Good Words* : (1.) As regards the ugliness of *honor*, *favor*, etc., without the *u*, and that there was nothing like it in the English language before, that there are not less than three hundred words of this class, while there are only about thirty in all in which the *u* is ever written. (2) That as the French form for *honor* was spelt with two *n*'s (*honneur*), we ought, on etymological grounds, to spell the English word in the same way. (3) The French termination being *eur*, why should the English be *our* ?

"The Dean at once saw his error, and as a man of *honor* frankly and candidly admitted it, saying, that the spelling in question was not guided at all by the derivation of words. In the same manner all similar objections will fall to the ground when brought to the test of facts, and this incident shows the importance of taking nothing upon trust, even from great men."

Kington Oliphant says that the word *honour* was introduced into English at the conquest, and that *honure*, the French form, had existed in Gaul for 1,100 years before, and then goes on to say, "If we change it into *honor*, we pare down its history and we lower it to the level of the many words that came in at the Reformation." But is not *honour* itself such a change of form and paring down of history as *honor* would be? The latter form has at least the plea of *primitive* spelling; but *honour* is neither French nor Latin; it is a mere confusion of the two. There are many words in English which once ended in *our*, that have dropped the *u*. As familiar instances we may mention *tutor*, *professor*, *author*, *editor*, *doctor*, *governor*, *emperor*, *error*, *terror*, *inferior*, *superior*. There is also great inconsistency in the spelling of derivatives from the words in question. Thus we have *discolour* but *discoloration*, *labourer* but *laboratory* and *elaborate*, *vapoury*, but *vaporous*, *odourless* but *odorous*. And are *neighbour* and *harbour* of French origin?

With regard to the *ph* in Latin and Greek derivatives, it is said that it helps us to trace the words to their originals. Here we will quote the words of Max Müller. "Because the Italians write *filosofo* are they less aware than the English who write *philosopher*, and the French who write *philosophe*, that they have before them the Latin *philosophus* and the Greek *philosophos*? If we write *f* in *fancy*, why not in *phantom*? if in *frenzy* and *frantic*, why not in *phrenology*? A language which tolerates *vial* for *phial* need not shiver at *filosofer*." In the same way, it is no easier to trace to the

Latin and Greek *phthisis*, the modern English *phthisic* than the Italian *tisico*, the Spanish *tisica* and the *tizzic* of Milton. *Vixen* is a mere corruption of *fosen*, and *visicion* for *physician* is found in Tyndale's *New Testament*. *Fisionomie* and *visionomie* are the middle English forms of *physiognomy*. These words in *ph* are only the types of the class of words directly from Latin, which it is said with truth represent with great exactness their Latin spellings. But as we have seen the resemblance of form is not needed to show the derivation, and we may further remark that it is just these words that will be the least changed in any system of phonetic notation, for they are, as a rule, pronounced as they are spelt. The most important change in these words will be as regards the letter *c*. But it is well known that the Latin *c* was pronounced as *k* is by us, and since the English *c* does not uniformly represent this sound, it should be replaced by *k*. When the Greeks of old adopted a Roman word or name in which *c* appeared, they substituted their *kappa* for it, and the English have already followed their example in the spelling of such words as *convoke*, *provoke*, *embark*, *remarkable*, *embarkation*.

The *k* in such words as *knave* and *know* is defended by referring to the Anglo-Saxon *cnafa* and *cnawan*. It is said besides, that the present spelling shows at once the relation of *knave* to the German *knabe*, and that the *k* in *know* is seen to be useful in forming compounds like *acknowledge*. But if *c* is the letter in the root of the English word, why put *k* in its place? If the *c* became silent so long ago as the time of the Conquest and cannot stand, it had better go without a useless substitute. The Germans write *knabe* with a *k*, not to show its relation to similarly derived words in other Teutonic languages, but simply because the *k* is sounded. And such also is the example of the Romans, who, from the root *gno*, form *nosco* and *cognosco*, *notus* and *ignotus*, and from the root *gna*, *nascor* and *cognatus*, using the *g* where it is required by the sound and dropping it where it is not.

And so also, we are told, that the *gh* in *night* should not be cast aside, because it was once pronounced and corresponds to the *ch* of the German *nacht*; and here our answer is the same as with reference to *k* in *knave*. And then, if we are to write *gh* in *night* because it was once sounded, should we not preserve the symbol of the guttural in *law*, which comes from the Anglo-Saxon *laga* or *lagu*, in *Sunday* from *Sunnandæg*, in *Friday* from *Frígedæg*, *lie* (to rest) from *liegan*, *lie* (to utter falsehood) from *leogan*, *elbow* from *elnboga*, and a host of others? In *ghost* and *aghast* there is no reason whatever for the *h*, for

the old forms were *gost* and *agast*, and the *h* is not to be found in the Anglo-Saxon roots; while in *sprightly* there was no guttural sound at all, since the word comes from the French *esprit* and was spelt *spritly* and *spritely* till comparatively modern times. We will close this section with a quotation from Professor Skeat. "It deserves to be stated that a great number of our words have been at various times re-spelled according to their supposed etymology, and that, in many cases, such re-spelling is utterly misleading. I wish to state that I have been for years three and more [now seven years] at work upon English etymology; and that I have been much struck with the stupid way in which our spelling has been tampered with in order to suggest, encourage "and make the public swallow a false derivation."

Closely connected with the etymological are the *historical and relational objections* to a phonetic spelling-reform. It is said, for instance, that the words *conscience* and *sight* cannot now be altered since their present spellings are as old as the writings of Chaucer. But we have already seen that there have been many changes of spelling since the days of Chaucer. Some of these changes have been distinctly phonetic, while, on the other hand, many words spelt phonetically by Chaucer have been tampered with by the pedantry of modern times. If historical spelling is to be worth anything, it should be systematic, and old spellings should be restored after the fashion of Walter Savage Landor. But even Landor was not consistent, for he adopts some old spellings and rejects or neglects others. And it is no marvel either, for it is a difficult matter to decide where the line should be drawn. Shall we adopt spellings which can be found in Chaucer? or shall we go as far back as the *Vision of Piers the Ploughman*? or, on the other hand, shall we content ourselves with the forms of the Elizabethan era? If we strive to write the earliest form that a word assumed in the language, we must write *kanave* for *knave*, *puntillo* for *punctilio*, and *ellagaito* for *alligator*, and this, moreover, while we pronounce the words as they are now pronounced. Professor Sweet in his *Hand-book of Phonetics* remarks, "Historical spelling destroys the materials on which alone history itself can be based."

In his *Study of Words* Trench declares that phonetic spelling would destroy the 'lively interest' with which we 'discover words to be of closest kin which we had never considered till now, but as entire strangers to one another.' A good answer to this argument on the 'ethnographic relations of words,' as DeQuincey has it, is to be found in the fact that there are, indeed, very few English words in which these relations are immediately evident from their

forms. It is perfectly right and in accordance with scientific phonetics that the difference in the sounds of the words *wring* and *wrong*, *haft* and *have*, *shred* and *sherd*, *shire* and *shore* should be denoted by a difference in the spellings. There are meanwhile, such words as *height*, *flight*, *sieve*, and *mirth* which are needlessly distinct from *high*, *fly*, *sift*, and *merry* as far as the vowels are concerned. Furthermore, there is no difficulty in tracing the connection between such differently-spelt groups of words as *bleed*, *bless*, and *blossom*; *cordial*, *courage*, and *quarry*; *risk* and *section*; *enthusiasm* and *theology*; *evince* and *vanguish*; *wealth* and *wilderness*; *gaud*, *jewel*, and *joy*; *burden* and *bairn*; *madam* and *monkey*; *alley*, *ledge* and *law*; and these are but few among scores of groups that will readily occur to every one. Again, who does not know that *cow* and *kine*, *cat* and *kitten*, *corn* and *kernel*, *quell* and *kill*, *fancy* and *phantom*, *skim* and *scum* are etymologically related? "When words," writes a lady educationist, "so apparently different as one *tear* and the French *larme*; as the Latin *coquo* and the Greek *pepto*; or French *meme* and Latin *ipse*, are shown to be closely related, we need surely not be afraid of any result from phonetic spelling. If, again, the Sanskrit *coupen* can turn into *palace* and *courts* in the hands of the professors of this science, we may securely leave the matter to them and not feel under any necessity to sacrifice the good of the greatest number to the claim of the privileged few." And Dr. Morris says, "we have documents in an unbroken line from the time of Alfred the Great to the present day. Were we to write *ov* instead of *of*, and *nave* instead of *knave*, and *rite* for *right*, etymology would not suffer. Older records of our speech would give us all the information we want."

Another of Trench's arguments does not readily occur to every one. He says, "There are in every language vast numbers of words which the ear does not distinguish from one another, but which are at once distinguishable to the eye by the spelling. Now, of course, it is a real disadvantage, and may be the cause of serious confusion that there should be words in our spoken language of entirely different origin and meaning, which yet cannot be differentiated from one another. The phonographers simply propose to extend this disadvantage, already cleaving to our spoken, to the written language as well."

We hold that it is no disadvantage at all that there are such words in English, which cannot be distinguished in sound, but are undoubtedly distinct in meaning. There is, and can be, no confusion at all in the use of such words. If there were, some change would, of necessity, be introduced into the sound of one or some of the words for the purpose of distinction. Let any of the groups

instanced by Trench be incidentally introduced into a sentence, and if the sentence contain any meaning, that meaning and the meaning of each individual word will be perfectly clear as soon as the sentence is pronounced, independently, that is, of the spellings of the paronyms. The uselessness of such distinctions in spelling is made still more evident by the fact that there are in English very nearly *seven hundred homonyms*, words of the same spelling and sound, but of different application. We have not included such words as are merely the same word used as different parts of speech, for if these were taken into consideration, the number would be, not hundreds, but thousands. And surely if there be any virtue in *paronymic distinctions*, these numerous English homonyms should be made 'distinguishable to the eye.' If *hew*, to cut asunder, should be written differently from *hue*, a colour, this *hue* and the first word of the phrase *hue and cry* should also be distinguished in form, especially as they are 'the same parts of speech.' And so with *queue* and the two *cues*; *betel* and the three *beetles*; *peal* and the three *peels*, &c. But this distinction of paronyms is worse than useless; it is mischievous. When children of the tenderest years are checked for confounding the spelling of paronyms like *air* and *ere*, *ate* and *eight*, *medal* and *meddle*, they lose their self-confidence and nervously avoid attempting to spell such words. And then it is entirely forgotten that there are in English very many words which are of the same spelling, but are sounded differently for different applications (and these we may call *dionyms*), such as *bow*, *row*, *sow*, *gill*, *goat*, *lower*, *hinder*, *canon*, &c. Now all these words would, in any system of phonetic spelling, be written differently. Thus, both by reducing paronyms to homonyms and converting dionyms into differently spelt words, a phonetic notation would be a decided advantage, and not a disadvantage.

We have sometimes been asked, "who is to be the judge of those words that are now variously pronounced?" This objection is carried a little further by Trench, when he says, "Before there was any fixed and settled orthography in our language, when, therefore, every body was more or less a phonographer, seeking to write down the word as it sounded to him (for there was no other law to guide him), the variations of spelling were infinite." And, again, "uneducated people in our own day have no rule but the sound to guide them. How is it that they do not all spell alike?" The former of these quotations implies that at the time spoken of there was a settled English language, but no settled English spelling, and that the result of such a state of things was the confusion of spelling. Now a glance at Oliphant's *Sources of Standard*

English or the Clarendon Press *Specimens of Early English* will show the most superficial student that down to the sixteenth century there were numerous dialects in England, very many more than are said to exist still among the uneducated, and with this additional disadvantage that there was no received standard of pronunciation. The dialects then existing could be roughly divided into three groups, the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern, and these differed from one another almost as much as distinct languages, not only as to their pronunciation, but as to their vocabulary and grammatical terminations as well, while in the Danelagh there was a constant modification of forms and paring away of terminations going on for centuries. "Each shire spoke that which was right in its own eyes." Hence the great diversity referred to by Trench. When printing presses arose in England, it was found convenient to have one form for each word, and the printers began, without even the rule of *pronunciation* to guide them (for foreign printers, as Caxton's men undoubtedly were, could hardly be expected to have mastered the various English dialects,) to print the same word always in the same way, sometimes after the spelling of one writer, and sometimes after that of another. This evil existed for many years, in the sixteenth century the commonest words often appearing in two or three forms in the same work. We are not yet quite free from the effects of this practice. Occasionally a compromise was struck between two dialects; thus the Northern *suord* and the Southern *szuord* were combined to form the present *sword*. "Never," says Oliphant, "did any tongue employ so many variations of vowels as the English to represent the sound *e*: here is one more puzzle for the foreigner. This comes from our tongue being compounded in different shires; the form, *ie*, came from the South-East, the form *ea*, from the South-West, the form *e* and also *ee* from the North." When Trench says that uneducated people now have no rule but the pronunciation to guide them, he implies that the educated *have* some other rules for their guidance. We have already said enough of the fancied guidance found in the etymology and history of English words, and we now see that English spelling is not even phonetic; it was not built and does not stand on phonetic principles. Where then does the guidance come from? It is also quite incorrect to say that the 'bad spelling' of the uneducated is due only to their following the sound. The true explanation is to be found in the 'innphinititley divourcified plaan auve spueling,' as Professor Gregory wittily writes it. There are in English so many signs for each sound, that those who write phonetically after only a brief acquaintance with printed words have

before them a wide field of choice, for the symbolisation of their pronunciation, and the result is, that very few choose the same letter or combination of letters for the same sound. If the English language were phonetically written, this would not and could not happen. If the spelling of words were in accordance with pronunciation, pronunciation would not change so quickly as at present. A symbol would be fixed upon for each sound, and whenever that symbol met the eye its proper sound and no other would unhesitatingly be uttered. It is true, that there are some words which are now pronounced differently by different men of the best education, such are *cognizance*, *either*, *neither*, *larynx*, *pharynx*, *imagery*, *fealty*, *humble*, *slough*, *seamstress*, *samphire*, *privacy* and a few others. But since these words are by no means numerous, no harm would be done if they were for the time being written in two different ways. The best pronunciation, and therefore the fittest spelling, would, as a natural consequence, survive. Those who object to such an arrangement should lift up their voices against numerous similar duplicates already existing in English, such, for example, as *anapest* and *anapæst*, *anchorit* and *anchorite*, *felly* and *felloe*, *Brahmin* and *Brahman*, *basnet* and *basenet*, *caldron* and *cauldron*, *clinch* and *clench*. On their hypothesis, one form should be chosen and kept to at all risks, while the pronunciation is left to range at large. But what can be said in defence of the words that have *two* received spellings each, both of the same origin, meaning, and sound? Mr. Webb, in his key to the Entrance Course for this year, has drawn the attention of Entrance students to three such double forms, *vender* and *vendor*, *pedler* and *pedlar*,* *licence* and *license*. And he might have gone on to warn them that there are scores of such words in English. As familiar instances we may mention *jail* and *goal*, *draft* and *draught*, *bully* and *bulley*, *meter* and *metre*, *center* and *centre*, *balk* and *baulk*, *bark* and *barque*, *dram* and *drachm*, *calif* and *caliph*, *cigar* and *segar*, *coco* and *cocoa*, *cooly* and *coolie*, *burden* and *burthen*, *choir* and *quire*, *licorice* and *liquorice*. In a system of phonetic spelling, such absurdities would be impossible.

It is said, that there are in English *rules* for marking the difference between long and short vowels, and reference is made to the doubling of a single consonant after a vowel to intimate that it is short, and to the addition of a final silent *e* to intimate that the preceding vowel is long; as, *Mary* and *marry*, *mad* and *made*. The word *rule* applied to crotchets like these is but a misnomer. To see how inadequate the first of these rules is,

* There is also a third form, *peddler*.

we need only glance at such common doublets as *fagot* and *faggot*, *wagon* and *waggon*, *foray* and *forray*, *caligraphy* and *calligraphy*, *calisthenics* and *callisthenics*. *Bade* and *bass* are types of a class of words in which the rule of doubling the consonant is exactly reversed, and there are hundreds of words in which the letter *l* is doubled without any orthoepic effect whatever. With regard to the final *e* the incongruities are still more striking. The youngest children have to be taught that *h-i-v-e* is *hive*, but *l-i-v-e* is *live*, that *l-a-v-e* is *lave*, but *h-a-v-e* is *have*. We teach them the difference of sound between *bar* and *bare*, and then confront them with *are*! We make them distinguish *cone* from *con*, and then surprise them with such puzzles as *done* and *gone*! Worse than all this, we expect them to see the difference between *rove*, *move* and *love*! A few years after (but still *years*, sad to say,) they have to combat with *entice* and *notice*, *revive* and *motive*, *juvenile* and *fertile*, *vulpine* and *doctrine*, *erudite* and *favourite*. Again we may ask, with Mr. Evans, "what does the final *e* tell our pupils about the character of the final vowel sound in *police*, *advice*, and *notice*? Or, in *prestige*, *oblige*, and *vestige*? Or, in *magazine*, *divine*, and *doctrine*? In *simile*, *apostrophe* and *hyperbole*, the final *e* has a sound of its own and leaves us to guess that of the preceding vowel. If it is said that these are of Greek origin, we answer 'our children are not born with' a knowledge of etymology, and the Greek origin cannot help them. And if these come from the Greek, so do *anatomy* and *euphony*, *apogee* and *perigee*. What again is the office of the final letter in *centre*, *accoutre*, and *metre*? Of course the choice has not yet been made between *meter* and *metre*, and yet *barometre* is considered intolerable!

We have said enough now to show that English spelling is not governed by rules, but is entirely capricious, inconsistent and false; that there is, in fact, as the Right Hon'ble Mr. Gladstone says, "a total absence of rule, method, system, and all the auxiliaries which people generally get when they have to acquire something that is difficult of attainment." We will take up this subject again in our second part with special reference to the difficulty of *teaching* spelling. But some declare that this very difficulty of learning to spell, the very complexities, in fact, the very eccentricities, are useful for mental discipline, and that they teach the pupils to believe rather than argue with their teachers. We ask such cavillers what mental exercise is afforded by such lessons as "*H-i-g-h* is *high*, but *h-i-g-h-t* is not *height*, *h-e-i-g-h-t* is *height*"? It takes years for a child to reconcile himself to such eccentricities as *pity*, *piteous*, and *pitiful*. Is this mental discipline? The faculty of memory is overburdened, and the perception and reason

are left to take care of themselves. Does the inconsistency of spelling foster confidence in the teacher? We rather think that it engenders distrust, and destroys all confidence in self.

The present style of spelling, then, cannot be defended on any ground. The fact, therefore, that it is clung to, is to be accounted for only as the result of prejudice. The late Dr. Thirwall, the good and learned Bishop of St. David's, says, "I look upon the established system of spelling (if an accidental custom may be so called,) as a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and common sense. But I am aware that the public cling to these anomalies with a tenacity proportioned to their absurdity, and are jealous of all encroachment on ground consecrated by prescription to the free-play of blind caprice." Since the great Bishop's death the reform of spelling has made great progress in England and America. The present spelling-reform movement began with Messrs. Alexander John Ellis and Isaac Pitman in 1842. These gentlemen together invented a set of letters containing a symbol for each simple spoken English sound. This alphabet has been continually undergoing variation and improvement, and it has now assumed a permanent shape, with definite and convenient characters for the italic and script forms as well. This system of reformed spelling is called Phonotypy, and consists of the Roman alphabet supplemented by thirteen new letters, seven for vowels and six for consonants. The five Roman vowel signs are retained for the short vowel sounds of *pat*, *pet*, *pit*, *pot*, and *put*, and the new signs, which are somewhat similar in form to the *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* of the Romans, represent the vowel sounds of *palm*, *page*, *peat*, *pall*, *pole*, *pool* and *pun*. The diphthongs are represented by constant digraphs suggestive of their elements, *ei*, *iu*, *ou*, *ai* and *oi* respectively standing for the diphthongs of *height*, *pew*, *pout*, *ay* and *point*. Of the Roman consonants, the redundant *c*, *q* and *x* are thrown aside, and the others are regularly used to mark severally the sound they ordinarily represent. Single characters are also substituted for the misleading *sh*, *ch*, *th*, and *ng*. The *th* of *thin* is distinguished from the *th* of *then*, and a convenient letter, the tailed *z* is used for the sound of *s* in *pleasure*. Phonotypy has the merit of perfect practicability as well as the utmost of scientific exactness that practicability will allow. It is not so scientifically accurate as Mr. Melville Bell's *visible speech*, which furnishes a sign, not only for every spoken English sound, but, for every sound which the human voice produces, or can produce, each sign by its very shape suggesting the position of the vocal organs by which the sound is generated. Such a system can be employed only by one who is thoroughly versed in the science of phonetics,

while it has been proved by experiment that a child of eight years can be taught to read Phonotypy fluently after a week's instant practice. It is sometimes argued that adults who have been accustomed to the established style of spelling would find a great difficulty in the change of systems, and that the wealth of literature now existing in the common orthography would be entirely lost. But experiments in the Portlaw schools in Ireland, and in many of the schools in America, prove that there is no transition so easy as the transition from phonotypy to the common spelling or from the common spelling to Phonotypy. Those who have been in the habit of using the old spelling for years find no difficulty in reading phonotypy, when once they know the phonetic values of the letters. We are not perfectly acquainted with the *pronunciation* of Chaucer and Langhorn and yet we read their works with ease after some careful study. How much easier, then, will be the reading of what we know to be in accordance with the pronunciation with which we are *familiar*. Those, again, who have been trained to read phonotypy find no difficulty in reading works printed in the old spelling. And there would thus be no necessity of reprinting or casting aside our present books. But all books of any worth must and do appear in new editions according to the demand for them. If such new editions are required by a generation trained in Phonotypy, the publishers will consult the taste of the age and issue the work in Phonotypy. The only real difficulty in the way of the immediate adoption of such a system is the printers difficulty in procuring new types. But this, of course, is only a *present* difficulty.

The superiority of Phonotypy to other proposed phonetic schemes will be seen from the fact that it has been adopted by the English Spelling-Reform Association, which was formed in 1879 for the purpose of taking some steps to bring about a reform of English spelling. A petition from *a hundred and thirty-seven* English School Boards had been presented to the Education Department by a deputation of eminent men, but it did not succeed in securing the authority of the department for the cause of spelling-reform. It was thereupon determined to form an Association to keep the matter before Government and the public. The Association is composed of all those interested in a reform of spelling, among whom are very nearly all the great philologists and educationists in England. The Rev. A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in Oxford, and author of several valuable philological works, was President for three years, and is now a Vice-President. The present President is Dr. J. H. Gladstone, Member of the

School Board for London. Among the Vice-Presidents are the Right Hon'ble J. Mundella, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, the Hon'ble W. W. Hunter, LL.D., C.I.E., Sir John Lubbock, M.P. for the London University, the Bishop of Exeter, the Poet Laureate, Professor Skeat, Dr. Murray, President of the English Philological Society, Dr. Morris and Professor Sweet, both ex-presidents of the Philological Society, and the great Doctors Abbot, Angus, Bain, Scott, and Taylor. The Association, after three years of careful examination and comparison, has selected Phonotypy as the most practical system of phonetic spelling. There has been another Association of spelling reformers (comprising no less than fifteen hundred persons) in existence since 1843, that is the Phonetic Society, of which Professor Max Müller is President, and Drs. Latham, Morris, and Murray, and Professors Sayce and Sweet are Vice-presidents.

A Spelling-Reform Association has existed for many years in America, and the great American philologists are to a man in favour of a spelling-reform. Of the learned Americans who have written in the cause of the reform, we may mention in particular, Professor March of Lafayette, Professors Whitney and Lounsbury of Yale, Professor Child of Harvard, and Professor Barnard of Columbia College. The Association and the American Philological Society decided on adopting for the present a partial reform of spelling, and accordingly published the five following rules which have met with the best reception and are already carried into practice by hundreds of newspapers and journals, and many thousands of private persons.

"1. Omit *a* from the digraph *ea* when pronounced as *e* short as in *hed, helth, &c.*

"2. Omit silent *e* after a short vowel, as in *hav, giv, liv, definite, forbad, &c.*

"3. Write *f* for *ph* in such words as *alfabet, fantom, camfor filosofy, telegraf, &c.*

"4. When a word ends with a double letter, omit the last as in *shal, wil, clif, eg, &c.*

"5. Change *ed* final to *t* where it has the sound of *t* as in *lasht, imprest, fiat,*" &c.

The English Philological Society has taken a similar step. At the last meeting of the Society, Mr. Sweet submitted by request a list of amended spellings for English words. This list embraces the ground of five American rules and goes considerably further. All letters that are useless, both phonetically and etymologically, are omitted from the spelling of words. The past tense of the verb is formed by adding *ed*,

only when the *ed* is a separate syllable (i. e., after *t* and *d*, and in other cases for poetic rhythm); otherwise simple *t* or *d* is added accordingly to the sound. No letter is doubled unless there is a double sound, as in *immoral*, *illegal*; *ee* is substituted for *ie* and *ea* in words like *fief* and *cheat*, *oo* for *o* in *move*, &c., and the *i* disappears entirely from *friend*, the *o* from *country*, the *u* from *guest*, and the *ue* from *catalogue*. *Tongue* is written *tung*, and *dumb* and *doubt* lose their *b*. There are in all about seven hundred words that undergo more or less change. These corrections were discussed at six meetings of the Society before final presentation. They have only to be seen to be approved, and were almost unanimously adopted by the Society, *whose Transactions are henceforth to be printed in this reformed spelling*.

We have thus two good schemes of reformed spelling, one radical, the other partial, the first adopted by the Spelling Reform Association, the second by the Philological Society. Now, as we have seen, there exists a very great deal of prejudice on this subject, and we think that the public mind is not ready for so thorough a reform as the adoption of Phonotypy. As long as spelling is regarded by the great majority of educated people as something sacred and unchangeable, there is not much room for argument. What is immediately wanted is that the belief in the sanctity of spelling be dispelled. Let it once be acknowledged that a man may spell *psalm* without a *p* and *wrapped* with four letters instead of seven, and yet be neither a pitiable fool nor a scheming knave, and the death-blow of conservative spelling is struck. We would propose that the spelling of the Philological Society be used in printed works, and that the more correct Phonotypy be introduced into schools. Let the rising generation be taught to spell reasonably, and let the working men of the present day regret that they were reared under such disadvantages. "All true reforms have been gradual." And there can be no confusion caused by the two systems existing side by side for a time, for, as we have intimated, the resemblance between Phonotypy, and the common print is so great, that it is not difficult to pass from one to the other. Those of us who do not wish to take the trouble of writing Phonotypy (though the trouble would in reality be very little), need not do so at all. The system of the Philological Society is learnt in a few minutes, there being no new letters in it. But even this is not necessary. There will be only the temporary discomfort occasioned by the strange appearance of the printed page. But if the present spelling is radically incorrect (and that it is so, must be clear

to every thinking reader), some little inconvenience should not be objected to for the sake of getting rid of it. By the introduction of Phonotypy into schools, spelling and good reading will come almost naturally. All the time now wasted over spelling, reading, and dictation lessons can be devoted to fresh and more profitable subjects. Our children will love school when they find how interesting it is to hear the talk of their teacher about the wonders of the commonest objects. They will no longer be in constant fear of making a mistake at their reading. It is but too often that a lasting dislike has been taken to study on account of the harshness of teachers to little ones that cannot spell. The more logical the young mind is, the less of purely *mechanical* turn, the more will it rebel against English spelling.

Those of our readers who have followed us carefully will, we think, acknowledge that the present style of spelling is utterly mischievous. If this be their deliberate opinion, they should not fail to give it expression and carry it into practice even to a slight extent. He who drops the *e* from *live* in his ordinary correspondence, does much to bring about a reform.

G. S. GASPER.

ART. VI.—THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

THE Sankhya Philosophy and its counterpart, the Yoga, have lately been invested with a peculiar interest in the writings and Peripatetic discourses of the champions of Theosophy in India. The speculations formulated in the one, and developed in a series of practical rules of the most stringent type in the other, have been placed above the most improved science of the day; and results are anticipated, compared with which those by which the comforts and conveniences of life are being multiplied, are as trifles. It is proposed in this paper to show, by a careful analysis of the contents of one of the two original documents from which our knowledge of the Sankhya Philosophy is derived, how far the glowing eulogy bestowed upon it by Indian theosophists is well merited.

The founder of the Sankhya, the first of the six schools of Indian Philosophy, was Kapila, one of the great thinkers whose speculations in the region of pure thought have, not merely left an indelible mark in the literature of our country, but exercised a mighty influence on our national life. Nothing certain or reliable is known about this great man; and he must therefore be held up as a mythic, rather than a historical character. The traditions current about him are such as are manufactured, in an age of superstition, by what Grote calls the retrospective veneration of a few devoted followers, and accepted as invested with peculiar sacredness, if not as positively and indisputably unquestionable, by the unthinking masses. He is said by some champions of his school to have been one of the seven great sons of Brahma, who cut a figure in the theogonies of the Purans; while by others he is held up as an incarnation of Vishnu himself. Others, again, led by the etymology of the word Kapila, which means a *tawny brown color*, as well as *fire*, look up to him as the great Vedic god, Agni himself, in a human form. He is, moreover, said to have been a descendant of the celebrated Indian lawgiver, Manu, to have lived in retirement as a recluse, to have successfully controlled his appetites and passions, and to have been invested on that account with various kinds of supernatural powers. But if he is identified, as he has been, with the irascible sage in the *Ramayana*, who destroyed the sixty-thousand sons of King Sagara of Ayodhya (Oudh) in a fit of rage, consequent on their impudence in accusing him of the great crime of having stolen their father's sacrificial horse, the complete self-control he is said to have attained becomes problematical!

Various other stories are told about him of a piece with these ; and the best thing the enquirer can do is to be content with the bare fact, that Kapila was a Brahmin and the founder of the school of philosophy the speculations of which may be found as an underlying vein of thought in the most advanced of the systems elaborated in ancient India. Nor are we in possession of the writings of this great sage, the works ascribed to him, *viz.*, the *Sankhya-Pravachana*, or Sankhya-Aphorisms and the *Tattva Samasa*, or compendium of principles, being decidedly more modern. The former, translated by Dr. Ballantyne years ago, is not even mentioned by Sankara Acharya, the great Vedantist's Commentator, who lived in the latter part of the seventh and the earlier part of the eighth century ; and it is not even referred to in the *Sarna-Darsana-Sangraha*, a philosophical treatise evidently composed in the fourteenth century. The *Sankhya-Pravachana*, however, is a standard document of the Sankhya school ; and, in our attempts to expound the principles of the philosophy associated with this school, we cannot but give it a prominent place. We shall, therefore, present a synopsis of the contents of this work, before proceeding to our examination, in another paper, of those of a treatise, which is decidedly more ancient, *viz.*, the *Sankhya Karika*, or exposition of the Sankhya Philosophy, recently translated by Mr. Davies of the Royal Asiatic Society. Another treatise, also recently translated, we shall refer to, the treatise already named, the *Sarna-Darsana-Sangraha*, or Review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy ; a work of very great importance which the student of our national philosophy will do well to master with a view to an intimate acquaintance with the lines of thought and reasoning embodied in it.

The *Sankhya-Pravachana* consists of six books and five hundred and twenty-six Sutras or Aphorisms. The first four books present the principles of Kapila's philosophy, without, it must be confessed, much regard to the advantage of a perspicuous or luminous arrangement, but with considerable acuteness and force. The fifth book grapples with and refutes some of the objections to his system current, if not in his age, at least in subsequent times ; and the sixth, being a recapitulation of the principles enunciated in the first four, bears to the whole the same relation, which the book of Deuteronomy bears to the Pentateuch. Several commentaries fitted to elucidate the contents of this hoary document, and demanded peremptorily by its studied brevity and sententiousness, exist ; and a recourse to them is absolutely needed to clear up its obscure passages and make its many legendary and other references intelligible. But great caution must be exercised in their use to avoid the common fault of transferring the

traditions and associations among which the commentators were brought up, to the age when the passages elucidated were penned. The best of these commentaries is *Sankhya-Pravachana Bhashya* by Vijnana-Bhikshu, who seems to have been an ardent admirer and a redoubtable champion of the system, at a time when it was attacked by certain phases of pantheistic and nihilistic thought, as well as by persons who derived their inspiration from prevalent forms of theistic belief. The Sankhya Aphorisms, together with valuable portions of this commentary, were translated into English by Dr. Ballantyne, whose accuracy as an interpreter or expounder of Hindu Philosophy has been generally acknowledged by Sanscrit scholars. These translations are to be utilized in the following synopsis of the contents of this memorable work.

The grand object of this philosophy is set forth in the very first of the five hundred and twenty-six Aphorisms of which the book consists :—"Well, the complete cessation of pain (which is) of three kinds, is the complete end (*summum-bonum*) of man." The three kinds of pain are particularized, not so much by the author of the book, as by his commentators. Pain "natural and intrinsic," or pain arising from bodily and mental infirmities, and weaknesses, is comprehended in the first class; and that, "natural and extrinsic," or pain arising from such external causes as "cold, heat, wind, rain, thunderbolts" is included in the second class. The third class comprehends, according to the commentator Vachaspati Misra, pains proceeding from the influence of planetary bodies, or from the malice of impure spirits, such as Yackchas, Rakshases, &c. The subjection of the soul to this three-fold pain, or to pain in its three-fold aspect, is its bondage, and liberation from it should be, if it is not, the sole object of earthly and even heavenly existence. The object of Sankhya and every other system of Indian philosophy is to show how this consummation is to be brought about, or how the final emancipation of the soul from the bondage of pain in its three-fold aspect is to be effected.

The diagnosis of a disease is the first step towards its cure; and, therefore, an attempt is made to set forth the cause of this universal bondage, before the sources of emancipation are pointed out. The disquisition on this cause is worthy of a detailed notice, inasmuch as it points to the varied antagonistic forces with which the system had to contend in its advanced, if not in its incipient stages of development.

The great Napoleon developed a principle of universal applicability, when, immediately after his coronation, he said :—"A new dynasty must be baptized with blood." A new school

of philosophy, as well as a new Empire or a new dynasty, has to pass through a season of almost ceaseless struggle for life ; and it is not established till it has proved its right to live according to a law now said to be universally operative, the law of the survival of the fittest. And it cannot but be very interesting to notice the phalanx of antagonistic forces, through which it has, in its inception and development, to force its way to maturity, renown, and far extending and triumphant influence, if not to universal ascendancy. But this cannot be done in the case of the system of philosophy under review, inasmuch as we are not in possession of documents fitted to throw light on its early development. But we can indicate the varied hostile theories with which it had to contend when the *Sankhya-Pravachana* was composed.

What, then, is the cause of the universally admitted bondage of the soul, or its subjection to the varied kinds of pain, the complete cessation of which is the object of philosophy or right knowledge ? Various parties come forward with varied answers, which are plausible enough at first sight, but which, when properly weighed in the balance of reason, are found wanting. The ordinary thinker, or one not far advanced in philosophy, comes forward and points to *time* and *place* as the cause, jointly and separately, of the bondage of the soul. But his theory is very easily exploded, as, both *time* and *place* being associated with all souls, those which are in bondage and those which are beatified, if they were the obnoxious cause, release or liberation would be an impossibility. But liberation is a fact, and souls released exist free from all pain, and beatified. *Time* and *place*, therefore, cannot be the cause we are in quest of. The metaphysician steps forward, and affirms that the bondage of the soul arises from its being conditioned and therefore necessarily defective. The reply to this is plain. The premises are incorrect, and therefore the conclusion is faulty. The soul is absolute and unconditioned ; a position established both by Scripture and common sense. But this reply elicits the rejoinder :—" If the soul is absolute and unconditioned, why talk of its bondage and subsequent liberation ? " It is not at all difficult to dispose of this demurrer. Forms of expression, conventional, though not scientifically accurate, cannot be very well avoided. When the bondage of the soul and its liberation are talked of, the real meaning is not hidden, though some homage is paid to usage. The body is really in pain, the soul's bondage is only reflectional, as the red color in a crystal vase containing a China rose.

The metaphysician retires, giving place to the priest or the champion of current orthodoxy, who holds up works as the cause of the bondage of the soul. But works cannot weave a net for that

to which they do not appertain. Works belong to the mind, and their influence, good or bad, does not and cannot extend to the soul, to which they do not, in the slightest degree, appertain. The Vedantin, or the pantheist of the Vedantic school, then comes forward, and with an air of triumph insists upon Avidya, or ignorance, as the cause of this bondage. But ignorance, look upon it as you will, or from whatever standpoint it may please you to do so, cannot cause bondage. Ignorance, according to the Vedantins, is unreal; and that which is merely a phantom cannot be the cause of that which, like bondage, is a reality. If, however, it is affirmed that ignorance is real, and not phantom-like, the very foundation of monism, or exclusive belief in, or affirmation of, one entity, is shaken. But suppose ignorance is represented as both real and unreal, what then? Such a reconciliation of opposites, such a naked paradox, is almost unthinkable, and cannot be accepted by any but "children and madmen." Such a thing, moreover, which at one and the same time is both real and unreal, is not included in the six all-embracing categories of the Vaiseshikas, *viz.*, substance, quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence. How, then can its existence be admitted?

The idealist then advances, and affirms that, as nothing but thought exists, bondage is unreal and dreamy. But here, again, the premises are not correct. Our intuition of the external world proves its reality as decidedly as our intuitive knowledge of thought proves its reality. If intuition is to be set aside as fallacious or unreliable in the one case, it ought to be cast overboard in the other also. The believer in momentary existences, or he who believes that existence, instead of being a continuous, connected chain, consists of distinct and separate parts, each leaping into momentary existence only to be replaced immediately by its successor, steps forward or walks into the arena with his theory, which, but for the fact that nothing is too absurd in the region of metaphysics or speculative science, might be looked upon as too odd to be entertained by sensible men even for a moment. He affirms that the bondage of the soul is occasioned by the influence of external objects of momentary duration. He, however, does not clearly see that external objects, being locally separate from the soul, cannot weave a net of bondage for it, and that things ephemeral, which make their appearance one after another, only to die, cannot have a permanent effect, as the bondage of the soul confessedly is. And the last gentleman whose opinions are weighed and found wanting, is the nihilist, who maintains that, as nothing exists but an eternal and unutterable void, bondage is suppositious,

a myth or a non-*entity*. This gentleman has directed against him the very weapons by which his brother champion the idealist is chased out of the arena.

Some of these opponents are regarded as brethren with mistaken notions, but the opprobrious epithet of heretic is applied to the rest, especially to those who uphold nihilism in one form or another.

The varied theories of the bondage of the soul which Kapila's system had to combat and overcome, indicate the forms of thought and belief, current in what might emphatically be called the Age of Indian Philosophy, and in times immediately subsequent to it. There was the tendency to reduce all forms of existence to space and time, or to merge the sensuous objects of nature into the suprasensuous forms of thought. There were the theories of the absolute and the relative, the unconditioned and the conditioned, propounded, matured, held as life, and fought for; as well as forms of thought arising from current superstition. There was, moreover, the transcendental type of noumenism, which, originating in pure Vedantic times, was being gradually fitted, by an inflexible and uncompromising logic, or that ascendancy which it has enjoyed in our country for ages untold. There was idealism ready to affirm the existence of nothing but pure thought, side by side with nihilism proclaiming an interminable and absolute void under diversified forms of fictitious and deceptive existence. And finally there was the strange and paradoxical theory of an endless chain of unconnected existences, an infinite concatenation of finite links without anything like an interdependence or correlation of parts. Do not our modern philosophers find some of their most favourite whims anticipated in these forms of thought.

It is desirable to state here, that Kapila's system, though thrown into the shade by the ascendant star of Vedantism, has maintained its influence, in spite of these forms of thought, so far as to give rise to the saying, quoted by Monier Williams in his excellent treatise, "*Indian Wisdom*," viz., "there is no knowledge like Sankhya and no power like Yoga." Let it not, moreover, be forgotten that the ascendancy of the Vedanta has been secured and maintained by an assimilative process; that is, in consequence of its adoption and assimilation to itself, of some of the characteristic ideas of the Sankhya philosophy. The Sankhya philosophy would exist in Vedantism in a noticeable form even if its existence as a separate system were utterly extinguished, or thrown beyond the confines of possibility.

The question must once more be raised:—"What is the cause of the universally admitted bondage of the soul?" Two

Aphorisms in Book I are calculated to bring us to the conclusion arrived at by the commentator, Nijana Bhikshu, who lived and flourished about three hundred years ago, *viz.*, that "the immediate cause of the bondage of the soul is the conjunction of Prakriti and of the soul." But the commentator is of course aware, as all students of Sankhya philosophy are, that the real cause lies beyond this conjunction, which, as Prakriti and soul are both pervasive, and fitted to attract each other by inherent laws, is inevitable, and from which, therefore, there is no exemption even for beatified souls. The true cause of the bondage of the soul is "non-discrimination." The soul is really different from Prakriti and its products, *viz.*, intelligence, egoism, mind, &c.; but it is led by non-discrimination to identify itself with them. Hence its bondage!

But the problem is not solved here. Another question arises. If the earth stands upon the elephant, what does the elephant stand upon? If non-discrimination is the cause of the bondage of the soul, what is the cause of non-discrimination? Some persons may be prone to maintain that merit or demerit is the cause of non-discrimination. But merit or demerit, desert, good or bad, springs from non-discrimination; and therefore we must merit one non-discrimination to explain another; and there will in consequence be a *regressus-ad-infinitem*. But suppose we have recourse to the theory of spontaneity, and affirm that non-discrimination comes naturally and spontaneously into being, will not such a hypothesis be enough? No; for in that case there can be no guarantee that liberated souls shall be freed from its molestation. Non-discrimination is really "beginningless." But that which is beginningless is really everlasting or endless, and therefore the emancipation of the soul, consequent on the annihilation of non-discrimination, is an impossibility. It is not, however, beginningless, indivisible and endless in the sense in which the soul is; but it is beginningless "like an onflow (which may be stopped)." Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the fact, that the beginningless, antecedent non-entity of a jar terminates as soon as it is made. Non-discrimination, though without beginning, is happily annihilable; and the question how it may be annihilated—is properly speaking, the burden of the book under review.

But before pointing out the means prescribed for bringing about this happy consummation, the annihilation of non-discrimination and the liberation of the soul under its bondage, let us ascertain what is said in these Aphorisms about the soul, and what about Prakriti, or, in other words, let us look into the psychology and physiology of this ancient document.

Let us, in the first place, group a number of its declarations about the soul (Purnah):—

“But not without the conjunction thereof (*i. e.*, of Prakriti) is there the connection of that (*i. e.*, of pain) with that (*viz.*, the soul), which is now essentially a pure and free intelligence”—(Book I, Aph. 19.)

“Because this is impossible for what is inactive (or, in other words, without motion, as the soul is, because all pervading, and therefore incapable of changing its place)”—(Book I, Aph. 49).

“Soul is something else than body, &c. Because that which is combined (and is therefore discernible) is for the sake of some other (not-discernible)”—(Book I, Aph. 139-140).

“And (the soul is not material) because of its superintendence (over Prakriti). And (the soul is not material) because of its being an experience”—(Book I Aph 142-143).

“From the several allotment of births, a multiplicity of souls (is to be inferred)—” (Book I, Aph. 149)

“It (soul) is altogether free, (but seemingly) multiform (or different in appearance from a free thing) through a delusive resemblance of being bound. It (soul) is a witness through its sense-organs (which quit it on liberation). The nature of soul is constant freedom. And finally (the nature of the soul is) indifference (to pain and pleasure alike). Its (soul's) fancy of being an agent is from the proximity of intelligence”—(Book I Aph. 160-164).

“It cannot be of its own nature, (that is to say) meditation cannot belong to soul essentially, because of the immobility of the soul”—(Book II, Aph. 44.)

“Bondage and liberation do not belong naturally to soul (and would not even appear to be), but for non-discrimination”—(Book III, Aph. 71.)

“Soul is, for there is no proof that it is not. This (soul) is different from the body, &c. because of heterogeneousness (or complete difference between the two)”—(Book VI. Aph. 102).

The plurality of soul is proved by the distribution (announced by the Veda itself in such texts as whoso understand this, these are immortal, while others experience sorrow.”—(Book V. Aph. 45.)

These texts are fitted to prove that, according to the Sankhya system, souls are multitudinous, immaterial, uncompounded, undiscernible, all-pervading, immobile, and inactive. They are uncreate, and essentially intelligence and freedom. They superintend or guide the evolutions of Prakriti, and experience pleasure and pain, but in a unique sense.

As regards the origin of souls, the theory of creationism can not but be discarded in a system which is essentially atheistic,

and which at the same time cannot homologate so incongruous an idea as that of a pure spirit emanating from impure matter or from non-entity. Its great principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, is emphatically stated in Aphorism 78 of the very first Book :—"A thing is not made out of nothing (that is to say, it is not possible that out of nothing—i. e., out of a non-entity—a thing should be made, i. e., an entity should arise."

The theory of what in theological parlance or phraseology is called traducianism, or that of souls propagating souls by the laws of generation, is also repulsive to a system which looks upon the absence of all desire, and all activity, voluntary if not automatic, as essential to their perfect freedom from misery. And, therefore, the remaining theory of the pre-existence of souls, maintained by so many philosophers of so many different schools in ancient times, and in the church by no less a man than Origen, is the only theory that can be propounded in consistency with the principles of the Sankhya School. Souls are, therefore, represented as increate; but it is to be observed that the glory of being so does not belong to them exclusively.

Again they are said to be multitudinous, or rather innumerable, to avoid another difficulty. The object of creation or rather evolution being to effect the liberation of souls from the power or influence of non-discrimination, these must be numerous or innumerable to prevent the premature collapse or cessation of omnific work. The greater the number of souls, the longer is the process which first enslaves them one after another, and then effects their liberation singly, not *en masse*. The idea of the diffusiveness of souls is but a corollary deducible from their numerousness. It ought not to be forgotten that the Hindu philosopher, like his brother philosophers of other ancient schools, had at best but gross ideas of spiritual substances, and was therefore prone to confound them with material substances of a tenuous nature, such as ether, &c. Souls could not therefore be, according to him, multitudinous without being all diffusive and all pervasive. But is not each soul in itself, or apart from the congeries or mass of souls, diffusive and pervasive? To some extent it is; but perhaps not all-diffusive and all pervasive; though all that is said of souls and Prakriti may lead one to the conclusion that they overlap and interpenetrate one another, and are, moreover, overlapped and interpenetrated by Prakriti. The predications with reference either to the soul or Prakriti are by no means marked by perfect consistency and harmony.

Activity, as has already been indicated, can on no account be attributed to souls, it being invariably associated with pain and

misery through desire and aversion. Souls, therefore, are passionless and perfectly quiescent. But intelligence is certainly ascribed to souls ;—they are said to be intelligence itself. It may be said that intelligence and perfect quiescence can not co-exist ; and that, souls being subjects of knowledge, they must pass through various states of consciousness, such as sensations, intellections, emotions and volitions ; especially as omniscience, implying unchangeable thought and feeling, is not ascribed to them. But intelligence in this case, as in that of the Supreme Spirit of the Upanishads, is tantamount to non-intelligence, inasmuch as it makes or implies no distinction between self and not-self, subject and object. The Hindu philosopher is prone to look upon the pure spirit as a material entity of extreme tenuity ; and he speaks of its intelligence, as he speaks of the color of a coloured substance, as a material attribute, inherent rather than accidental. According to him, the intelligence of the soul is its golden color, its transparency, its luminousness. Its inherence in the soul can no more be the cause of intellectual, emotional and volitional activity, than the color of a colored substance, say the rosy hue of a rose, can be the cause of any display of activity on its part. Nor must it be forgotten, that intelligence in the proper sense of the term, is, according to this system, a product of Prakriti, the root-principle of nature, not an attribute or predicate of the soul.

The soul's essence is not merely intelligence but freedom. Then why talk of its bondage, a thing which, as contradictory to its nature, cannot exist in it without annihilating it. Here the Sankhya philosopher seems to falter for a moment, but gets rid of the difficulty with an ingenuity which may be commended. The soul's bondage is reflectional, not real. Its proximate cause is contact with Prakriti, the root-principle of nature, called the *Anmulam mulam*, the rootless root, or, in modern phraseology, the cause uncaused. This principle attracts the soul, just as loadstone attracts iron ; or it is attracted by the soul which is represented as thoroughly immobile.

In this description, however, our philosopher loses the balance of his logic, and gets entangled between the horns of a dilemma. If he maintains that the soul is attracted by Prakriti into juxtaposition with itself, the doctrine of its immobility is neutralized ; while if the conjunction of the two is attributed to the attractive power of the soul, its complete passivity or quiescence is made problematical. The Sankhya philosopher gets out of the horns by ascribing to the soul some kind of automatic influence or attractive power. Voluntary activity is most emphatically thrown out of the circle of the soul's predicates ; but some irresistible influence

or virtue emanates from it, in the same manner in which some mysterious influence is exerted automatically by the load-stone over a piece of iron. But our philosopher does not see that there is absolutely no necessity of his positing an attractive force either in the soul or in Prakriti to account for their conjunction. Both the substances are in his opinion all-pervasive ; and therefore their conjunction is inevitable. But here a fresh difficulty of an appalling nature makes its appearance. If Prakriti and souls are so universally diffusive that their union, or rather interpenetration, is inevitable, why are not souls simultaneously brought into bondage, and where are the beatified souls lodged ?

Leaving this difficulty unremoved, as the Sankhya philosopher leaves it, let us advert to the lamentable fruits of the inevitable contact of souls with Prakriti. From it proceed all the troubles of the mind (*manas*), which is a product of Prakriti, and therefore no portion of the soul ; and its sufferings are only reflected in the luminous and quiescent soul, and in this reflection consists its fictitious bondage. The soul is, therefore, in a very loose sense called an experiencer ; and all that can properly be predicated of it is, that the ephemeral pleasures and pains brought upon the mind by its own malignant activity are reflected in its tranquil substance. In a sense still looser, as we shall see, the soul is called the ruler of Prakriti, and the witness and regulator of its evolutions.

But does not the Sankhya philosopher assume the reality of the bondage of the soul in his argument with the Vedanta and other philosophers of the phenomenal school ? But by the bondage of the soul he means in reality the bondage of the mind, but as the mind is only a material evolute, its bondage can not be real, at least, in a spiritual sense. This is one of the glaring inconsistencies into which our philosopher is betrayed in spite of his logical acumen and philosophic penetration.

The existence of a soul distinct or different from the innumerable souls posited by Sankhya philosophy, bearing relation to them as that which the creator bears to the creature, or the ruler to the subject, or the benefactor to the dependent, or even the superior to the inferior, is peremptorily denied. But is something like realism maintained in the Aphorisms ascribed to Kapila, such as may justify our looking upon multitudinous souls as modifications of one primal soul, their generic head ? Such an idea is not discoverable in them, though it might have been, and perhaps was, originated in his school in subsequent times. The idea appears in Nijvana Bhikshu's commentary, in a connexion, however, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether the primal soul spoken of is the generic soul, the pattern and exemplar of all, or whether it

is nothing less than the pervasive, all-embracing spirit of God Himself.

In the Sankhya Aphorisms are posited two, and only two, entities, souls which are neither evolutes nor evolvent, and *Prakriti*, the evolvent root-principle of nature, and therefore not an evolute. Is there not a third entity spoken of as eternal, in the sense of having existed throughout past eternity, but not everlasting in the sense of being inherently fitted to exist throughout future eternity? Is not non-discrimination represented as having existed throughout past eternity, though terminable, or rather destined to pass into non-existence and continue therein for an almost incalculable cycle of ages? Is non-discrimination real or non-real? If real, the dualism assumed vanishes into thin air, or gives place to triadism. If unreal, how can it hold in bondage realities like living souls? Are we to look upon it as the Vedantins look upon their ignorance, or Nescience, or *Maya*, as both real and unreal? But such contraries cannot meet in an entity; such union in one substance is unthinkable. The very argument which the Sankhya philosopher sets in battle array against the Vedantic notion of the soul being held in bondage by ignorance, may be marshalled in all its entirety against his favorite non-discrimination. But this he does not pause to consider.

Now let us see what the Aphorisms say of the second entity, *Prakriti*, the self-evolvent principle, to which creation, or existence, in all its proteus-like forms, is to be traced, as well as the temporary bondage and ultimate emancipation of souls. The word *Prakriti*, we may mention by the way, has been, as a rule, translated 'nature,' but by no means with accuracy. It may be rendered, in deference to the scientific phraseology of the day, 'the primordial form'; but the better word is 'the self-evolving principle, the root of nature, called *Anmulam mulam*, the rootless root.'

The passages to be extracted in illustration of the nature of *Prakriti* are these:—

"*Prakriti* is the state of equipoise of goodness (*Sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*)."—(Book I., Aph. 61).

"Since the root has no root, the root (of all) is rootless (that is to say, there is no other cause of *Prakriti*, because there would be a *regressus-ad-infinitum*, if we were to suppose another cause, which by parity of reasoning, would require another cause, and so on, without end). Even if there be a succession, there is a halt at some one point, and so it is merely a name (that we give to the points in question) when we speak of the root of things under the name of *Prakriti*. Alike in respect of *Prakriti* and of both (Soul and *Prakriti*, is the argument for the uncreated existence).—(Book I., Aph. 67-69).

"Her (*Prakriti's*) imperceptibility arises from her subtlety. (*Prakriti*) exists because her existence is gathered from beholding of productions (which have these qualities.)"—(Book I., Aph. 109-110).

Though she be unintelligent, yet *Prakriti* acts—as is the case with milk (that is to say, as milk, without reference to man's efforts, quite of itself changes into the form of curd). Or, as is the case with acts (or on-goings), for we see them, of time, &c. (the spontaneous action of *Prakriti* is proved from what is seen). The action of time, for instance, takes place quite spontaneously in the shape of one season's now departing and another's coming on:—let the behaviour of *Prakriti* also be thus,—for the supposition conforms to observed facts. But still a senseless *Prakriti* would never energize, or would energize in a wrong way, less because of there being (in her case) no such communing as, "This is my means of producing experience," &c. To this he replies,—From her own nature she acts, not from thought—just as a servant (that is to say, as in the case of an excellent servant, naturally, merely from habit; the appointed and necessary service of the master is engaged in, and not with a view to his own enjoyment, just so does *Prakriti* energize from habit alone). Or, from attraction by deserts which have been from eternity.—(Book III., Aph. 59-63.)

Here we bring our string of quotations, from the text—as well as from the commentary—to a close, and emphasize the points made. *Prakriti* is eternal, imperceptible, indiscrete, unintelligent, and ever active, except when in a state of equipoise. It resembles the soul in eternal duration, imperceptibility, and undiscerptibility; but differs from it in activity or energy of self-evolution, not in its want of intelligence, as the intelligence of the soul, being destitute of the elements of self-consciousness and world-consciousness, is equivalent to non-intelligence.

Here a couple of questions ought to be raised and disposed of.

The first is—If *Prakriti* is imperceptible, how are we to be sure of its existence? To be able to answer this question, it is necessary to look into the laws of evidence which are recognized in the Sankhya School. The champions of this school admit only three kinds of proof, viz., perception (*Pratakscha*), inference (*Anuman*), and testimony (*Sahda*); and they discard comparison (*upamana*), which the Logical schools add to the list, as well as the two others admitted in the Vedic schools. The objects of the external world make their existence known to us through the medium of perception, or the

impressions made upon the senses by them. But they are, each of them, discernible, and consequently destructible. Their discernibility, or divisibility, proves that they are not eternal, and that, therefore, they cannot be the ground of their own existence. The law of inference leads the mind to look for the cause of their existence or manifestation apart from them; and the ultimate ground at which we arrive, when we trace the different lines of causation to their converging points, is *Prakriti*. Its existence, therefore, is proved by inference based on perception.

Again it is plain that these objects, evolved from *Prakriti*, do not exist for themselves. Or, in other words, *Prakriti* does not evolve for its own advantage. With its varieties of evolutes, it exists for something else, as "axes for cutting," or "houses" for the benefit of those who dwell in them. For whom, or for what does *Prakriti* evolve, or do the evolutes of *Prakriti* exist? For souls, certainly. The laws of inference, then, not merely establish the existence of *Prakriti*, but that of souls also. And as *Prakriti*, like the soul, is indiscernible, it is uncreate and eternal. In this piece of reasoning the doctrine of final causes is recognized, as in the preceding are the doctrines of efficient and material causes.

Now comes the second question:—How can *Prakriti* be called discernible, seeing that it consists of the three qualities (*gunas*), goodness, passion, and darkness, held in equipoise?

What are these *gunas* or qualities? Are they elementary substances of extreme tenuity, or are they mere predicates or attributes of substances? If they are qualities or attributes, in the ordinary sense of the term, of substances, their inherence in *Prakriti* does not militate against its indiscernibility. If, however, they are elementary substances, their union in *Prakriti* establishes its complex nature and its consequent discernibility. Their nature should, therefore, be thoroughly looked into before the claim of indiscernibility advanced in favor of *Prakriti* can be adjudicated upon.

The word *guna*, generally translated "quality," means a cord, and the three *gunas* of the Sankhya School are the three cords by which the soul, or rather *Prakriti* itself, is fettered. They are *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The word *Sattva* means purity and goodness; and the *Sattva* *guna* is that which enlightens, soothes, purifies, causes virtue, and communicates pleasure and happiness. It prevails in ethereal regions, and causes the enlightenment, happiness and joy, characteristic of those seats of purity and goodness. In the world it predominates in fire, and that is the reason why flame tapers towards the sky, and sparks fly upwards. When it abounds

in man, he becomes virtuous and happy ; and to its preponderance must be ascribed the acknowledged happiness of superior orders of beings, such as Prajāpatis, Indras, Pitris, Gandhavas, Gods and Demigods. The word *rajas* means passion, energy and activity ; and the characteristics of the *rajas-guna* are variability, activity, vehemence and restlessness. It is accompanied by vice and misery, and when it prevails in man, he becomes a child of error and wretchedness. It abounds in the atmosphere, and accounts for its fitful and erratic movements. And lastly, the word *Tamas* means stolidity and darkness ; and the *tamas-guna* is that which produces sorrow, dulness, stupidity and inaction. It predominates in earth and water, and accounts for their downward tendency ; and when it abounds in man, it makes him sorrowful, stupid, lazy and immobile.

The three qualities abound respectively in upper, mundane and nether creations. " Aloft (above the world of mortals) it (the creation) abounds in (the quality of) purity. Beneath (that is to say under the world of mortals) (the creation) abounds in darkness. In this midst, (that is in the world of mortals) (the creation) abounds in passion." (Book III, Aph. 48-50.)

But it is to be observed that they are, as a rule, if not invariably, found mixed in varied proportions never almost dissevered or separated from one another. In the highest ethereal regions, as in superior orders of beings and the very best of men, purity abounds ; but it is not altogether dissociated from its troublesome companions, inasmuch as these exist, albeit in very small proportions, along with it. And in the lowest infernal regions, as in demons and evil spirits, as well as the worst of men, some degree of purity, however inconsiderable, is found in conjunction with the preponderant passion and darkness. This fact explains or shows the distinction there is between these qualities, or rather material attributes, and the substances in which they are found mixed in varied proportions. They are almost inseparable in reality, though separable in thought. They are a material trinity in unity, and unity in trinity. They are held in equipoise only in *Prakriti* in its quiescent state, and their union in it in equal proportions cannot militate against the theory of its eternity and indescriptibility. They are moreover, ubiquitous, existing in all the productions or modifications of *Prakriti*, in all the regions of space, in endlessly varied proportions. And they are, in their joint capacity, as well as singly, an evil ; they being the cause of that bondage of the mind which is reflected in the soul, and from the reflection of which it has to be liberated.

Prakriti, in its Trinitarian essence, is the great omnific principle,

and it energises spontaneously, as milk coagulates into curd when let alone. Though destitute of intelligence, and acting from a simple automatic impulse, it never errs, as "an excellent servant" anticipates and obeys the commands of his master: "from habit." The order of creation is presented in Aph. 61 of Book I:—From *Prakriti* (proceeds) intelligence (*Buddhi*), from intelligence egoizer, or I-maker (*Ahankara*), from egoizer the fine, subtle elements (*Tanmatras*), and both sets (internal and external) of organs (*Indriya*) and from the subtle elements the gross elements (*Sthul bhuta*)." Intelligence, the first product, or evolute, of self evolving *Prakriti*, is called great (*Mahat*), because it is a principle of "superlative purity," and occupies in creation the same place which the Prime Minister occupies in a well organized government. It gives birth to egoizer, which is the cause of the distinction we make between self and not-self, a distinction fictitious rather than real, and one which proves to us a source of vexation and trouble. Then come the fine, tenuous elements, imperceptible to man, but perceptible to superior beings, or even to man when his natural powers are indefinitely enlarged by meditation, *viz.*, sound, touch, color, taste or sapidity, and smell. These seven principles are evolutes of *Prakriti*, and evolvent; and to their omnific activity, or prolific energy, creation in its multifarious aspects is to be traced. Then there are sixteen other principles, which are evolutes or productions, not evolvents or producers, *viz.*, the five gross elements, earth, fire, water, air, ether; the five organs of knowledge (*gyan-indriyani*) the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the skin; the five organs of action (*Karma-indriyani*) the hands, the feet, the larynx or the organ of speech, the orifice and the generative organ; and the mind (*manas*) called the eleventh organ, the real cause of the bondage under which it itself groans, and from the reflection of which the soul has to be freed.

The existence of these twenty four *tattmas*, or categories, is proved by perception and inference, which last is a process of demonstration rising from what is perceptible to what is imperceptible. For instance, the gross elements, earth, fire, water, air, are perceptible to mortals; and their existence is proved by the simple testimony of the senses. But they do not explain their own existence; and therefore we are led by the laws of reasoning to the tenuous principles, the subtle rudiments from which they proceed, and by which their existence is accounted for. But these subtle elements, imperceptible to men in general, though perceptible to superior beings, or even men endowed with powers of perception keener and more

expanded than human beings ordinarily possess, are only modifications of the I-maker, which again is a modification of intelligence, the first-born of Prakriti in create. Again, the mind, the eleventh organ, is another modification of the I-maker, and its existence is proved by that of the perceptible organs of knowledge and action.

The existence of the twenty-fifth category, the soul, which is neither an evolute nor an evolvent, is proved by the creative energy of Prakriti, which energizes, not for its own advantage, but for that of an entity apart from itself. This is emphatically stated in such verses as these :—"From Brahmia down to a post for its (soul's) sake is creation till there be discrimination (between soul and Prakriti) on which its liberation ensues." "Prakriti's creation is for the sake of another, though it be spontaneous, for she is not the experiencer, just like a cart's carrying saffron for the sake of its master."

But why not carry the arguments from inference a step further, and recognize a Lord (Iswara behind the varied) manifestations of *Prakriti*, as the ultimate ground of existence? There are insuperable obstacles in the way. A Lord cannot possibly be the creator of the universe. If he exists, he must either be free or bound. If free, he cannot have a desire to create prevalent enough to determine his will, or lead to volition and action. It is an established maxim of Hindu philosophy, that a desire leading irresistibly to action, good or bad, is bondage. Such a desire on the part of God cannot but militate against his assumed freedom. If, however, he is bound, how could he possibly create? The supposition, therefore, of a Lord behind the veil of shifting phenomena, is both irrational and useless.

How thoroughly the atheistic speculations of our vaunted age of progress were anticipated in times which may be called pre-historic, in India and other countries! The scientists and philosophers of the day now and then betray a little meekness, to which their prototypes of ancient times were utter strangers. Given matter and the laws immanent in it, they have no difficulty whatever in explaining the wonders of creation, or solving the knotty problems of existence. But they manifest a little hesitation when they have to settle the question :—"How came matter to be, and how and by whom were its laws impressed upon it?" Their hesitation, however, is momentary, as they shake it off by assuming the eternity of matter, and the eternal inherence of its laws, as well as by upholding the principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. But our redoubtable philosophers of ancient times presented a braver front, and did not hesitate for a moment in affirming with oracular assurance the eternity of matter;

and their dictum, as has already been said runs thus:—"A thing is not made out of nothing." And even when they admitted the existence of a God, their principle, that an impure thing, such as matter in this opinion is, cannot possibly emanate from, or be created by, a pure Being, made it impossible for them to represent such a Being as its Creator. God or no God, matter, according to their teaching, is eternal, along with the laws inherent in it.

But the way in which our philosophers dispose of the argument based on testimony, which is one of the three kinds of proof admitted in his school, is worthy of consideration. By testimony they understand, not only what is ordinarily included in that term, but a great deal more, even the teachings of revelation, and those of devotees and adepts, who by virtue of intense meditation have obtained, and may obtain, the power of recalling to their minds the varied events which occurred to them in several, if not all, of their past lives, and that of discovering and bringing to light occult truths, or truths hidden among the arcana of nature. But revelation distinctly affirms the existence of a Lord. How is this to be accounted for? Is revelation to be discarded as a tissue of Old Men's Fables? Our time-serving philosophers did not allow themselves to be ostensibly carried thus far by their scepticism. They got rid of the difficulty by resorting to orbits of shuffling criticism, not unknown to modern sceptics. ("The scriptural texts which make mention of 'the Lord' are) either glorifications of the liberated souls or homages to the recognized (deities of the Hindu Pantheon)." And, besides, "There is scripture for this (world's) being the production of Prakriti (not of a Lord)."

It may be mentioned here that, even when Hindu philosophy allows the existence of a god, it makes him so quiescent and inactive, that creation cannot possibly be attributed to him. We cannot ascribe creation to him without making him subject to passion, the second of the three qualities from which he must be free, and, therefore, representing him as actually held in bondage. Nor can he be the governor of the universe without being "selfish" and "liable to grief." In Book V. we have these Aphorisms:—

Ahp. 3—"If a Lord were governor, then) having intended his own benefit, his government (would be selfish) as is the case (with ordinary governors) in the world."

("He must then be) just like a worldly lord (and) otherwise (than you desire that we should conceive of him,; for if we agree that the lord is also benefited, he also must be something

mundane,—just like a worldly lord—because, since his desires are (on that supposition) not (previously) satisfied, he must be liable to grief.” And besides the supposition of a lord is useless. He cannot create, cannot govern, cannot judge, cannot reward or punish—the last prerogative, *viz.*, that of bestowing rewards and inflicting punishments being a prerogative of works, not of God. In Aph 2 of this Book, we have these words:—“Not from its (the world’s) being governed by the Lord, is there the effectuation of the fruit, for it is by works (that is by merit and demerit) that this is accomplished—(by works alone which are indispensable,—and if we do make the additional and cumbrous supposition of a lord, he cannot reward a man otherwise than according to his works.”

If there is no Lord, the question arises, why believe in a revelation at all? The proper answer to this question brings forward a theory, which in absurdity has not its parallel even in the history of wild speculation. The Sankhya philosopher does not hold, like the Mimamsakas and the Vedantins, the eternity of the Vedas. The forty-fifth Aphorism of the Fifth Book of the work under review runs thus:—“The Veda is not from eternity, for there is scripture for its being a production.” If not eternal, it must have been written either by God or by some gifted man. It could not possibly have been written, or vouchsafed through verbal communication, or in any other way, by God, for the Sankhya philosophy does not recognize his existence. Nor could it have been written by a gifted man, such a man must be either liberated or in bondage. If liberated, he could not have a prevailing desire leading to its composition; and if in bondage, he could not but have lacked “the power” needed to bring about so glorious a result.

The Vedas, therefore, could not have proceeded either from God or from man, nor are they eternal. How then is the mystery involved in their existence to be unravelled? Here is the explanation:—“The Vedas, just like an expiration, proceed of themselves from the self-existent, through the force of fate, unperceived by thought.” To explain this statement of the commentator, Nijnana Blukshu, two questions have to be raised. Who is the self-existent from whom the Vedas are said to have emanated as an expiration? The self-existent must either be Prakriti itself, or some evolute of Prakriti, there being nothing knowable or within the reach of proof behind it, and the soul being incapable of sending these venerated books out even as an efflation. The Sankhya philosophers speak of an emergent deity, whom they call Brahma, when he creates, Vishnu when he preserves, and Siva or Mahadeva when

he destroys. This emergent deity is the first evolute of Prakriti, intelligence, called Mahat, the Great One, not, however, personal intelligence, but something like general intelligence, the intelligence of which personal intelligence, mine or thine, is only a form. This great one, the first-born of Prakriti increate, is the unconscious author of the Vedas, because they emanate from him as an expiration.

When do they emanate? Here we have to unfold the doctrine of metempsychosis, which underlies all the philosophical speculations of ancient India; which even those bold spirits, who, like Kapila and Buddha, cast aside all faith in God, personal, if not impersonal, did not dare abandon. Prakriti creates one world after another in endless succession, to meet the exigencies of human desert, or to afford scope for the consumption of the fruits of work. One world is evolved after another to reward or furnish the accumulated work of those which precede, and to furnish cause, by its own accumulated work added to the tremendous load it inherits, for the existence of those which succeed. Every renovated world, with its shifting panorama of moral actions and moral deserts, is thus connected with an endless chain of antecedent, and an equally endless chain of consequent stages of existence. Each of these gradually unfolded stages of existence or works vanishes, when its appointed service is over, only to see another springing up, and contriving its great work of rewarding virtue and punishing vice. At each of these renovations of the world, the Vedas issue out of the emergent deity, called intelligence in the original Sutras, and the self-existent, or Brahma, in subsequent times, as an affluence.

In conclusion, let us ascertain what the work under review says of liberation, the great object and scope of all the speculations embodied in its pages. Prakriti creates or energizes, to liberate the soul from the bondage of non-discrimination, or misapprehension, or misconception. How is this effected? Not by worship, for worship takes for granted what is not admitted, the existence of a creative and controlling being behind the veil of natural phenomena; not by sacrifices, because these, as they inflict pain upon the victims, cannot but occasion pain to those by whom they are offered, by the law of retribution; not by rites and ceremonies of a bloodless character, because whatever efficacy they may have is of a transient, not a permanent, nature. These all are certainly praised in various parts of scripture. The sacrifice of the horse is said to give the offerer power to conquer all worlds, expiate sin, overcome death, and attain immortality. The juice of the soma, the moon-plant (*Asclepias acida*) is said to have conferred victory,

triumph, "effulgence" and "deathless being" on Indra himself, and the subordinate gods and goddesses of the Indian Parnassus. But it is to be borne in mind, that the benefits conferred by bloody and bloodless rites are evanescent, and that even the gods perish at every dissolution of the world, or at the consummation of every single stage of existence. "Many thousands of Indras and other gods have passed away in successive periods, overcome by time; for time is hard to overcome." Freedom from the galling yoke of transmigration, from an almost interminable chain of births and deaths, religious observances cannot possibly secure.

Such freedom is the result of right knowledge or discrimination, which is obtained by meditation. "From knowledge (acquired during mundane existence) comes salvation (soul's chief end)"—(Book III, Aph. 23). Knowledge alone, dissociated from, not in conjunction with, works, is the fountain of liberation, as the verse following the one quoted assures us,—“Since this (*viz*, knowledge) is the precise cause of liberation, there is neither association (of any thing else with it, *e. g.*, good works) nor alternativeness (*e. g.*, of good works in its stead.) This knowledge is attained by meditation, on the nature and efficacy of which the following verses give information :—

“Meditation is the cause of the removal of desire (that affection of the mind by objects which is a hinderer of knowledge.) It (meditation, from the effectuation of which, and not from merely communing upon it,) knowledge arises, is perfected by the repelling of the modifications (of the mind which ought to be obstructed from all thoughts of anything.) This meditation is perfected by restraint, postures, and one's duties. Restraint (of the breath) is by means of expulsion and intention. Steady and (promoting) ease is a (suitable) posture, (such as the crossing of the arms). One's duty is the performance of the actions prescribed for one's religious order.”—(Book III, Aph. 30-35.)

The subject of meditation, and its varied appliances belongs, properly speaking, to Yoga philosophy, the counterpart, not only of the Sankhya system, but in some respects of every system of philosophy propounded in India, not excluding almost all of those systems, which, like Buddhism and its offshoots, are branded heterodox. Meditation, not in its incipient stages, but when perfected, years of close attention, and rigid conformity to its almost endless varieties of stringent rules, beget right knowledge, which dispels non-discrimination, and brings on emancipation. The essence of the knowledge begotten by meditation is the distinction between the soul and non-soul, the passive, quiescent, immobile spirits and the ever-active, plastic, formative Prakriti. When this distinction

is clearly apprehended by the mind, the soul is set free from the bondage of its desires and aversions, its good and bad deeds, and their woeful consequences in an almost endless chain of transmigrations.

The soul is, of course, in a very loose sense said to be set free, its bondage and liberation being nominal, not real,—reflections and shadows, not realities. The bondage and liberation spoken of throughout this book are in reality the bondage and liberation of Prakriti, which, first of all, weaves a net for its own entanglement by a process of evolution, and ultimately effects its own emancipation by a process of meditation. And to this mischievous activity it is impelled by passion (*rajas*), the second of the three qualities, which form its Trinitarian essence.

RAM CHANDRA BOSE.

ART. VII.—SÚFISM.

IT may seem somewhat strange that Sûfism, a mystical form of religion, should take its rise and flourish in a system so exact and uncompromising, so rigid and final as Islâm, but the truth is, that it is a re-action from the burden of a rigid law and a wearisome ritual; an attempt to reconcile philosophy with the dogmas of the Qurân. The needs of the human heart, the spirit of an Eastern people, required something warmer than the cold orthodoxy of the Faithful. The tendency of Sûfism is decidedly pantheistic, that is towards Pantheism from its philosophical side, as teaching that "there is one eternal and infinite substance of which all things that exist are modifications with no permanent individual existence." It is not so much the deification of the finite, as the nothingness of all phenomena. To the pantheistic Sûfi, the world and all things therein are fleeting. He does not assert that the world is divine, but that it is nothing. The perception of things is only an illusion; the world is a place

"Where nothing is, and all things seem,
And we the shadows of a dream."

To the Sûfi God is all and in all—One without a second. Beneath the ever-shifting forms, One remains: under the unsubstantial accidents, One is real. "In Pantheism, God, conceived of as the substance of the world, if He lies behind all finite beings and objects, stands, at least, in precisely the same relation to all." Thus, in Sûfism the doctrine often leads to carelessness of life and to disregard of morality, for things base and things pure, intelligent and mean, are all alike related to that which is the substance of all.

Thus Jelâl-ud-din Rúmi * says:—

" 'God's blessing' is the name of all that's good in man,
'The curse of God' of all that's evil in our plan.
In which of these two seas our streamlets may subside
They but return into the source from whence their tide." †

A system which, in some aspects, conceives God to be as near

* In this article, I take my illustrations from, and base my conclusions on, the teaching of the great master of Sûfism, Moulánâ Jelâl-ud-din Rúmi in the Musnavi, and on that of Mahmûd Shâhbistârî in the Gulshân-i-Râz. For the English rendering of the Persian, I am indebted to recent translations of these works published by Trübner. It will be seen that the translations from the Musnavi are not very literal.

† صبغت الله نام ان رنگ لطيف * لعنت الله بوى اين رنگ كئيف
آنچه از دريا بدريا مي-رود * از همان جا كامد اینجا مي-رود

Musnavi.

to the heart in which selfishness and lust rule, as he is to the heart, in which purity and holiness have their sway, obliterates moral distinctions in act and life. In yielding to his nature, the Súfi may think he thus yields to God. To him "immersion in the natural is absorption in the divine." This is the natural outcome of the system, but not all Súfis are consistent, and it would be idle to deny that many a Musalmán mystic has tried to lead a higher life than that of his fellows around. That men are often better than their creed, is as true of the Súfi as of the orthodox Muslim.

Súfis, however, claim to be orthodox, and assert that they are the true expounders of the Qurán, and the Hadís (Traditional sayings of the Prophet.) They maintain that they know, as none others do, the esoteric meaning of the words given through, or spoken by, the Prophet:—

"The spirit 'tis gives value : words are mere pretence." *

This spirit must be earnestly sought for, then

"Will unity be found as in a treasure." †

Jelál-ud-din Rúmi thus describes all those who do not know this esoteric meaning of the Muhammadan Revelation, whether contained in the Qurán or in the Hadís—

"Where'er you hear a note of God's truth-warbling bird, †
You straightway seize its literal sense, just as 'tis heard,
You then use suppositions of your darksome mind,
And form, through wrong conclusions, guesses worse than blind.
"The Saints use terms of technical significance
Unknown to worldly readers' crass ignorance,
The language of the bird you learn, as to its notes ;
But clean forget its sense, as sure as fancy dotes,"

The orthodox Muhammadan tenet is that God, having created the world, retired to the 'arsh, the highest heaven, and now leaves His creatures to work out their salvation, according to the light vouchsafed to them through the prophets. He is a God afar off, a pitiless Force, a capricious Despot. From this idea Súfism revolts. According to it God is immanent in all His creatures : the sum of life, in whom all things live. He not only originated all action, but dwells with each individual.

"Eternal and temporal are not separate from one another,
For in that Being this non-existent has its being." §

* پائے معنی گیر صورت سرکشست *ibid.*

† تا بینی زیر آن وحدت چو کنج *ibid.*

‡ Muhammad.

§ قدیم و محدث از هم جدا نیست * که از هستیست باقی دائم نیست

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

The Súfî, the enlightened man, sees behind the veil. He knows *Allah* to be the One, the necessary Being, the First Cause. He looks on the whole world of phenomena as "not being."

"The whole world is merely an imaginary thing,
It is like one point whirled round in a circle." *

One day, when expounding his views, Jelâl-ud-din made the following statement: "Thou seest nought, save that thou seest God therein." A certain Darvish came forward and maintained that the use of the term "therein" indicated a receptacle, and that it might be argued that God would thus be comprehended, whereas He is in-comprehensible. To this, Jelâl answered, "The universe of God's qualities is the receptacle of the universe of God's essence; but these two universes are really one. The first of them is not He, the second of Them is not other than He. Those, apparently, two things, are in truth one and the same. How, then, is a contradiction in terms implied? God comprises the exterior and the interior. If we cannot say, He is the interior, He will not include the interior, but He comprises all, and in Him all things have their being. He is, then, the receptacle also, comprising all existences as the Qurán says, 'He comprises all things.'" The Darvish was silenced and became a disciple.

This is a very good illustration of the kind of discussions held amongst the doctors of Súfism, and according to the accounts which have come down to us, they generally convinced all gain-sayers who seem to have been taken aback by such obscure, and in most cases, unintelligible language.

In a verse already quoted from Jelâl-ud-din (p. 324), it would seem as if Súfis hold that evil, as well as good, has its origin and return in God; but there are many statements in the Súfî writings which clearly imply just the opposite, and certainly the general teaching of Súfism seems to be that evil proceeds, not from 'Being,' but from 'not being.' Thus—

"Being is purely good in whatever it be,
If it also contains evil, that proceeds from 'other.' " †

* جهان خود جمله امر اعتدباریست * چو آن یک نقطه کاند در درو ساریست

Gulshân-i-Râz.

† وجود آنجا که باشد محض خیرست * اگر شریست دروی آن زغیرست

Ibid.

At the same time, it is held that both are in some way manifestations of the 'Truth.'

"How can it be, lust which ravishes men's hearts,
For 'the Truth' now and again appears as evil
Know 'the Truth' in the garb of good is the 'True Faith';
'The Truth' in the garb of evil is evil, is the word of Satan." *

"There is no worker in creation, save *Allah*" is a dogma of Sufism, but with this is held as firmly "evil comes from 'other.'" This resembles the Augustinian view that evil is a negation, a departure from God, who is the source and sum of all existence. But the fact is that Sufism has not solved the difficulty of the origin and existence of evil; it leaves the problem where it finds it in the Qurán, which is in some places distinctly necessitarian in its teaching, and in others, as strongly on the side of free-will. Take, for example, the two following passages:—"By a soul and Him who balanced it, and breathed into it its wickedness and purity."

(*Súra* 91-8). There is little room for freedom of the will in this. Then take the passage—

"Whatever good betideth thee is from God, but whatever betideth thee of evil is from thyself"—(*Súra* 4-81).

Súfis claim to be the best and truest expounders of the Qurán, but they have not found a key to reconcile these conflicting statements, and so it is not to be wondered at, that there is in their system a want of consistency on this question.

As all created things are included in the category of 'not being,' it is the duty of the man who would be perfect to rise from this state to that of 'contingent being,' where, for a while, laws and ~~creeds~~ ^{creeds} are needed for his guidance; but the path lies onward, and the traveller on the mystic road leaves these behind, and as he ascends higher and higher towards 'Being,' he is freer and freer from outward restraints. He returns to God and lives in God?

We may here notice that to the ordinary Muslim the meaning of the dogma of *Jabr* is, that God compels men to carry out His will. Practically, *Jabr* is pure fatalism. The Súfi cannot deny the Quránic teaching on this point, but he regards this *Jabr*, this almighty power, as the constant working of the Supreme Being in the world of phenomena, the manifestation of the divine energy in creation, the immanence of 'Being' in 'not being.' The dogma is thus softened down to a pantheistic view of God, and

* کجا شهرت دل مردم رباید * که حق گه گه ز باطل می نماید
حق اندر کسرت حق دین حق دان * حق اندر باطل آید کار شیطان

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

deprived of its harsh and rugged aspect. The Muhammadan doctrine of fatalism supplies a basis for the mystic dogmas of Quietism.

The principle underlying the Súfi system is that "sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, or see the real Being which underlies them all; so sense and reason must be ignored and superseded in favour of the 'inner light,' the divine illumination of the heart, which is the only faculty whereby men perceive the infinite."

Then, when thus enlightened, Sufis see that all the external phenomena, including man, is but an illusion, and as it is "non-existent, it is an evil, because it is a departure from the real Being." The illuminated man gets little help from reason, in fact, it fails him here :

"But, in addition to reason man has a certain faculty,
Whereby he understands hidden mysteries." *

This faculty (*taur*) is evoked by desire of the truth. This idea is not peculiar to the Súfi. It underlies the teaching of the mystics of all ages. To take only one, Hugo of St. Victor calls it the 'eye of the soul,' by which he had immediate intuitions of God. He asserts "that this eye beholds what the eye of sense and the eye of reason cannot see, what is both within us and above us. God within, is both what we must flee, and whither we must flee. The highest and lowest are so far identical. Thus do the pure in heart see God."† This is quite in accordance with the Súfi view.

Súfis, in support of their view that the first and most important act of life, is to attain a knowledge of God, quote the verse, "When God said to the angels, 'I am about to place a Viceregent on the earth,' they said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who shall commit abomination and shed blood?' Nay, we celebrate Thy praise and holiness. God answered them, 'Verily, I know that ye wot not of:.'" (*Súra* 2-28.)—It is said that this verse proves, that though the great majority of men would commit abomination, some would receive the divine light and attain to a knowledge of God. Another verse is also quoted :

"Then found they one of our servants to whom we had vouchsafed mercy, and whom we have instructed with *our knowledge*"—(*Súra* 18-64.)

There is, too, a tradition to the effect that David said, "O Lord! why hast Thou created mankind?" God replied, 'I am a hidden treasure, and I would fain become known.'" It is the work of the

* وراى عقل طوري دارد انسان * که بشناسد بدان اسرار پنهان
Gulshân-i-Râz.

† Hours with the Mystics—Vaughan, vol. 1, p. 158.

Súfī to find that treasure, to gain that knowledge, and so to attain to the Divine light.

The earlier Muhammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual. They had no intention of becoming unorthodox. Many of their utterances are very beautiful, such as, "As neither meat nor drink profits the diseased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of this world." "The work of a holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain, and clothes himself in wool, but in the knowledge of God and submission to His will." "Thou deservest not the name of a turned man, till thy heart is emptied of the love of this world." "Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou would'st hide thy sins."

"And he'll ne'er take his flight towards Heaven's eternal King,
Who holds at heart the thought that he's a perfect Thing."

One of these men,—men who often successfully withstood the exercise of unrighteous power, was one day ushered into the presence of the Khalif Hárún-ar-Rashíd, who said to him, "How great is thy abnegation?" The mystic replied, "Thine is greater." "How so," said the Khalif: "Because I made abnegation of this world, and thou makest abnegation of the next." Even in a book like the *Musnavi*, we find Jelál-ud-din, who inculcates Súfism, pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective revelation, sometimes teaching sounder principles, thus:—

"To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His holy will;
The friend of God must work."

This earlier mysticism, however, gradually developed into Súfism, and towards the close of the second century of the Hijra, it became prevalent. The first fervour of conquest was over and men settled down to consider the grounds of their faith. A reaction from formalism was the result. The creed of Islám concerning God, simple as it was, did not satisfy the minds of those who wanted to know more about Him. Especially is this true of the Persians, who never took kindly to Islám, as the orthodox proclaimed it, and who were, after their conversion, quite ready to adopt a system which, whilst it professes on its exoteric side to be faithful to the Qurán, yet, has its esoteric doctrines about God, good and evil, and the origin and nature of the universe.

The Zindiq and Mutazalá controversies also were introducing a system of scholasticism, from which the Persian mind revolted. Reason and logic could not with him take the place of a revelling in the sense of the beautiful, or of meditating on the union of God with man. As Grecian literature, too, became more accessible, it

produced a latitudinarian spirit which Súfism imbibed. Thus the way was fully prepared for the rise of this school of thought in a system which seems the most unlikely to have fostered such mystical tendencies.

In the third century of the Hijra, there was no doubt as to the pantheistic development of Súfism. Al-Halláj then taught in Baghdád thus : " I am the Truth, there is nought in Paradise but God, I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I ; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him ; and when thou seest Him, thou seest me."

The authorities in Baghdád could not permit this, and Halláj, one of the earliest martyrs of Súfism, was flogged, tortured, and finally beheaded by order of the Khalif. The phrase *Alláh-o-bas*, " God, and nothing else," expresses the stage now arrived at.

The following verse from Hafiz, gives, in its mystical meaning, a clue to the Súfi system—

" The prayer mat stain with wine, if so,
The Magian's favour thou canst gain,
The traveller in the land should know
The ways and customs of the Inn."

The traveller is the Sálík, the man in search of union with the Divine.

Wine is the Divine love ; the Inn is the stage in which the traveller is immersed in the Divine mysteries. It is, according to Súfism, an error to suppose that man has any existence apart from God, and not until this error is put away, can the mystic journey be entered upon :—

" Plant one foot upon the neck of self,
The other in thy Friend's domain ;
In every thing His presence see,
For other vision is in vain."

Or, as Mahmúd in the *Gulshán-i-Ráz* puts it—

" Like Moses, son of Amram, press onward in this road
Till you hear the words, '*Verily, I am God,*'
So long as the Mount* of your being remains before you,
The answer to '*Show me*' is *Thou shalt not see me*.†

The traveller now sets out upon his path in which he finds various aids. The first is attraction (*jazb*). This is God drawing the man to Himself away from the world. He who enters this state is a Muríd, or one who has inclination (*irádah*) towards

* i. e. Phenomenal illusive existence which hides real absolute Being.

و یا چون موسی عمر ان در این راه * برو تا بشنوی انی انا الله
نرا تا کوه هستی پیش باقیست * جواب لهظ انی لن تراهی ست

good. If he remains in this stage, he is 'called attracted' (majzúb). He should now submit himself to a very severe self-examination, and probe the very secret recesses of his heart. This he does by the aid of devotion, and henceforth is known as the 'devoutly attracted' (Sálik-i-majzúb). The journey to God is now fairly commenced, and becomes completed when he has attained to the true knowledge of the Supreme, which is, that there is no existence, save *Allah*. Then begins the journey in God, or the gaining of the knowledge of His nature and attributes, and to this inquiry and search, there is no limit. As the Sálik rises higher and higher in this spiritual ascent ('Urúj), he becomes more and more perfect.

From the words, 'are not creation and command of Him—' (*Súra VII, 52*), Sáfis deduce the conclusion, that the works of God are included either in the 'perceived world,' or in the 'conceived world.' The former is the material, visible, created world, familiar to all: the latter the invisible, spiritual, future world. It is the world of command (al-amr), so called from the well known phrase, "Be, and it was" (kun fayakúna). The author of the *Akhláq-i-Jaláli* tells us, that it is "admitted equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the first principle which, at the mandate 'Be, and it was' issued, by the instrumentality of the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence, which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the *primary* intellect; (though in some accounts, it is termed the supreme intelligence) and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation, call it the Muhammadan spirit."^{*}

We have thus the authority of one of the greatest amongst Musalmán writers, for the general correctness, according to Muhammadan notions, of the Súfi cosmogony. According to it, God first created the *primal* element (iauhar-i-awwál), and to the creation of this, the following passage is supposed to refer:—"And it was not the business of an hour, but even as the twinkling of an eye, or quicker still." (*Súra XVI, 79*). This primal element is also called by the names of the 'Pen,' the 'spirit of Muhammad,' 'Primal Intelligence,' 'Universal Reason,' ('Aql-i-kull'). This is God's world, near to Him, and ever seeking Him.

The universe is the world of this primal element, but God's voice in the universe is only heard through the medium of this element. Thus, as the 'Pen,' it wrote the commands of God:

"What time the *Káf* of His power breathed on the Pen,
It cast thousands of pictures on the page of 'not being.'"[†]

^{*} Akhláq-i-Jaláli, p. 358.

† چو قاف قدرتش دم بر قلم زد * هزاران نقش بر لوح عدم زد
Gulshán-i-Ráz.

Then, in obedience to the creative energy thus displayed, came forth intelligences, souls, elements, and heaven. These, again, took up the task, and the three kingdoms—the mineral, vegetable, and animal were brought into existence. Sûfis refer to the verse “N” by the Pen, and what they write “(Sura 68), and say that “N” represents the world of power, or God’s inkstand, that the pen here means the primal element, and that the words “they write” refer to the simple natures. They write on for ever, for, “were the sea ink, it would not suffice for the words of my Lord—” (Sura XVIII. 109). “Thus the universe is ever *evalving* :—sustained every moment by, as it were, pulsations of the pervading spirit, so that it is described as being every moment annihilated and fresh created.” *

But the final object of all creation is man.

“There is no other final cause beyond man
It is disclosed in man’s own self.” †

“That which was made last, was first in thought”
The last that was made, was the soul of Adam. ‡

The meaning of which is said to be that the very essence of man is ‘universal reason,’ so that which was first in the Divine mind was last in fact, and thus man is the final cause of creation.

A sacred deposit is committed to man. “Verily, we proposed a deposit to the heavens, and to the earth, and to the mountains between them, but they refused the burden, and we entrusted it to man, who is unjust and foolish” (Sura XXXIII. 72). This deposit, according to the Sûfis, is the duty of displaying the Divine attributes. It is true, that man is both good and evil, still he can do this work, for though

“The black-hearted and the fool are the opposite of light, §
Yet are they the theatres of the true Epiphany.”

The good in man represents the beautiful attributes (Jamâl) of God; the evil the terrible ones (Jalâl). This, then, is the function of man, and as he comes from the primal intelligence,

* Kay on Pantheism, p. 52.

نه آخر علت غایبی در آخر * همی گردد بذات خویش ظاهر †

Gulshân-i-Râz.

هر آنچه آید بآخر پیش می بین * در آخر گشت پیدا نفس ادم

Gulshân-i-Râz.

ظلمی و جهولی صد نورند §

و لیک مظهر عین ظهورند

Gulshân-i-Râz.

he must, if he would be perfect, rise up to it again in the primal element. "From Him was the origin and to Him is the return"—(*Súra X. 4*). It is this return which is the aim and object of the traveller's journey. Thus Jelál-ud-din says:—

"From realms of formlessness, existence doth take form,
And fades again therein: To Him we must return." *

This is the "procession of essence unto essence."—(*Akhlaq-i-Jaláli*, p. 364.)

The Primal element is that of which Muhammad speaks when he says: "The first thing which God created was my soul, my soul was the primal element." The function of this element is to receive and to bestow. In other words, it includes the saintly and prophetic offices. This explains allusions and statements in Súfi writings which seem to imply, especially with regard to Muhammad, the union of prophets and Imáms with the Divine Being. Jelál-ud-dín Rúmí said: "A true disciple is he who holds his teacher to be superior to all others."

In accordance with this theory, when a disciple of Báyezíd was asked whether his master or God was the greater, he replied, "I only know my teacher, I know no other than him, and I know that he is greater than all others." Another, to a similar question, replied, "There is no difference between the two. As God does not walk in this world of sensible objects, the prophets are the substitutes of God. No, No! I am wrong! For if thou supposest that *those substitutes and their principal are two different things, thou hast judged erroneously, and not rightly.*"

Both the saintly and prophetic offices are said to be united in Muhammad. This throws some light on the views held with regard to the 'light of Muhammad'—the 'Núr-i-Muhammadi'. The general idea is that, before God created the world, he took a ray of light from His own splendour and united it to the body of Muhammad, to which he said: "Thou art the elect, the chosen, I will make the members of thy family, the guides to salvation." This light (Núr) is said to be of four kinds. From the first kind, God created His throne; from the second, the Pen of Fate; from the third, Paradise, and from the fourth, the state or place of spirits and all created beings. According to a statement made by 'Ali, Muhammad said that he was created from the light of God, whilst all other created beings were formed from the "Núr-i-Muhammadi." In some way, then

* صورت بی صورتی آمد بیرون * باز شد کانا ایله راجعون

Muhammad is supposed to be connected with the primal essence, and this may explain such traditions as this, recorded on the authority of 'Abbás:—"I heard the Prophet say, 'He who blasphemes my name, blasphemes the name of God.'" And also a saying by 'Alī, "The Prophet said that he was created from the light of God, whilst all other created beings were formed from the Núr-i-Muhammadi." This Núr is said to be the greatest of lights.

"The light of the Prophet is a mighty sun,
Now shining in Moses, now in Adam." *

Muhammad is sometimes called the Great Spirit (rúh-ul-a'zam), the Universal Reason, the Haqiqat-i-Insáni, by which terms is meant that he is of the primal essence, the first emanation from Deity. Hence, he is called the sun. As light was first produced by God, all other prophets are, according to the verse just quoted, but emanations from him. These ideas must be borne in mind in reading such a Hadis, as "He who has seen me, has seen God."

The perfect man sees in the Universe, the book of the Truth most High (Hama 'alam Kitáb-i-Haq Ta'ala ast.) This 'book' is described in the Gulshán-i-Ráz as consisting of chapters, of which the first is 'Universal Reason' ('Aql-i-kul), the second 'Universal Soul' (Nafs-i-kul), the third 'the Highest Heaven' ('Arsh-i-asmán,) and the Throne (Al-kursi); then follow the heavenly spheres (jurmha-i-asman,) the four elements (jurm-i-'anásir), the three kingdoms of nature (jurm-sih-maulúd), and at last comes the soul of man, just as the last chapter of the Qurán is entitled "man." These are all the successive emanations of Divinity, and the soul of man, proceeding, as it is said to do, from Universal Soul (hafs-i-kul), is equally with the heavens (arsh,) a theatre for the manifestation of the Divine perfections. There is a Tradition to the effect,—"The heart of a believer is the highest heaven."—So Mahmúd—

"Of every thing in the world above or below

An exemplar is set forth in your soul and body." †

As man thus sprung from the primal essence and should return to it, Súfis explain his existence as a circle which meets in the primal intelligence. On the one side of the circle is descent (nazul), "which includes the whole process of development till man becomes possessed of reasonable powers;"

بود نور نبی خورشید اعظم * که از موسی پدید گه ز آدم *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

ز هر چه اندر جهان از شیب و بالاست * مثالش در تن و جان تو پدید است †

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

the other side of the circle is ascent ('Arúj), the goal of which is re-absorption in the divine essence. This journey is called the Tariqát, or Road, by which is meant that a gradual acquaintance is made with all those doctrines of Mysticism which treat of man's return to God. No one can set out on this journey without a full determination to seek for a solution of all his doubts and uncertainties as regards God and himself. He must most earnestly desire to know, hence he is called a seeker (Tálib). If he feels drawn onward, he is "attracted." Then he becomes a disciple (Muríd), and attaches himself to some spiritual guide, or *Pir*. The initial stage is now passed and the man becomes a real traveller, a Sálík, whose time and thoughts are henceforth to be given to salúk, or the prosecution of this journey, until he arrives at the perfect state.

There are now eight stages to be reached. Few enter into and pass from the whole. These stages are service ('abudiyat), love ('ishq), seclusion (zuhd), knowledge (ma'rífat), ecstasy (wajd or Hál), the truth (haqiqat), union (wasl), extinction (faná).

Súfi poets deals mostly with the second stage, in which the Sálík is the lover and God the beloved one. Words expressive of one who is the object of attraction and love on earth are then applied in a mystical sense to God. References are, however, frequent to other stages of the mystic journey. The goal of the Súfi is to be reached by divine illumination, not by philosophy.

"The Theologian who has no perception of unity *

Is in utter darkness, in clouds and bondage of dogmas.

The Theologian is the Mutakallim, or scholastic Theologian, who seeks divine light by the aid of logic and reason, and not by that of illumination. He perceives not the Tauhid or unification, that is, that all things are one, or as Hafiz puts it,—

"Hafiz, when preaching unity with unitarian pen,

Blot out and cancel every page that tells of spirits and of men."

A Musalmán author defines Tauhid, or unity, to be this: "To annihi-
late self in the absolute truth, to become eternal in the absolute, to be
made one with the one and to abstain from evil," † whereas Taklid,
the bondage of dogmas, in which the ordinary Musalmán is enslaved,

كلامی كه ندارد ذوق توحید * بتاریکی درست از غیم تقلید *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

† Tauler says: "If the highest and most glorious unity, which is God Himself, is to be united to the soul, it must be through oneness. Now when the soul hath utterly forsaken itself and all creatures, and hath made itself free from all manifoldness, then, the sole unity, which is God, answers to the oneness of the soul, for there is nothing in the soul beside God."

is the putting on of a collar on the neck, imitation, subservience to authority. Thus man gains illumination, according to the Súfis, by direct intuition, and not by scholastic methods, which deal with quantity, quality and relation.

"The Divine essence is free from where, how and why *
Let His glory be exalted above what men say of Him."

This knowledge is not even to be obtained by a demonstration from His works; it is not gained till all the illusory phenomena which cover "the Truth" are annihilated.

"Since His works are manifested from His essence,
His essence is not manifested from His works;
The light of His essence is not contained in phenomena,
For the glory of His Majesty is exceeding great." †

Even an outward revelation is not needed, for

"In that place where God's light is our guide,
What room is there for the Message of Gabriel." ‡

In other words, the Qurán is not required. Still more, one to whom God's light is thus revealed attains a higher station than Angel ever reaches.

"Though the Angels stand, hard by the Throne,
They reach not the station, 'I am with God.'" §

There is now no room for the exercise of reason, for

"Reason's light applied to the very light of light
Is as the eye of the head applied to the sun." ||

In short, one who enters on the mystic journey must remove from the mind all earthly and human accidents, and reduce it to its abstract essence in which Deity appears.

Jelál-ud-dín in the 14th tale of the first book of the Musnavi describes this very well. A dispute arose between certain Chinese and Greek artists as to their respective skill. The

منزه ذاتش از چند وجه و چون * تفاعلی شانۀ عما یقولون *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

چو آیاتست روشن کشته از ذات * نکرد ذات او روشن از آیات †
نگنجد نور ذات اندر مظاهر * که سبحات جلالش هست قاصر

Ibid.

دران موضع که نور حق دلیل است * چه حائنی گفت و گوئی جبرئیل است ‡

Ibid.

فرشته گرچه دارد قرب درگاه * ننگنجد در مقام لی مع الله §

Ibid.

بود نور خرد در ذات انور * بسان چشم سر در چشمۀ خور ||

Ibid.

Sultan at the request of the Chinamen allotted a house to each party on opposite sides of the street, and supplied them with all the necessary things for their work.

The following is a free translation of the Persian story :—

“The Chinese ask him for a thousand colours,
 All that they ask he gives right royally,
 And every morning from his treasure-house
 A hundred sorts are largely dealt them out.
 The Greeks despise all colour as a stain
 Effacing every hue with nicest care.
 Brighter and brighter shines their polished front,
 More dazzling, soon, than gleams the floor of heaven.
 This hueless sheen is worth a thousand dyes,
 This is the moon—they but her clouding veil;
 All that the cloud is bright or golden with,
 Is but the lending of the moon or sun.
 And now, at length, are China's artists ready,
 The cymbals clang,—the Sultan hastens thither,
 And sees enrapt the glorious gorgeousness
 So nigh to swooning by those beamy splendours,
 Then, to the Grecian palace opposite,
 Just as the Greeks have put their curtain back,
 Down glides a sunbeam through the rifted clouds,
 And, lo, the colours of that rainbow house
 Shine, all reflected on those glassy walls.
 That face them, rivalling : the sun hath painted,
 With lovelier blending, on that stony mirror
 The colours spread by man so artfully.
 Know then, O friend ! such Greeks the Sûfis are,
 Owning nor book nor master, and on earth
 Having one sole and simple task to make
 Their hearts a stainless mirror for their God.
 Is thy heart clear and argent as the moon ?
 Then imaged there may rest, innumerable,
 The forms and hues of Heaven.”

All this cannot be comprehended by reason, it is enough that the heart is with God, is God. * Then doubt passes into certainty, and all human arts give place to the inner light and love.

“The outward gilt, the shell of Science they despise,
 The banner of real certitude floats where they rise,
 They've thought abandoned ; light and life they've truly found,
 Their breast and hearts are filled with love's inspiring sound.”†

* عقل اینجا ساکت اید یا مضمحل * زانکه دل با ارست یا خود ارست دل

Musnavi.

نقش و قشر علم را بگذاشتند * رایت عین الیقین افراشتند
 وقت فکر و روشنائی یابند * بر و بحر اشدائی یافتند

Ibid.

We may now proceed with our disciple, or Murid, upon his upward journey. Though exercising a devotion above all forms and modes, he yet yields implicit obedience to his spiritual guide. He chooses some famous mystic as his *Pir*, who henceforth is his director. It is not often that allusion to such men is made, but, as a matter of fact, they have great authority. At this stage the *Sâlik* is supposed to know his origin, and to be in earnest in seeking to cast off the trammels of a separate existence.

"Again, you ask, 'who is the Traveller on the road';
It is he who is acquainted with his own origin.
He is a traveller who passes on with haste
And becomes pure from self as fire from smoke:
Know, his journey is a progress of revelation from the contingent
To the necessary, leading away from darkness and defect." *

"The wine of Divine love and ecstasy now intoxicates All phenomena from the first emanation downwards."

"The Heavens, giddy with this wine, are reeling to and fro,
Desiring in their hearts to smell its perfume,
The angels, drinking it pure from pure vessels,
Pour the dregs of their draught upon the world." †

The angels, as part of the spirit-world, were created before the material universe, and so are an earlier emanation from 'Being'; at length the wine reaches man, who rises to various grades according as he has spiritual capacity to receive this pure wine.

"One from the scent of its dregs becomes a philosopher,
One from seeing the colour of the pure wine a traditionist,
One from half a draught becomes righteous,
One from quaffing a cupful becomes a lover." ‡

مسافر آن بود کو بگذرد زود * ز خود صافی شود چون آتش از دود *
بمعکس سیر اول در منازل * رود تا گسردن او انسان کامل
بدان اول که تا چون کشت موجود * که تا انسان کامل گشت مولود
Gulshân-i-Râz.

فلک سرگشته از وی در تگابویج * هوا در دل بامید یکی بسوی †
ملائک حورده صاف از کوزه پاک * بجرعه ریخته دردی برین خاک
Ibid.

ایکی از بوی دردس عقل آمد * یکی از رنگ صافش فاقل آمد ‡
ایکی از نیم جرعه گشته صادق * یکی از یک صراحی گشته عاشق
Ibid.

But the true and perfect man does not stop at such a moderate share. He swallows cup, wine-house, and even wine drinker.

"Well done, O, ocean heart, O, mighty winebibber !
He drinks up existence as one draught,
And obtains release from affirmations and negations.
Freed from dry devotions and empty rites,
He grasps the skirt of the ancient of the wine-house." *

The ancient of the wine-house is the *Pir* to whom the devotee yields implicit obedience. Not all at once does he get freedom from forms and formulas, but, having imbibed the pure wine, he fully enters on the first stage and becomes an 'Abd, that is one still in servitude ('Abudiyat).

"The honour of man lies in being under compulsion,
Not in having a share in free will." †

This ought not to cause anxiety or vexation, for, as the perfect man is destined to display the Divine attributes, he must be restrained.

"He has imposed on you the law for this cause,
That He has imparted to you of His essence ;
Since you are impotent in the hands of ' the Truth,'
Abandon and forsake this self of yours." ‡

True deliverance is to be found in the 'All' ; true riches will be obtained when the man is united in ' the Truth,' when the Divine will works with the true self.

The next stage is, that of love ('ishq), and it is of this stage that the Sûfi poets mostly treat. The devotee must now often pass out of self, and become unconscious even of time and space.

"Straightway lift your self above time and space,
Quit the world and be yourself a world for yourself." §

زهی دزیا دل زند سرا فرار *
در آشامیده هستی را بیک بار * فراغت یافته ز اقرار و انکار
شده فارغ ز زهد خشک و طامات * گسرفته دامن پیـر خرابات
Gulshân-i-Râz.

کرامت آدمی را زاضطرار هست * نه آن کورا نصیبی اختیار هست †
Ibid.

بشرعت زان سبب تکلیف کردند * که از ذات خودت تعریف کردند ‡
چواز تکلیف حق عاجز شوی تو * بیکبار از میان بیرون روی تو
Ibid.

یکی راه بر تو از کون و مکان شو * جهان بگذار و خود در خود جهان شو §
Ibid.

The devotee must abandon outward forms ('adat) and religious customs. These trammels are not for him.

"If you seek to be a true servant, abandon form,
Form accords not with tone of obedience." *

With this dissolution from self, and this abandonment of form, comes freedom from creeds and commands.

"All the authority of the law is over this "I" of yours,
Since that is bound to your soul and body.
When "I" and "you" remain not in the midst,
What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire temple." †

Individual personality embraces evil as well as good; get rid of the personality and you need no restraint. So also Jelál-ud-dín:—

"This "I," and this "We," thou'st ordained for Thy state,
That psalms, hymns and lauds may still rise to Thy gate,
When "I" and when "We" shall unite both in one
Absorbed they'll be in Thy essence alone." ‡

The third stage is called abstraction (zuhd). The devotee must now be abstracted and silent.

"Should any one love thee, do thou silent be?" §

The events of the world, the affairs of every day-life should have no interest or influence on the abstracted soul—

"What care I if cities in ruins should fall,
In ruins we treasures find dear to us all.
Man merged in God, most entirely is drowned
As wave of a sea, soul goes a set round." ||

The word used for "abstraction" is Tajríd, it means a stripping off, a making bare, hence in Súfí phraseology it is used to express

عبادت خواهی از عادت بهره‌بر * نگردد جمع عادت با عبادت *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

همه حکم شریعت از من نیست * که آن بر بسته جان و تن نیست †
من و تو چون نماند در میانه * چه مسجد چه گذشت چه دیرخانه

Ibid.

این من وما بهر آن ساختی * تا تو با خود نرد خدمت باختی ‡
تا من و توها همه يك جان شوند * عاقبت مستغرق جانان شوند

Musnaví.

چونکه عاشق ارست خاموش باش †

من چه غم دارم که ویرانی بود * زیر ویران کنج سلطانی بود ||
غرق حق خواهد که باشد غرق تر * همچو موج بحر جان زیر و زیر

Ibid.

purification from self, a simplification of nature by which the mystic becomes identified with the infinite.

Lahijî, a Muhammadan commentator on the *Gulshân-i-Râz*, defines it thus :—"A passing by the stages of carnal lust and mental operations, and human pleasures and relations, and emerging from the limitation of self, which veils man's real essence."

This abstraction is necessary in order to think aright.

"Abstraction is a condition of good thinking,
For then the lightning of Divine guidance illumines us." *

The next stage is knowledge (*Ma'rifat*). If God and man be one, if the mystic is so immersed in the infinite, as the previous stages imply, it may be reasonably asked how this knowledge can be communicated. This question has been put—

"If knower and known are both the one pure essence,
What are the aspirations in this handful of dust." †

That is, what is the cause of the desire for the knowledge of the Truth which inspires the mystic? The answer is, that as he has no real existence of his own, 'it is only by the communicated existence and knowledge of God that he can know him.' Thus :—

"Be not thankless for the grace of the 'Truth,'
For it is by the light of the 'Truth' that thou knowest the Truth,
Beside Him is no knower or known, be sure,
Nevertheless, the dust draws heat from the sun.
It is not strange that the motes of dust have hope,
And desire for the sun's heat and light." ‡

The next stage is, ecstasy (*wajd* or *hál*.) The end of knowledge is practice, and the practice of virtuous actions leads to the acquirement of "good states," *i. e.*, ecstatic conditions (*ahwál*).

"An action which proceeds from good 'states' of heart
Is much better than the mere knowledge of the word." §

بود فکر نکـبـورا شرط تجرید * پس انگه لعمـه از برق تائید *

Gulshân-i-Râz.

اگر معروف و عارف ذات پاکست * چه سودا در سرائین مشیت خاکست †

Ibid.

مکن بر نعمت حق فاسپاسی * که تو حق را بذور حق شناسی ‡

جزا و معروف و عارف نیست در باب * و لیکن خاک می باید ز خود تاب
عجب نبود که دارن ذره امید * هوای تاب مهر و نور خورشید

Ibid.

عمل گان از سر احوال باشد * بسی بهتر ز عالم قال باشد §

Ibid.

This verse is meant to show that the ecstatic state is higher than the previous state of knowledge (Ma'rifat). Hal is defined by Súfis to be "a state which occurs to the heart spontaneously, and without effort, like grief or fear, or expansion or cheerfulness, or desire or joy, and which ceases as soon as the natural dispositions of the soul manifest themselves, without being followed by similar states."

This stage is described as one of the greatest bliss. Then supposed to be free from the stain of earthly form, they drink what "their Lord gives them to drink"—(*Súra*, LXXVI, 21.)

"And what is pure wine? It is purification from self!
What bliss, what ecstasy, what intoxication;
O happy moment, when we shall quit ourselves,
When we shall be rich in utterest poverty,
Without faith or reason, or piety or perception,
Bowed down in the dust, drunken and beside ourselves,
Of what account, then, will be Paradise and Houris." *

The "utterest poverty" is the complete effacement of self; the rich state that of union with the divine. Even Paradise and Houris, the object of the earnest desire of the ordinary believer, are to the true mystic as nothing; they are phenomenal, external to real unity—to Tauhid,

"While Heaven and Hell stand in your way,
How is your soul cognisant of this mystery?"

These deeper mysteries are only known in the ecstatic state—

"In this matter none can judge you,
For there is no leader of the sect here, save the Truth." †

It is true, that many use expressions and speak of these mysteries; but unless such persons really experience these ecstatic visions, Súfis hold that they are merely using cant-terms, that they are

* طہرواچہست مانی کشتن از خویش

ہی لذت زہی دولت زہی ذوق * زہی حیرت زہی حالت زہی شوق
خوشا آندم کہ مانی خویش باشیم * غنی مطلق و درویش باشیم
زہدین نہ عقل نہ تقوی نہ ادراک * فناء مست و حیران بر سر خاک
بہشت و خلد و حرر انجا چہ سجد *

Gûshân-i-âz.

† ہر ایں معنی کسی را بر تودق نیست * کہ حاجت مذہب اینجا غیر حق
نیست

Ibid.

guilty of merely following (taqlid) without knowing the real meaning of what they say or profess to do. But—

"Though all men reach not the mysteries of the mystic faith,
These mystic states are not mere illusion." *

With this estimate of Hal Jelál-ud-dín agrees—

'Unless we see our friend, 'twere better we were blind,
A friend that is not constant 's better out of mind.' †

The next stage is, Reality or Truth (Haqiqat). This is the stage known as Saintship, and is said to be exemplified in Saints and Prophets. In its most perfect form it is seen, according to Súfis, in Muhammad, both Saint and Prophet.

"Individual Saints are, as it were, his members,

For he (Muhammad) is the whole and they are the parts." ‡

The next stage is that of complete union (wasl) with the Divine. "Though absorbed in the 'Truth,' the Sálík is still obedient as regards his essence, because by obedience he attained his exaltation." Such is the commentary on

"The Saint is obedient as to his essence,
He is a devotee in the street of essence."

And so he passes on to his true end—absorption in the eternal.

"Nowbeit his work is finished at the time
That his end is joined again to his beginning." §

Or again,

"Every man whose heart is free from doubt
Knows for a surety that there is no being but 'One.'
Saying 'I am' belongs only to the 'Truth.'
For essence is absent, and illusive appearance is absent,
The glory of the 'Truth' admits no duality.
In that glory is no 'I' or 'We' or 'Thou'
'I,' 'We,' 'Thou' and 'He' are all one thing;
For in unity there is no distinction of persons." ||

نه هر کس باید اسرار حقیقت * مجتازی نیست احوال حقیقت *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

چونکه دید دوست نبود کور به * دوست کو باقی نداشت دور به †

Musnawí.

وجود اولیا او را چو عضو ند * که او کم نیست و ایشان همچو جزوند ‡

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

بود نایب ولی از روی معذی * بود عابد ولی در کوی معنی §
ولی وقتی رسد کارش با تمام * که با آغاز گردد باز انجام
Ibid.

هر آنکس را که اندر دل شکی نیست * یقین داند که هستی جز یکی نیست ||
انانیت بود حق را سزاوار * که او غیبست و غایب و هم و پندار

Thus the perfect Súfi, the Wásil-i-Hakk, is one who has gained Wasal, which state is defined to be "the extinction of our own existence in the existence of God, as snow melts in the sea, and as motes vanish in the sun."

Jelál-ud-dín Rúmi uses an illustration, taken from a number of separate candles, each diffusing light; but whose brightness when all are brought together is not divisible—"One light alone we meet." So of the Saints—

"With God they're one; their forms but make Him manifest,
Thou seest the form alone, thy two eyes are at fault,
Look with thy soul; thou'lt see as God from heaven's vault.
Thy two sights will united be straightening in one,
When thou behold'st the light of God's eternal throne." *

Other mystics have used similar pantheistic language to describe this union with the Divine. Thus Tauler, in one of his sermons says:—"He (man) flings himself into the divine abyss, in which he dwelt eternally before he was created; then when God finds the man thus simply and nakedly turned towards Him, the God-head bends down and descends into the depths of the pure waiting soul, and transforms the created soul, drawing it up into the uncreated essence, so the spirit becomes one with Him." †

"Rouse thyself to the height of religion and all veils are removed; the world and its dead principle passes away from thee, and the very Godhead enters thee anew in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live." ‡

We now pass on to the last stage, which is Faná, or extinction. Al-Aflaki gives the following account of Jelál-ud-din's last hours.

"Jelál observed: 'It is as my friends say. But, were they even to pull down the house, what use? See my panting heart, look at my delight. The sun sheds a grateful light on the moth.

جذاب حضرت حق را دوستی نیست * دران حضرت من و ما و توئی نیست
من و ما و تو و اوست یک چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ نمیز

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

پیش او یک گشت کز صورت بر است *

چون بصورت بنگری چشمت در است * تو بنورش در نگران یکتواست

نور هم دو چشم نتوان فرق کرد * چونکه برنورش نظر انداخت مرد

Musnavi.

† Vaughan's Hours with the Mystics, Vol. i, p. 290.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

My friends invite me one way ; my teacher Shemsu-'d-din beckons me the other way. Comply ye with the summoner of the Lord, and have faith in Him. Departure is inevitable. All 'being' came out of nothing, and again it will be shut up in the prison of nullity. Such is God's decree from all eternity ; and the decree belongeth unto God, the most High, the All-Great ! ”

The concluding words show the faith of the great master of Súfism in the doctrine of Faná :—

“ Let thy existence in God's essence be enrolled
As copper in Alchemist's bath is turned to gold,
Quit 'I' and 'We' which o'er thy heart exert control
'Tis egotism, estranged from God, that clogs the soul.”

There is a tradition to this effect : “ Inspiration is light that descends into the heart and shows the nature of things as they really are.” This the true Súfí realizes when he arrives at Faná—

“ The ' Truth ' will then grant you whatsoever you ask,
And show you all things as they really are.” *

In this stage, law and dogma have no place at all.

“ Sleep overcomes alike the followers of each creed,
As water makes all mills to turn and grind, at need ;
The water flows from upward, down upon the mill
Its flowing through the trough is but man's want to fill.
No sooner has man's need been fully satisfied
He turns the water off ; straight in its bed its tied.” †

“ What use to formulate God's unity ?
What use to bow one's self before the Deity ?
Wouldst shine as brilliantly in sight of all,
Annihilate thy darksome self, thy being's pall.” ‡

دید حق مر ترا هر آنچه خواهی * نمایندت اشیا که مایهی *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

چونکه جمع مستمع را جواب برد * سنگ های اسیر را اب برد †
رفتن این اب فوق سیاست * رفتنش در آسیا بهر شماسیت
چون شمارا حاجت طاحون نماید * اب را در جوی اصلی باز راند

Musnavi.

چیت توحید خدا اموخته * خوشتن را پیش واحد سوختن †
گروهی خواهی که بغروزی چرووز * هستی همچون شب خود را

The Saint having now made the journey to God, and having through Faná entered into eternal life, or Baqá, now journeys down again in God.

"He is a perfect man, who in all perfection
Does the work of a slave in spite of his godliness."*

For in his downward journey the Saint must obey and observe the law. Whilst in Faná, the devotee is Majzúb-i-Mutlaq, Azád, or Be-shara', that is, the law has no dominion over him; but the more perfect pass on to "sobriety after intoxication."

"His end is joined again to his beginning." †

Then carrying with him 'the truth,' he descends again to phenomenal existence, and for the sake of example obeys law. Thus:—

"He may be likened to a pair of compasses
Ending in the same impression whence they begin." ‡

It is true that the law is represented as the husk and "complete union" as the kernel, and when the kernel ripens it breaks the husk; still the perfect man does not abide in this ecstatic union, but in the 'Truth'; He wears the law as an outward robe, adopts the Súfi mysteries as the rules of his path, checking the vagaries of the inner light by the guidance of the *Pir*, or spiritual Director, and so performs as "counsels of perfection" certain outward legal observances.

This explains apparent contradictions in Súfi poetry. Sometimes the perfect man is described as above all law; at others, as when in the downward journey in God, as obedient to law. The 'Truth' in such is said, to be, as a seed, that is, it produces other disciples who, then, and through the influence of the perfect Súfis, make the upward journey, and so the same circuit is being ever reproduced.

"Another shines, as a bright star still retaining the husk (of law),
When in this state, he makes another circuit (*i. e.*, in his disciples.)" §

So it goes on and on until, "unto God shall all things return—
(*Súra XVII-6.*)

نمی مرن تماست کز تمامی * کند با خواجگی کار غلامی *
Musnavi.

‡ باغ از گردن باز انجام †

‡ گر باره شود مانند پرگار * بر آن کاری که ازل بود درکار †
Gulshán-i-Ráz.

‡ گر با پوست یابد تابش خور * درین نشانه کند یک دور دیگر †
Ibid.

This concludes the subject which I have tried to explain from the Sufi standpoint. It is exceedingly difficult to treat it systematically, and in interpreting the verses I have quoted, it is not always possible to say to which stage of the mystic journey they refer. I may very possibly have misplaced some of them.

Though I have confined myself to the consideration of two books, yet what is brought together may be of use hereafter to some more competent student of the subject. I therefore proceed to no refutation of the system beyond stating that, whilst there is an element of mysticism in the inner spiritual life of the Christiano it is totally distinct from the spirit of Sufism, for it recognizes the continued distinct personality of him who "in God lives and moves and has his being," or as Tennyson beautifully expresses it—

"That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general soul
Is faith as vague as all unsweet :
Eternal form shall stall divide
The eternal soul from all beside ;
And I shall know Him when we meet,"

EDW. SELL.

ART. VIII.—BULANDSHAHR:—A DISTRICT SKETCH.

By F. R. GROWSE, C. I. E.

THE District of Bulandshahr was administered either from Aligarh or from Merath, for the first twenty years after the British conquest; * and, as a separate political unit, it dates only from the year 1824. Since then it is reckoned as one of the six that, together, make up the Merath Division † of the North-West Provinces. It consists of an oblong tract of almost absolutely level country, covering an area of 1,915 square miles, which is some 35 miles in breadth from north to south, and has an average length of 55 miles from the banks of the Jamuná on the west, to the Ganges on the east. A third river, the *Kálindi*, more commonly called the *Káli Nadi*, ‡ runs through its centre with a south-easterly direction, and divides it into two almost equal portions. The Karwan, the Patwaiy and the Chúiya, are these minor water-courses, which frequently become broad and rapid torrents in the rains; at all other times of the year their bed is a mere shallow depression in the soil, with scarcely distinguishable banks, and is generally brought under cultivation. At some remote period there seems reason to believe,

* After the fall of Aligarh in 1803, Baran and Khurja were first placed under Colonel Ochterlony, the Delhi Resident. In the following year they were made part of the Aligarh District, and so remained till 1818, when Baran and the Western Parganas were transferred to Merath; but this arrangement lasted only for six years.

† Commonly spelt 'Meerut,' for which Dr. Hunter in his Imperial Gazetteer proposes to substitute 'Mirath.' This, however, would be a very unsatisfactory correction. The word is identical with 'Mertha,' the name of an ancient hill-fort in Jodhpur. The first syllable 'mer' appears as a termination in Ajmer, Jaysalmer, &c., and means 'a hill.' The old town of Merath stands on a considerable elevation, though it would seem to be artificial.

‡ When the Hindi word had to be written in Persian or Urdu, the vowel in the second syllable was purposely lengthened by the Munshis in order the better to preserve its sound, and to prevent its degenerating into short *a*, as it soon would, were no vowel expressed. For a similar reason, the common Hindi termination *pūr*, meaning 'town,' is always written by Munshis with a long *u*, and the short vowels *e* and *i* in English Proper names are almost invariably lengthened in the process of transliteration. The stream thus became the *Kálindi*, from which the transition was easy to the more readily intelligible *Káli nadi*, 'Black river'; the pronunciation only being altered, since the written form of the two words *Kálindi* and *Káli nadi* in Persian characters is absolutely identical. The error is of respectable antiquity, as Yahy a bin Ahmad, the author of the Chronicle entitled the *Tárikh-i-Mubárah Sháhi*, written about the year 1450, translates the name into Persian by the phrase *Ab-i-Siyah*.

the Chūiya was a permanent stream, of much greater importance than now; for the sites of several ancient towns and forts, as at Chandokh, Indor, Chimávali and Dibháí, can be traced on its banks; and recently, on sinking a well in its bed, the soil at a depth of 33 feet was found to be full of small shells. It probably depended for existence on the primæval forests, and gradually dwindled away as they were cut down. It still occasionally asserts its old strength, and on the 19th of September 1880, it suddenly rose and swept away a large masonry bridge, near the town of Dibháí, which the Public Works Department had finished only a few months previously. Since the suppression of the Mutiny in 1858, Bulandshahr, for administrative purposes, has been entirely separated from Delhi, which now forms the capital of another Province, the Panjáb. But the historical and social connection between the two localities is not so easily to be severed. The towers and domes of the ancient metropolis are visible from the border of the district, and in modern, no less than in pre-historic, times the special characteristics of the neighbourhood are mainly due to the action of Imperial influences.

According to tradition, the original seat of the earliest Hindu dynasty, which proudly traced its descent from the mythical Regent of the Moon, was at Hastinapur, a name that still survives, but attaches only to a desolate group of shapeless mounds overlooking the old bed of the Ganges, some twenty-two miles north-east of the Merath Cantonments. When king Dhritarashtra divided his dominions between his hundred sons and five nephews, the latter, still famous in popular speech under their names of the Pandavas, founded Indra-prastha (now Indra-pat, or old Delhi) as one of their capitals, and gradually cleared the surrounding country both of its primæval forest and of the wild Nága tribes, who had made it their stronghold. On the termination of the internecine struggle, which forms the subject of the Mahábhárat, Yudhisthir, the last of the five brothers, again united the divided realm. He in course of time was succeeded on the throne of Hastinapur by Parikshit, the grandson of his brother Arjun; and to Parikshit's son, Jañmejoya, is ascribed the foundation of Ashári the oldest town in the district, from which he sent out a colony to build the fort of Baran, the modern Bulandshahr.

Thus, to Delhi chieftains are due the first reclamation of the soil and the first establishment of a social community, more than three thousand years ago: while at the present day the local magnates, more numerous here than in any other part of the province, are for the most part the descendants of Delhi courtiers, who obtained grants of land from the Emperors, either,

in recognition of their submission to the faith, or in reward for military services.

Thus the ancestor of the Biluch family at Jhájhar, now almost ruined by waste and litigation, was a companion-in-arms of Humáyun; another Biluch family, seated at Chandem, rose into importance as local governors under Aurángzeb, and a century later acquired the village where they now reside, as a reward for services against the Mahrattas; the wealthy and influential Lál Kháni family, now headed by the two Nawabs of Chhatán and Pahásu, and owning more than 200 villages in this and the adjoining districts, are descended from a Thakur of the Bergújar clan, who abjured Hinduism under Aurángzeb's imperial persuasion; the Pathans of Jahángirabad were connected with one of the principal commanders of the Mughal troops in the reign of Sháh Alam; and subsequently obtained a grant of land from Lord Lake; and, lastly, though the list might be extended to come down to the present day, the nucleus of the handsome estate now enjoyed by the fine old Afghan soldier, Saiyid Mír Khan, better known as the Sardár Bahádur, was won by his gallantry, in the Kabul war, and was augmented in acknowledgment of his distinguished loyalty in the Mutiny.

The proximity to the Muhammedan centre of Government has not only largely affected the character of the entire population in the lower as well as in the higher classes, but has also had a considerable influence on the general aspect of the landscape. In dress, language, and caste-prejudices there is a conspicuous relaxation of customary Hindu usage, and till within the last few years, though every considerable village boasted a mosque of more or less pretension, a Hindu spire was seldom visible; the cry of the Muazzin had all but completely silenced the clang of the temple-bell and the boom of the devotee's conch. Now, that no active demonstration of religious intolerance is permitted, and every sect is allowed to practise its own rites and ceremonies, under the equal protection of the law, it is not to be expected but that the Hindus, who number 748,256 out of a total population of 924,822, will gradually begin to re-assert themselves. The trade of the towns is entirely in their hands, but the prestige that attaches to ownership of the land is mainly on the side of Islám. Though the surface of the stream may appear abnormally smooth, there is a strong under-current of jealousy, faction and intrigue, which rash experiments in administration would speedily develop into a very real danger.

In point of population, as recorded by the census of 1881

the district stands sixteenth in the list of 49 which, together, constitute the United Provinces. But by the License Tax assessments, which are the most trustworthy test of general prosperity, it comes as high as fourth, having only Cawnpur, Merath and Aligarh above it. This remarkable pre-eminence is due to a variety of causes, the principal being the lightness of the Government demand under the head of land-revenue. The existing settlement was completed in 1865, and will expire in 1889; when it is estimated that the demand will advance from a little over 13½ lakhs to at least 18. This event is naturally anticipated by the landlords with some little perturbation; but while they appreciate the manifold advantages to themselves of the present golden age, they also recognise the right of the State to participate in the general increase of agricultural well-being. Great attention has been paid by the staff of district officials to the maintenance of the village maps and records of crops and rents, and—when the time comes for the new assessment—it is hoped that these papers will form a sufficient basis for all the necessary calculations. If, so, the Government will save the large cost of a special establishment for a period of several years (the last settlement and its revision lasted from 1856 to 1870!) the people will escape a vast amount of annoyance and litigation, and the land will not be thrown out of cultivation, or denied improvements, in the fraudulent hope of concealing its capabilities. In no district as yet has any such summary procedure been found possible; if it is sanctioned for Bulandshahr, and works well, it will be a matter for unqualified congratulation.

The soil, which is naturally fertile, and of very uniform character, has the further advantage of almost universal protection from drought; being largely capable of artificial irrigation from the distributories of the Ganges Canal. This flows through the whole breadth of the district in three wide, and nearly parallel branches, one to the east, the other two, to the west of the central Kálindi. Thus, the terrible famine of 1877 was here almost unfelt. No poor-houses or relief works had to be started by Government, nor had any steps to be taken to stimulate the importation of food-stuffs. The grain accumulated in more prosperous seasons, was extracted from the pits in which it had been buried, and sold greatly to the profit of the dealer, but, at the same time, not at utterly prohibitory prices; while the credit of the tenant still remained so good, that he was able, if, necessary, to negotiate a temporary loan without permanent embarrassment. Gangs of starving vagrants from Mathurá, Bharatpur, and other centres of distress, plodded along the main

roads; but the able bodied among them gradually found work in the Municipalities or elsewhere, and the utterly helpless were kept alive by the daily dole of food that was freely given by the larger landed proprietors in the villages, and by wealthy traders in the towns. It may, therefore, be considered as established by a recent and crucial test, that the district is practically secure against any ordinary calamity. But to map out the entire area—as has been proposed—in deeper and lighter shades of color according to a nice calculation of possibilities, and to determine, once for all, that such and such tracts will be entitled to relief in time of drought, and that others can always do without it, seems as unpractical a project as an attempt to construct a permanent chart of the clouds in the sky. If accurate observations are maintained, the occurrence of a storm and its probable intensity may be predicted, and precautions taken to minimize the danger; but circumstances must be treated as they arise, and no region in the world, by virtue of long previous exemption from misfortunes, can be marked off as absolutely secure for ever from special visitations of Providence. Inflexible routine may be a welcome support to a feeble administrator, but it is simply an embarrassment to a competent one; while legislation in itself is always an evil, and our Indian land-laws, above all, have had the disastrous effect of inflicting permanent injury on the class whom they were chiefly intended to benefit. When left to their own good feelings, the landlords, as a rule, are disposed to treat their tenants, in times of difficulty, with the same liberality that they exhibit in the other ordinary relations of life: it is only when the law confronts them with its rigid impersonality that they refuse to listen any longer to the voice of equity.

The great curse of the district is the prevalence of fever, an evil which must in part be attributed to what is otherwise so signal a boon,—the large extension of canal irrigation. In the autumn of 1879, an unusually heavy rainfall, following upon several years of drought, developed a terrible epidemic, which literally more than decimated the population. The crops stood uncut in the fields, the shops remained closed in the bazars; there was no traffic along the high roads, and no hum of business in the market-places; the receding flood of the great rivers showed their sands piled with corpses, while scarcely a water-course or wayside ditch but contained some ghastly relics of humanity, hastily dropt by hireling bearers, or even by friends, too fearful for themselves, or too enfeebled by sickness to observe the funeral rites that are ordinarily held so sacred. In most of the towns and villages there was not a single house in which there was not one dead; in many, entire families had perished,—

parents, grand-parents and children,—and whole streets became deserted. Probably, not a thousand people in all, from one end of the district to the other, escaped without some touch of the disease. The Pargana least affected was Ahár, which then by equitable decree enjoyed its compensation for many permanent disadvantages. It is a narrow tract of country, running along the high bank of the Ganges, with a poor soil inadequately watered and ill provided with roads, and which thus offers no attractions for the investment of capital on the part, either of traders or land-owners.

As a result of the general mortality, the population which had been 937,427 in 1871, and since then had largely increased, fell in 1881 to 924,882; the solitary town in the whole district which showed any augmentation being Bulandshahr itself, which rose from 14,804 to 17,863. Still, distressing as it was at the time, the epidemic ran its course and left no lasting ill effects behind. On the contrary, the result was rather one of relief from overcrowding, and when the period of depression had passed, a large increase in the birth-rate showed that it was chiefly the very old, or young, or infirm, who had been removed, and that the actual vigour of the community remained unimpaired.

Much has been done of late years by the irrigation department to correct the excessive humidity which has been caused by their canals, and extensive schemes for the relief of the most low-lying and water-logged lands have either been carried out or are still in progress. More than 150 miles of drainage cuts have been excavated; the Kálindi has been straightened and kept within its banks, at a cost of Rs. 94,757, and similar operations are now being commenced on the Karwan. All this must have a beneficial effect on the general atmosphere; but the special conditions of the towns and villages are so unfavourable, that many years must elapse before any marked improvement can be expected in their vital statistics. The whole surface of the country is a dead level, with the population massed in artificial depressions, which have been dug to supply the earth for building purposes. The houses, instead of being raised—as sanitary laws would require—are sunk some two or three feet below the level of the ground, and the sides of the pit form the basement of the walls. To complete the necessary height, mud is mixed and brought in from any waste spot near at hand. The result is, that the village itself stands in a hole, and is hemmed in by an irregular circle of trenches used as receptacles for every kind of abomination. Add to this, that herds of cattle every evening return to the homestead, and during the night share the same quarters with their masters. The soil is thus in the course of years

saturated with impurities, and, as it is the custom to sleep either on the ground or on a very low pallet, it is no matter for surprise that the annual victims of fever are more than of all other diseases combined.

In the majority of cases, it is not altogether poverty that is responsible for the utter want of domestic comfort, but rather an apathetic acquiescence in a degraded standard of social life arising from ignorance that anything better is obtainable. The characteristic oriental craving for decoration is frequently indicated by the carving of the wooden eaves and brackets and by the plaster niches and mouldings of the doorways, which, though rude in execution, are often of appropriate and picturesque design; but there is no appreciation whatever of cleanliness or ventilation, and no effort is made to secure them. In a really rich man's house the latter defect is equally conspicuous; the courtyards are larger and the buildings are substantial, but the arrangements for conservancy are not a whit better, and there is generally much less evidence of taste, in consequence of a vicious tendency to abandon the indigenous style and copy the hideous vulgarisms of the Public Works Department. Before the people of India can claim to rank on an equality with Europeans, it is above all things necessary that they should reform their domestic habits of life: when they have learnt to order these matters aright, their political enfranchisement will follow spontaneously on their capacity for it; the reverse process must be unreal and can only eventuate in failure.

Next to the unhealthy condition of their homes, the two institutions that most conduce to the propagation of disease are pilgrimages and marriage-feasts. Both practices have their root in the intolerable monotony of ordinary existence, which grasps at any change for a relief, but disguises the real motive by an affectation of religious or social obligation. Closely packed in bullock carts or some other equally clumsy vehicle, the guests start in straggling procession, and jog along the weary roads for the distance of a hundred miles or more, halting only for an hour or two at an occasional well for a draught of water and a mouthful of parched grain. Aching in every limb from the jolting of the springless cart and the cramped position into which they have been squeezed, choked with dust, dizzy from the glare of the sun and want of sufficient food, for they purposely starve themselves in order to do more justice to the feast, they at last arrive at their journey's end. Here no accommodation has been provided for them, and no amusement, beyond enormous piles of indigestible food, with which they gorge themselves without intermission for three days and nights, freely abusing their host,

should there be any shortcoming, and then start on the homeward journey, to endure the same discomforts as before, now aggravated by the agonies of indigestion. Every year half the outbreaks of cholera that occur may be traced up to these ghastly merry-makings. At pilgrimages there is no over-eating, but the exposure and the crowding are greater, and an essential part of the proceedings generally consist in drinking some filthy water from a turbid stream or stagnant tank of reputed sanctity, where thousands of people have been bathing. On neither occasion is there any thought of pleasing the eyes or gratifying the mind, except by the excitement inseparable from being one of a crowd which is moved by a common object.

If the sordid discomfort of home were relieved by some element of culture, people would no longer look abroad for their enjoyments. They would be happier and healthier, nor would the ultimate cost of living be increased. Instead of money being hoarded for special occasions, and then squandered in thankless and unprofitable profusion, it would be distributed with judicious economy over the whole area of domestic requirements. Food, clothing, shelter and education are comparatively so cheap; that all but the very poorest could rear a family in a decent and respectable manner, if it were not for the extravagant outlay on marriages. The various attempts that have been made to enforce the reduction of such expenses are well-meaning, but have not achieved much success, nor do I think they are ever likely to do so. The root of the evil lies deeper, and it is that which has to be attacked. Make the general aspect of life more attractive, and there will then be less desire to smirch it with crude blotches of colour.

The recent advance in the general prosperity of the district has been faithfully reflected step by step, and year after year in the annual Criminal Returns; for in India, as in England, to use the words of Tennyson's Northern Farmer, "'Tisn't them as has money that breaks into houses and steals." But anomalies of all kinds, however gratifying may be the exceptional circumstances which they indicate, are always *per se* displeasing to the compiler of official statistics at head-quarters; for he has no personal concern with the facts, and is interested only in the symmetrical appearance of the figures exhibited in his tabular statements. A conventional explanation of the discrepancy has therefore to be found in an alleged concealment of offences. There is, however, no good reason for supposing that the people are more unwilling here than elsewhere to invoke the assistance of the Police for the recovery of stolen property, or the redress of any real injury. A murder or a burglary can scarcely be committed without attract-

ing attention, and if in the case of petty disputes there is a reluctance to waste time and money by coming into court about them, such a habit of mind is rather to be encouraged than condemned.*

Another matter in which the district falls short of official requirements is the consumption of spirituous liquor. Temperance is a virtue, in which the excise authorities are by no means ready to believe. If the revenue is not up to the ordinary standard, the only explanation of the fact that they will accept is smuggling. But in spite of exceptional vigilance, an evasion of the law is very rarely detected, and probably is rarely practised. The absence of drunkenness and the absence of crime go together and explain each other. If a tempting array of bottles were displayed at selected spots along the most frequented thoroughfares, many a dusty pedestrian might be induced to assuage his thirst with a draught, and so acquire a taste which would eventually be beneficial to the excise revenue. A similar result might follow from an increase of the number of drinking-shops in the towns and large villages, to serve as social clubs for the dissolute; but the advantage to the respectable community may be doubted, while the gain to Government would be more than counterbalanced by the charges of extra police and increased jail accommodation. With a large number of wealthy landed proprietors, mostly Mahommedans, living on their own estate, in the midst of their own tenantry, as many as thirteen of them exercising the powers of Honorary Magistrates and ready to report any suspicious circumstance they may observe; with the whole population singularly well to do and largely impregnated with Muhammadan ideas of social propriety; and with whole tribes ordinarily reputed criminal, forsaking their old predatory habits for the more assured profits of honest husbandry, it would be strange, indeed, if the district statistics coincided precisely with those of other localities where industry and sobriety are not so conspicuously remunerative.

* It is satisfactory to observe that the altered condition of things has at last been recognized. Mr. Webster, the Inspector-General of Police, who was Magistrate of Bulandshahr from 1863 to 1866, writes as follows in his review of the year 1882:—"The circumstances of the people have changed greatly. They are far more prosperous than they were; cultivation has greatly extended, and large tracts which were grass jungles when I knew the district, and which harboured cattle-stealers and their booty, are now well-cultivated corn-lands; and what is more important as regards the cessation of crime, the very persons who used these lands as asylums in their thieving forages are now the cultivators of them. The Gujars, who used to commit at least a third of all the crime in the district are now to a certain extent reformed, and only occasionally vary their agricultural pursuits by an expedition for the purposes of cattle or other theft."

In addition to the many advantages already enumerated, the district is well provided with communications, having as many as seven Railway Stations, four on the East Indian and three on the Oudh and Rohilkhand line. It is also traversed by the Grand Trunk Road from the Aligarh to the Delhi border, and has a complete net-work of minor thoroughfares radiating in every direction from the town of Bulandshahr, which occupies the exact centre of the whole area. A few years ago, during one of the periodical financial panics, several of the roads were summarily condemned by the head of the Public Works Department, and broken up at considerable expense ; but their construction will be one of the first acts of the new Local Committee. The greatest obstacle to freedom of communication has hitherto been the Kalindi, which has a permanent bridge only at Bulandshahr, and no bridge or ferry of any kind whatever between that town and Hapur in the Merath district, a distance of about 30 miles. As the banks are high and sudden floods frequent, it is never safe for a traveller to reckon on the possibility of a passage, and the obstruction to traffic has thus been most serious. This is now being removed by the munificence of one of the Honorary Magistrates, Saiyid Mihrbân Ali, who is constructing a substantial bridge near the town of Gulâsthi, where his residence is, at an estimated cost of Rs. 20,000.

In such a quiet and prosperous part of the country, where there is no great injustice to correct, or practical grievance to remedy, it seems the height of unwisdom to be for ever introducing new laws and systems of administration, which, however admirable in theory, have never been recognized as wants by the people themselves. What they require of Government is the strong maintenance of order, and the persistent extension of material improvements. These are boons which they can understand and appreciate far more highly than the invidiousness of the franchise and the anarchy of self-Government. Under sympathetic guidance, they are capable of great and rapid advance, but without direction of some sort, they are absolutely powerless. They can admire action in others, but without a strong stimulus are loth to engage in it themselves ; their philosophic literature shows that they can rival the profoundest German professor in tracking the abysses of transcendental speculation ; and with a little practice there can be no doubt that they would soon become as expert as a Frenchman in the elaboration of paper constitutions, and the technical conduct of a debating society ; but in the palmiest days of their independence they never had a metalled road in the largest of their cities, nor a swinging punkha in the most luxurious of their palaces. And these are the typical blessings, which it is the province of the British Government to supply.

In the matter of school education, official efforts have not been attended with very brilliant success. The real civilizing influences, that within the last few years have so largely modified the thoughts and habits of the people, have been the Post and the Railway. Their beneficial stimulus has been felt universally; while the effect of our schools has been limited to a single class, and that numerically the smallest and politically the least important. Every head of a department is beset by a crowd of applicants for clerical employ, who have been taught at the public expense to read and write in the Persian character, and who consider that they have thus established a claim to maintenance for life in some Government office. Certainly, their acquirements would not often stand them in such stead in any other vocation. They have never learnt to think, and have totally lost both the faculty of observation and the instructive propriety of taste which in the uneducated Oriental so often compensate for the want of scholastic training.

Our course of instruction is not calculated to satisfy the modest requirements of the yeoman, the artizan, the trader, and generally the independent middle classes, which ought to supply the material for those local boards which the Government is now so anxious to organize. What primary instruction is given is not regarded as a possible end in itself, but only as a means to passing an examination. A little reflection must show that this is exactly the reverse of what is wanted. Instead of a teacher priding himself on the number of his pupils who have got Government appointments, it would be far more to the purpose if he could boast a long list of boys who, after learning to read, write, and cypher, had settled down contentedly to their hereditary occupations, and had proved the value of education by turning out their work in a more intelligent style than their fathers had done before them. This would be a guarantee of genuine progress, and would check that rapid decay of all indigenous arts and manufactures which is the necessary result of our pernicious system of schooling, which aims at converting all the rising generation into mere office clerks.

There is no occasion, whatever for the Government to take up this line of business. If all our village schools were to be closed to-morrow, the only function they adequately discharge, *viz.*, the training of Munshis for Government service, would be carried on by private enterprise with much the same results as at present. A craving for vernacular education by people who can earn their bread without it is the very last want that is felt by an ordinary community. There were schools for teaching Latin in England for centuries before the idea was entertained that the masses required to be taught English. A similar superstition

survives in India, and we encourage it by our village schools for Persian and Urdu. We exhaust the resources of Government in making a free gift of professional training to people who are quite able to provide it for themselves, instead of applying all our means to the diffusion of a simple vernacular education, far more important in its effects on national progress, but less productive of immediate individual advancement, and therefore at once more deserving of, and more dependent on, State patronage. Even in such a Muhammadanized district as that in which I am writing, more than half the members of the different municipal committees can read only the true vernacular character of the country, *i. e.*, the Nāgri. In the proposed rural tahsili committees the proportion would be still higher. Such men, having never been brought under the influence of our schools, cannot undertake the management of affairs in accordance with European ideas, and are necessarily quite unable to follow and check intricate accounts which are kept only in Persian and English. If left to themselves, they will either do nothing, or else, in all that they do, they will be absolutely at the mercy of their paid clerk.

The remedies that I would propose for these admitted evils, are two. In the first place, I would do away with the present system of Government inspection and put the primary schools of every district under the absolute control of the local committee, at the same time increasing the staff of the Deputy Inspectors, who would then be Deputies no longer, and the Sub-Inspectors. Not only, as has often been pointed out, are the Inspectors much too highly cultivated for the drudgery that devolves upon them, but in every country Government inspection has the inevitable result of raising the standard, which in primary schools is exactly what is not wanted. The effect of the Education Act of 1870 in England is vitiated by the same incurable tendency: the Board schools, which were intended for the poor, have gradually become suitable only for the lower middle classes, for whose benefit it was quite unnecessary that the whole community should be taxed. Secondly, the only character that I would allow to be taught in primary schools is the Nāgri. This—to say the least—answers as well as any other for all the ordinary requirements of rural life, and it has the special advantage that it does not qualify for any kind of Government service. The Persian character would be taught, as now, in the pargana and tahsili schools, and boys who wished to learn it could proceed there, after undergoing the prescribed course of instruction in the primary school. It appears to me that nothing could be more equitable than this arrangement: Hindus would be gratified by having Hindi recognized as the basis of the vernacular, while the Muhammadan

phase of the language would still retain the stamp of official currency.

As regards the language question, I have no patience with the continued use of the fantastic word Urdu. What people talk all over these provinces is Hindustani, which, when *written*, takes a Persianized form among Muhammadans and a Hindi form among Hindus. In both phases it has a Hindi basis, which cannot be got rid of even in the most artificial Urdu; on the other hand, a multitude of Persian words have been naturalized in its common vocabulary, which even in Hindi it would be pedantic to ignore. As it is already the general medium of intercourse throughout India, all Indian races may eventually be brought to accept it, and therefore the recognition of a multiplicity of spoken dialects as distinct literary languages is much to be deprecated. The best means of checking the growing divergence between Hindustani and other Indian vernaculars would perhaps be found in the institution of an academy of orientalists, who would authoritatively settle the renderings to be adopted for new terms of European art and science. But the universal acceptance of a neutralized Hindustani, involving a complete reconciliation between Urdu and Hindi, can only be effected in one way. So long as the vernacular is written by Munshis in the Persian, and by Pandits in the Nāgri character, it is utterly impossible that purism should be eradicated. The one party will indent on Persian and Arabic for their vocabulary, the other on Sanskrit; and though the grammatical structure may be much the same in both compositions, neither of the two will be intelligible to the writer of the other. The adoption of the Roman character would at once remove the whole difficulty; and if it were introduced in our schools, it would rapidly, without any forcing, supersede both its rivals as the vehicle for ordinary written communication.

I have already alluded to the decay of native arts and manufactures, for which our faulty system of education is partly responsible. Something is being done towards their revival by Schools of Design and by local Exhibitions, as at Lahor, Bombay and elsewhere. But, so long as the dreadful upas tree of the public Works Department is allowed to overshadow the country, sporadic efforts like these can have no perceptible effect on popular culture. Architecture is the first of all the decorative arts, and its degradation paralyses them all. Our public buildings, which with scarcely an exception are either ludicrously mean or obtrusively hideous, now occupy conspicuous positions in every station and municipality, and, being naturally accepted as models for imitation, are rapidly accustoming the native eye to what is vulgar and tasteless. What

weight in the opposite scale can be attributed to the teaching of a few schools or an occasional grant for the restoration of an ancient palace or temple? If there is really a desire to revive oriental art, I believe it can be done without the fussy agency of a department and without any expense to the State, simply by allowing municipal committees to erect their own buildings to make each Town Hall an emporium of local industry, and generally to develop indigenous talent by the exercise of judicious patronage. In technical as well as in the higher literary education, I believe that a healthy influence can be exerted by Government only from the outside, by removing artificial restrictions and encouraging spontaneous action. In primary education, on the other hand, the whole burden must fall on the State; but, by a simplification of the machinery, the cost and labour may be rendered much less than at present and the outturn much larger and of a more durable quality.

A notable stimulus has been given to indigenous industry by a local show, which was started by a former Collector, Mr. Willock, in 1873. It is supported by voluntary subscriptions which amount every year to upwards of Rs. 4,000. As a horse fair, it has succeeded so well, that it now receives an annual Government grant of Rs. 1,250 for prizes, and attracts remount officers from all parts of India. As regards agricultural produce, greater care is taken than before in the selection of grain for seed, so that Bulandshahr wheat is very largely exported and is quoted at high prices in the London market. Attention to the subject of cattle breeding is encouraged by a special Government grant of Rs. 100, but no improvement has yet been effected. As fodder becomes every year scarcer and dearer, the people must gradually reduce the extravagant number of miserable half-starved animals that they are now in the habit of keeping. With a smaller stock, of better quality, the compulsory reservation of grazing ground in every village will be most beneficial, but if it is started immediately, before the small farmers have fully realized how impossible it is for them, under the altered circumstances of the country, to support a large herd in good condition, the effect will probably be only to intensify the present evil. Until the breed of cattle has been improved, it is premature to attempt any improvement in the native plough. The arts and manufactures represented at the district show were, till lately, ludicrous and puerile. This department has now made great bounds: the Sikanderabad muslins, the Jewar *durries* and rugs, the Khurja pottery, the Jahangirabad cotton prints and the Bulandshahr wood-carving are revivals or developments

which are achieving a more than local reputation, and will all be represented at the forthcoming Calcutta Exhibition.

If in a native State, administration is ruined by caprice, still more so is it in British India by routine and returns. This is most conspicuously illustrated by the department of Public Works. For large imperial undertakings, such as railways, bridges over the great rivers, military roads extending the whole length of the province, and barracks for European soldiers, it is desirable to maintain an adequate staff of European Engineers. But for the ordinary requirements of a civil district, local native talent would be not only more economical, but also more efficient. The masons who reared the tombs and palaces that are still the most notable sights in the country, have direct descendants at the present day, in the creators, for instance, of modern Mathurá, which dates entirely from the beginning of this century, and justly ranks as one of the handsomest cities in northern India. If men of this stamp were allowed to design and execute our district buildings, the promotion of indigenous industry would become so far a reality, instead of a transparent fiction as hitherto. The only difficulty lies in their inability to satisfy departmental requirements in the matter of tabular statements and returns. These are based on an intricate and voluminous system of checks and counterchecks, which it requires some years' training to master, and assiduous labour to maintain. The entire energy of the whole establishment is concentrated on the manipulation of the accounts, and the works are left to look after themselves. However badly the latter may turn out, if only they cost enough, they will make an imposing show on paper at the year's end, and will be regarded with complete satisfaction by the supreme authorities. For example, the completion of an embankment along the right bank of the Káliudi for the protection of the town of Bulandshahr, was specially mentioned in an annual report as an important work of public utility. The cost was Rs. 4,000: it was not added, perhaps it was not known, that the actual benefit was less than *nil*. In order to construct it, earth was dug from the town side, and the level of the ground was thus reduced below that of the bed of the river. The result was that for some years the drainage from the surrounding country collected, as in a basin, and was barred from all escape. The nuisance was partially remedied by the great flood of 1880, which breached the embankment in several places, thus proving it to be as powerless against the river in exceptional seasons, as it was effective for mischief in ordinary years. This is a fair sample of the injurious results of

a policy which entrusts district works to irresponsible provincial agency ; irresponsible, because the local authorities are powerless to interfere, while the departmental authorities—sublimely indifferent to such petty undertakings—see only the neatly tabulated entries in the official return, and these they complacently pass as quite *en regle*. Besides the embankment and some new barracks in the jail, the only other original work that has been executed by professional engineers during my tenure of office in this district, is the bridge, which, as already mentioned, fell down a few months after it was finished. In the extensive series of improvements, which in the course of four years have converted a mean village into a handsome town, the department has had no hand whatever, except that it greatly delayed their commencement by representing to the Government, with stupendous effrontery, that the result would be “an eye-sore.”

Facts will never run off so smoothly as mathematical abstractions, and, therefore, to avoid friction, it is generally found advisable to adhere to the latter. The district officer signs these fancy documents by scores at a time, in duplicate or triplicate, at the top or the bottom, on the face or the reverse, in the blank spaces indicated by the engineer, and can only hope they are technically correct ; for the purposes of actual check he keeps a simple statement of his own, which may be very unscientific, but is at least intelligible. About the middle of the month, when the returns have all been despatched and objections answered, the European Engineer feels a little at leisure, and drives out to see the bridge, or road, that may be in progress, gives a few hurried instructions, which he cannot stop to see carried out, and returns into the station, where he presents his bill for travelling allowance, at the rate of eight annas a mile. If there were only simple returns, such as the Magistrate himself could keep, without the assistance of a trained accountant, the engineer might be a native, who could hire for a couple of rupees an ekka or a pony that would take him to the remotest part of the district, where he could spend a day or two in the leisurely inspection of work, finding all the accommodation he required in some neighbouring village. His pay also would be counted by tens of rupees instead of by hundreds ; and, as his supervision would be more continuous, there would be more of day-labour and less necessity for the employment of contractors, middle-men and munshis. These are the only people who profit by the high rates which prevail in the Department of Public Works. If the money went to the bricklayer, the mason, or the carpenter, there would be less cause for regret ; but the whole present system seems to have been invented solely

for the benefit of that very unprofitable person, the artificial product of our mistaken school policy, the Munshi, the parasite of the real working community. If the position of the latter were improved and their work recognised at its proper value, as in England, the son of a skilled artizan would not think to better himself, as now unfortunately he often does, by abandoning his hereditary occupation and becoming a quill-driver in an office.

The disbandment of the whole corps of executive and assistant engineers would not only be the greatest possible boon to the districts, but would even be welcomed by themselves, if due regard were had to vested interests and appointments of equal emolument found for them in a more appropriate sphere. The officers of the Roads and Building Department are the one body of Government servants in the country who notoriously have no heart in their work. It is impossible that they should have. Though by profession engineers, they are in fact merely accountants' clerks. Of all the multitudinous circulars that year by year are issued for their guidance, scarcely one per cent. refer to matters of construction. The rest are complicated rules of procedure as to filling in returns; corrections of misprints or explanations of unintelligible phraseology in previous orders; or most frequently of all, fulminations of the direst penalties against any attempt to exercise independent judgment. The one exception is probably either puerile or mischievous; such as an elaborate specification and sketch of a child's tub, that was circulated not very long ago, with a sharp metal edge to it, which might be warranted to draw blood whenever used.

Again, what little work a District Engineer has to do out of his office, is profoundly uninteresting. The maintenance of a road is a task that requires no great intellect or skill, and in England would be entrusted to quite a subordinate; while in the matter of buildings, there is no scope for the exercise of taste or ingenuity, standard plans having been provided, from which no deviation is allowed, whatever may be the differences in the locality and nature of the site. The consideration of such particulars is of less importance than might at first be imagined; for the designs have been so skilfully contrived as to be equally unsuitable wherever they may be placed. For a man with the slightest element of humanity and good taste in his composition, it must be unspeakable misery to superintend the construction of edifices which will not only cause daily discomfort to the unfortunate officials who are doomed to use them, but will also permanently disfigure the landscape and pervert the indigenous sentiment of architectural propriety. The only in-

nocent and legitimate source of gratification, of which the circumstances admit, lies in totalling up the number of miles for which travelling allowance can be drawn. On the other hand, no more devoted body of public servants exists than the Engineers in the Canal Department. They are taken from precisely the same class of men as their brethren on the roads; but they are less hampered by accounts; in dealing with such a subtle element as water, they are constantly confronted by unforeseen complications which afford exercise for ingenuity; and they have something in which they can take an honest pride, if at the end of each successive year their returns show a larger area to which they have extended the blessings of irrigation.

In a district like Bulandshahr, with many rich, liberal, and fairly well educated members of the native aristocracy, not gathered together in a few large towns, but residing on their own estates in all parts of the country, it would be an easy matter to constitute an influential and really representative Committee for the administration of local interests. Nothing, however, could be more pitifully unreal than the Committee actually existing. It is supposed to have at its disposal an annual income of over Rs. 70,000; but almost the whole of this considerable sum is absorbed by fixed charges, or has to be expended by departmental agency. A single item of about Rs. 2,500 for petty original works is all that the Committee can call absolutely its own, and can spend on projects of its own selection. If in any year this item is omitted from the budget, the Committee is then debarred from any the slightest exercise of independent judgment. Being entirely supported by arbitrary allotments, it gains nothing by judicious management; for whatever may be so realized, is merged in Provincial funds, and no benefit accrues to the district. With resources of its own, a more complete control over a less extended area, and a system of accounts which it could understand, the Committee would rapidly develop into a genuine district council, a seat in which would be highly coveted, not only as a personal distinction, but for the substantial responsibilities that it involved. The sense of local power would act as a strong stimulus to local usefulness, and spontaneous beneficial enterprise would relieve the State of many burdens now unfairly forced upon it. No reasonable person will voluntarily drop his money into the bottomless pit of a Government department, the mouth of which is so barred by checks and counterchecks that extrication can only be effected by much technical dexterity, and after the endurance of long delay. But, if the committee had greater freedom, it would soon acquire the confidence of the public, and become

the ordinary channel for the distribution of the many streams of private benevolence, which are now too often wasted for want of effective direction.

It is one of the most convincing proofs of the general incapacity for self-government, that in many towns and villages, accumulated funds are often left unutilized, and local improvements that every one desires, are unexecuted, simply on account of jealousy and a want of mutual confidence. If the district officer will take upon himself the responsibility of administration, the community is only too glad to place the money at his disposal and to supplement it by further subscriptions. They will not trust it to any one of themselves; and if the new road, or tank, or market-place, or whatever it may be, involves, as it generally will, the demolition of a house or two and the appropriation of the site, the owners will resist to the utmost of their power any requisition advanced by their neighbours, but will at once, and in a most liberal spirit, fall in with the wishes of a European officer. It is not that any compulsion is used, for complaint would be immediately entertained in the Civil Court, but they have confidence in their rulers, and believe them to act from more impersonal and disinterested motives than they attribute to their own townsmen.

If used as a supplement and an incentive to private enterprise and benevolence, the surplus funds of the Municipalities and Act XX. towns might be made far more generally beneficial than they ordinarily are. During the last four years the improvements that have been effected in all the principal towns of this district are so enormous, that every visitor enquires with amazement where the money has come from. Immediate supervision, with no contractors and middle-men, and no large establishments for the elaboration of accounts and returns, has so far reduced the actual outlay, that it is much below the ordinary estimate for works of such magnitude; but the great secret lies in the persistent adoption of the principle, that no public improvement should be undertaken unless voluntary subscriptions are forthcoming as well as State aid. But in order for this system to succeed, it is necessary to be in sympathetic accord with the people, and not to force upon them anything opposed to their prejudices, or greatly in advance of their real requirements. Though themselves illiterate and indifferent to the laws of hygiene, they are quite sensible of the value of education for their children and of the advantages to be derived from bridged and avenued roads, convenient tanks and ghats for bathing purposes, good wells, clean paved streets, commodious market-places, and substantial water-tight houses. In all such works as

these, the majority of the people concerned are always ready to co-operate, and even the obstructive minority will in the end be gratified by the result. Instead of the impracticable dream of self-government, if only a modest scheme of decentralization were introduced, every District Committee, without the worry and delay of repeated references for sanction to higher authority, would have certain limited funds of its own to lay out in the furtherance of local projects and the encouragement of native enterprise. The result would be a great and immediate saving in State expenditure, and the eventual development of a public spirit, which would be a real qualification for higher political responsibilities.

ART. XI.—THE KANJARS OF UPPER INDIA.

THE present article is an attempt to piece together such scraps of information as could be collected on the manners, industries, religion, and traditions of the Kanjara tribe,—a tribe which is itself found only in scraps or fragmentary groups, scattered among the different districts of Upper India, and is one of the few surviving remains of the old wandering and predatory nations, by whom the entire country was peopled in the earliest times. As little or no information could be collected from books, almost all the facts hereinafter described are the results of personal observation, or of direct enquiry made from Kanjars themselves.

The largest account of this people that I have seen in print is that contained in the late Mr. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 389. This account does not fill one entire page, and a good deal of the space is taken up with giving the names of the seven clans, into which Kanjars are nominally divided.

Kanjara is the name by which the hunting and roving clans of Upper India are most widely known; though according to the returns of the census taken in 1881, the Kanjar tribe is less numerous in the North-West and Oudh than the Baurias, Cháís, Thárus, Nats, Banmánush, and Kols,—all of whom are approximately in the same backward stage of culture. The term Kanjara is often loosely applied to other tribes, who call themselves by a different name, but lead a similar life. The name does not appear among the savages of the Punjab.* But roving tribes bearing this name are found in Rajputana,† in Behar,‡ in Bengal as Gangwar,§ and in the Deccan as Kanjar, Zingar, or Jingar.|| The name "Kanjara" re-appears in various forms, not only in India but in those countries of Europe, which have been invaded by

* The tribes in the Punjab, corresponding to the Kanjars of Hindustan, are the Sansis and Bauriyas.

† *Sherring's Castes*, Vol. III., p. 62.

‡ *Bengal Census Report for 1872*, p. 158, where they are said to be very numerous in the Purneah district.

§ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, Article 19, p. 457. Here the Gangwars are said to be a clan of Nats. But it is well known that Nats in many of their habits closely resemble Kanjars.

|| The Kanjars are described as a wild tribe, living in the jungles between Nagpur and the Warda rivers in *Sherring's Castes*, Vol. II, p. 155. The same writer mentions the Zingars or Jingars in Vol. II, p. 123, as artizans of an inferior order. The two statements are not contradictory, but rather confirm each other.

Gipsy tribes from the East. Thus in Roumelia these tribes are called Cingarees; in Roumania, Tschingenes; in Hungary, Tzigany; in Italy, Cingari; and in Spain, Zincáro. The German "Zigeuner" for vagrant, and the English "Conjurer" for juggler, may perhaps (though other etymologies are given) be derived from the same root. The Gipsies of Europe have, for purposes of concealment, adopted a Hindi patois as their peculiar cant, and have given it the name of Romaney from the country (Roumania), where they first encamped in Europe. On the other hand, Kanjars have adopted a secret language of their own, and use the vulgar tongue only when they speak to outsiders.

There is scarcely a district in Upper India, in which small encampments of Kanjars cannot be seen at times, either in solitary jungle tracts which are favourable for game and secrecy, or in the outskirts of villages, wherever it may be convenient to them to halt and sell their wares.* All true Kanjars are addicted to a roving life; and if they halt for a time near some town or village, they put up their temporary sheds, made with poles and matting, in a grove at some distance apart from the abodes of the settled inhabitants. They have no connection whatever with Hindu forms of worship, or with the rules of life which that religion prescribes; † and are entirely outside the pale of caste. Their natural home is the forest, where they subsist by hunting jackals, wolves, hares, and any other kind of animal that they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm-tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low caste tribes of India. They are clever, too, at trapping birds and squirrels, and digging out snakes, mungooses, bandicoots, field rats, lizards, and any other

* During the time of the kings of Oudh, they were much more numerous than, they are now in the Bharaich district. *William's Oudh Census*, Vol. I, p. 108. In the Census Report of the North-West Provinces, 1865, it is noted that they were found in 30 out of 35 districts. In the Census Report of the North-West and Oudh, 1882, they are said to have been found in every district of the United Provinces except, Lalitpur and Garhwál.

† I inquired once of a Kanjar woman who formed one of a gang encamped in the Lucknow district at Bakshi Talau, what their religion was. This encampment had remained stationary in that spot for more than six consecutive years, and its members were evidently on the road to absorption into the great vortex of Hindu castes. She told me that they had no religion, but were ready to worship all the gods alike, if they could be allowed, the Hindu, the Mussulman, and the gods of the *Sahib Log* (European), and that if she had her choice she certainly preferred the last, as they were obviously by far the most powerful of the three. Her remark, that she had no religion of her own, was an exaggeration of the fact, though she was evidently forgetting what her own religion was, or losing faith in it.

kind of vermin that chance may throw in their way; all of which they eat indiscriminately. Many of the *dakaitis*, or gang-robbers, who infest the public highways at night are Kanjars; and in the pursuit of this calling they are sometimes associated with evil-doers from among the Hindu community.

Kanjars are seldom or never seen in groups of more than 20 or 40 persons of all ages at a time, and the number is sometimes even less. These little groups may unite sometimes for special and temporary objects. But large groups are never permanently formed. Small wandering hordes, such as may still be seen among the lowest races of men, are the germs out of which all the largest societies or nations have gradually sprung. When life is so rude and simple, that separate class interests, each depending on the other, cannot be created, no permanent cohesion of parts is possible; and a larger group, if it should be formed for a time, rapidly falls to pieces again. "Scattered over many regions," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "there are minute hordes,—still extant examples of the primordial type of society. We have Wood-Veddahs living sometimes in pairs, and only now and then assembling; we have Bushmen wandering about in families, and forming larger groups but occasionally; we have Fuegians clustered by the dozen or score. Tribes of Australians, of Tasmanians, of Andamanese, are variable within the limits of perhaps 20 to 50. And similarly if the region is inhospitable as with the Esquimaux, or if the arts of life are undeveloped as with the Digger-Americans, or if adjacent higher races are obstacles to growth as with hill tribes, like the Juangs, this limitation to primitive size continues." * Among the Kanjars there are some groups or clans, which make a habit of keeping within easy reach of towns and villages, while others seldom or never leave the forest. But even among the former, it is not merely the proximity of settled communities, which prevents the formation of larger groups. For even in wider forest tracts, where there is ample space and no impediment from higher races, the same

* *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. III, p. 482, Ed. 1877. In the text the phrase is Digger-Indians; but I have taken the liberty of changing it to Digger-Americans, so as to prevent the misunderstanding which might arise from the use of the word *Indian*. A fuller account of the root-Diggers or Shoshenees, who live near the sources of the Mussoorie may be seen in page 60, Vol. II of *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, published by Longman and Green in 1860. The same writer speaking of the Comanchees, a less savage tribe than the Shoshenees, says:—"This tribe possesses an infinite number of petty chiefs, who lead bands of marauders," &c. (Vol. II, p. 341); and of another tribe he says:—"The Selishes have no regular form of government: they live in bands of 200 or 300 individuals," (Vol. II, p. 343.)

law of petty non-associative hordes prevails; and it would be a rare thing to find an encampment of more than, or even as many as, 50 persons. In the earliest times this type of society must have prevailed throughout the whole of India, and it is well known that it still prevails very largely in some parts of the centre and the south where settled Hindu communities scarcely exist. It was only when agriculture had transformed the habits of some of the hunting and nomad tribes, and drawn around it the various class interests inseparable from the settled state, that larger communities could at last be formed. The system of Indian castes was based upon the division of labour; but this principle could not take root in the soil, till it was sown there with the crops of the husbandman.

The Kanjars live chiefly, as we have seen, by hunting and trapping, and by gathering the spontaneous fruits and roots of the forest. But there is no savage race in the world, in which certain rudimentary arts have not been practised from the earliest times.

The Kanjars not only practise such arts as are necessary to their own existence, but they have acquired certain other crafts which are of no little utility to the settled communities, amongst whom they wander. They make mats of the *sirki*, reed baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw;—the last of which are now sold to Hindu children as toys, though originally they were used by Kanjars themselves (if we are to trust to the analogies afforded by other backward races) as sacred and mysterious instruments.* From the stalks of the *munj* grass and

* Thus among the Abipones of South America, the priestess who conducts the ceremonies in connexion with the worship of the Pleiades “rattles a gourd full of hardish fruit-seeds to musical time.” The Congo-Negros “had a great wooden rattle, upon which they took their oaths.” In North America, when any person is sick, the sorcerer or medicine-man brings the sacred rattle and shakes it over him: this says Prescott, is “the principal catholicon for all diseases.” According to some of the earlier travellers in America (Lafitau, Vol. I, p. 211), the rattle was even regarded as a deity. These examples of the rattle have been chiefly taken from Sir John Lubbock’s *Early History of Civilisation*, Appendix Part II, p. 405, Edit., 1870. In Burma (as I have seen) diseases like small-pox, measles, cholera, &c., are ascribed to visitations of evil spirits. I remember once seeing a whole village turn out at a stated hour in the evening and commence violently beating the hollow bamboo piles on which the floors of their houses are raised above the ground. A loud clattering and rattling noise ensued: and I was told that this was intended as a simultaneous raid against the evil spirits, who resided inside the hollow bamboo poles and afflicted the dwellings of the people with the epidemic then raging. A rattling discordant noise seems to have been considered efficacious as a devil-driver amongst the Hindus. Mr. Sherring (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 344) alludes to a low Indian caste called Jalwa, who, a few days after the birth of a child in a great man’s family, come around the house to yell and shriek. “This is supposed to be a preservative from ghosts, imps and hobgoblins, who are frightened away from the infant by these hideous sounds.” Here the barbarian tongue does duty for the barbarian rattle.

from the roots of the palāsi tree, they make ropes which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, &c. They prepare the skins of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians ;—though, probably, as in the case of the rattle, the drum was originally used by Kanjars themselves and worshipped as a fetish :* for even the Arya tribes, who are said to have been far more advanced than the indigenous races, sung hymns in honour of the drum or *dundubhi* as if it were something sacred. They make plates of broad leaves, which are ingeniously stitched together by thin stalks ; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. The mats of *sirki* reed, with which they cover their own temporary sheds, are largely used by cart-drivers of all classes or castes, to protect their goods and themselves against rain. The toddy,† or juice of the palm-tree, which they extract and ferment by methods of their own, and partly for their own use, finds a ready sale amongst low caste Hindus in villages and market towns. They are among the chief stone-cutters in Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding stone which is very widely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre that grows in the pods of the Sālmali or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton-yarn they enjoy an almost entire monopoly.‡ In these brushes a stiff mass of horse hair is attached to a wooden handle by sinews and strips of hide ; and the workmanship is remarkably neat and durable. Another complete, or almost complete, monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaśkhas* grass, which are afterwards made up

* According to the late Dr. Muir (*see* Sanskrit texts, Vol. V, p. 466, Edition 1870), in the Atharva Veda, V. 20, there is a hymn addressed to the drum as a sacred instrument. It is stated by Mr. Tylor that the drum, like the rattle, is a serious instrument, and not a plaything, amongst modern savages, *Anthropology*, Chap. XII, p. 293, Edit. 1881.

† The word toddy is the Anglicized form of tādi (ताड़ी) the juice of the ताड़ or fan-palm, from the stem of which the liquor is extracted, and from the leaves of which the Indian fan or hand-punka is made. On the love of savage races for spirituous liquors, see *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Domenech. Vol. II, p. 27, 50, 57.)

‡ There is a small Muhammedan caste of recent formation, whose special function it is to manufacture weavers' brushes. This caste is called Kunchi-band. The brushes are made by them on precisely the same plan as those made by Kanjars. It is not impossible that the members of this caste were originally Kanjars, who have been converted to Islam by men of the Julāha, or Muhammedan weaver caste, whose attachment to the creed of Islām is more than ordinarily intense.

by others into door-screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. The roots of this wild grass, which grows in most abundance on the outskirts of forests, or near the banks of rivers, are dug out of the earth by an instrument called *Khanti*. * The same implement serves as a dagger or short spear for killing wolves or jackals, as a tool for carving a secret entrance through the clay-wall of a villager's hut, in which a burglary is meditated, as a spade or hoe for digging snakes, field rats, lizards, &c., out of their holes and edible roots out of the earth, and as a hatchet for chopping wood.

In most of the above arts or industries, it is easy to recognize functions or germs of functions, one or other of which has long been the stereotyped hereditary calling of certain inferior castes, such as Bahaliya, Bári, Behna, Chamár, Dharkár, Kori, Kalvár, and others; and hence we may reasonably conclude, that the wandering and predatory tribes, which were once universal in Upper India, but of which now only a few fragments remain, were the *rudis indigestaque moles*, out of which the several castes, with their respective functions, were fashioned by slow degrees.

One of the arts (as we have shewn) in which Kanjars chiefly excel is that of making reed mats, fibre ropes, nets, cane baskets, rattles, palm-fans, &c. The light *sirki* mat, for example, with which they cover their own moveable leaf huts, is a model of neatness and simplicity, combined with usefulness. Almost all the other wandering tribes, besides Kanjars, and almost all the lowest Hindu castes (that is, those who are least removed from the Kanjar stage, such as Dóms, Bhangis, Khatiks, Bindis, Bhars, Dharkars, &c.) are noted for their skill in similar kinds of workmanship. The proficiency displayed by the Indian savage in this respect is one of the many links connecting them with savage races in other parts of the world; for there seems to have been no race of men so ignorant as to be destitute of this art in some kind of form, wherever the materials have been supplied by nature ready to their hands. The Hottentots, for example, made their

* So called from the root खन् which in Sanskrit means to dig or make a hole. The handle is about 3 feet long, and the blade (which is sharpened into a curved point something like the blade of a knife) is about a foot long. The blade is now made of iron, but was originally of stone. The iron blade is procured by Kanjars from ironsmiths. The handle is made by themselves. Mr. Sherring in *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 38, says: "At the commencement of the hot weather the Kanjar takes the sweet-scented *khaskhas* grass and works it into a light bamboo frame." This is a mistake. It is not the grass, but the root of the *khaskhas* which is so used. And it is not Kanjars but Chaparbands and others who make the light bamboo frame and fasten the *khaskhas* roots into it.

huts of plaited osiers covered with mats; and "the mats were "made of bulrushes and flags dried in the sun, and so closely "fitted together, that only the heaviest rain could penetrate them." The Veddahs, the wild tribes of Ceylon, live in huts formed of boughs and bark, and make strings for their bows, and ropes for guiding their hunting buffaloes. The Mincopies, or natives of the Andaman Islands, who dispute with Veddahs the distinction of being the lowest of the human race in the scale of culture, manufacture fishing-nets, bow-strings, and the long cord which they attach to their harpoons; and their women stitch together small leaf-aprons, similar in design to those said to have been worn by our first parents after the Fall, and still worn by some of the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes in Central and Southern India at the present day.* The Australian savages roof their huts with palm leaves attached to broad pieces of bark, which they strip off the gum-tree, and manufacture vessels of bark for receiving and holding water. The Feejeeans surmount their ramparts with reed fences and stockades, roof their houses with thatch work of wild sugarcane and fern leaves, and rig their canoes with sails made of mats. The Maoris make fishing lines and nets of the fibres of a wild flax plant, and protect the sides of their houses with a wicker work of osiers closely thatched with dry reeds. The Tahitians made fishing-nets, lines, and ropes out of the fibre of the cocoanut and other native plants, covered their houses with palm leaves laid in the form of thatch, and were very skilful in making baskets and wicker work of a thousand different patterns. The Kamchadales build their yourts or joint-family dwellings with wooden pillars, the interstices between which are filled up with a strong wicker work. The Fuegians,—another race for whom a claim has been set up as being the lowest of mankind,—make baskets, water-buckets, and fishing-lines. † It is worthy of note that the Hindu lawgiver, who probably flourished at about 300 B. C., assigns "the working with canes and reeds" as the appropriate function of the lowest caste existing in his own day, whom he calls Sopáka or dog-eater. ‡ The chimpanzee builds

* As for example, the Chenchus: (*Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 140.) In Vol. III, 208, the Koragars are described as using bunches of leafy twigs.

† This, and the other examples previously quoted, have been collected from *Pre-historic Times*, Chaps. XIII. and XIV, by Sir John Lubbock.

‡ *Institutes of Manu*, Chap. X. sl. 37. The caste, to which this function is assigned, is called Pandusopáka, that is, the dog-eating clan of the tribe of Pándus. Dog-diet is considered unclean at the present day, even by Kanjars. The Lawgiver can scarcely find language to express his abhorrence of the Sopákas, see slokas 52-56.

himself a house or shelter quite equal to that of some savages. The first men that existed may have known this art by inborn instinct; but even if they did not, they must soon have learnt it, when the necessities of their position as hunters compelled them to study the customs and contrivances of the animals with whom they disputed possession of the forest.*

Another art, in which Kanjars especially excel, and which connects them with savage tribes elsewhere, is that of stone-cutting. They are the chief millstone-makers in Upper India. There is one division of Kanjars, namely, the Sankat clan, which has evidently derived its name from this industry. Originally, that is, before the art of smelting and shaping metals was known, all blades, spearheads, arrowheads, &c., were (as is well known) made of stone. The ancestors of mankind could never have maintained themselves against the fiercer animals of the forest, or preyed upon the smaller ones, if they had not found out how to provide themselves with the weapons necessary to the purpose. At present all the implements and tools used by Kanjars, and, in fact, by all the other hunting and trapping tribes still left in India, are bladed or tipped with iron; and the iron is fashioned to the shape required not by the hunters themselves, but by men of the Lokâr caste. But though the Indian savage of modern times has lost the art of stone-cutting for the manufacture of weapons, he has retained it none the less for those purposes, in which stone is still useful. The grinding-mill, which Kanjars make, consists of two circular stones of equal diameter. The upper one, which is the thicker and heavier of the two, revolves on a wooden pivot fixed in the centre of the lower one, and is propelled by two women, each holding the same handle. The widespread use of this contrivance is one of the many proofs of the uniformity of human instincts. For millstones of almost precisely the same design were known to the Israelites; † and they are used to this day by the Christians of Abyssinia, ‡ by the wild Turkoman tribes of Central Asia, § and by the natives of India. The same kind of grinding-stone is still used in the Heb-

* *Pre-historic Times*, Chap. XVI, p. 573, by Sir John Lubbock.

† *Luke's Gospel*, Chap. XVII, verse 35: "Two women shall be grinding together: the one shall be taken and the other left. See also Isaiah, Chap. XLVII, verse 2.

‡ *Dr. Woly's Travels and Adventures*, 1861, p. 491. The Abyssinians work at the mill standing; the natives of India sitting; hence in Abyssinia the handle is long, and in India short.

§ The Turkoman grinding stone is alluded to in many places in the *Merv Oasis*, by Mr. O. Donovan, London, 1882.

rides ; * and it has only lately been superseded in Europe by the use of iron machinery. Kanjars (as we have said) are the chief manufacturers of the grinding-stone in Upper India. They could not have learnt the art by imitation ; for there is no respectable Indian caste, which could have taught them. † In Upper India there is only one caste, Khatik, and a sub-caste of Kahars called Gond, which share with them the monopoly of this industry ; and both of these are among the lowest of the Hindu fraternity,—only a few degrees raised above the Kanjar stage. On the Eastern coast of the Deccan there is a thieving and hunting tribe, (Bámptya,) which is noted for the manufacture of millstones ; ‡ and in the Marhatta country there are several low tribes, (such as Takkári, Páinkár, &c.,) § who are by profession manufacturers and men-
 ders of grinding-stones, but are still addicted to a roving and predatory life, and are still as much outside the pale of caste as Kanjars. There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the mill-stone is a legacy from the Stone age of the world, and was an invention of savage races. ||

* *Tylor's Anthropology*, Chap. VIII, p. 202 ; MacMillan & Co., 1881. An illustration of drawing of the process is there given. Except for the length of the wooden handle, (which in India is very short), the reader might have fancied that he had before him a picture of two Indian women grinding corn.

† There are only two exceptions to this ; but both are exceptions which verify the rule. There is a small caste called *Sangtarash*, consisting of only 3,286 persons all told, (see Census of North-West and Oudh, 1882, Appendix F, p. 5), which follows the trade of stone-cutting. But this (like Beldár, the name of which is derived from Persian, and not from Sanskrit) is a caste of recent origin and is scarcely yet stereotyped. Another small caste of stone-cutters, which is only beginning to exist, is called Pesharaj, or one who prepares stone for builders,—this, too, a word of Persian origin. These men, some 50 years ago, were Ahirs or cattle grazers, who from their contact with the forests and quarries in the Mirzapur district become first stone-porters, and then developed into stone-cutters. Mr. Growse calls attention to the fact that *Sangtarash*, as the name of a special caste, is still unrecognized in many places : “Partially developed castes are only recognized in some few districts, and totally ignored in others. Thus Mathura is a great centre of the stone-cutters’ art ; but the men who practice it belong to different ranks, and have not adopted the distinctive trade name of *Sangtarash*, which seems to be recognized in Hamirpur, Aligarh, and Kamaon.”—*North-West Census Report*, 1873, p. LXXXIV.

‡ *Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 205.

§ *Sherring*, Vol. II, p. 330.

|| Another reason for ascribing the invention (in India at least) to savages is that in the plains of the Ganges valley, where the great caste-system was developed into what we see, there are no quarries from which the stone could be produced. It is only at the foot of mountains where the forest tribes delight to dwell, that the stones can be procured.

There is one more industry not yet named for which Kanjars are noted, though in a less degree than some of the other forest tribes of the present day,—the collection of herbs and roots possessing medicinal properties. The knowledge of the properties of trees and plants is one of the marked characteristics of savage life not only in India, but in all other parts of the world. Writing of the native races of North America, the Abbé Domenech observes:—* “If the Red Indians are but poor astronomers, they are, on the other hand, excellent botanists. Living continually in the presence of vegetable nature, they have directed their rare faculties of observation to the study of plants; and their acquaintance with the vegetable kingdom is wonderful. It serves to indicate to them remedies for a great number of wounds and maladies.” The same remarks might have been written with equal truth of the wandering and forest tribes of India. It is these tribes who have laid the foundations of the healing art in this country; and the physicians of India are to this day absolutely dependent on their rude kinsmen of the forest for the drugs which they administer to their patients. Among the medicinal products procured by Kanjars are the roots of the simal or cotton tree, the sap of which is used as a tonic, the fibre and juice of the gürch creeper, which are given as a febrifuge, and the bark of the Lodh tree, which is used as a dye as well as for medicinal purposes. Other tribes are noted for extracting the juice (called kathá in India and catechu in Europe) from the khairá tree; and hence there is a tribe called Khairwar in Northern India, and Kath-Kárl in Southern. † We have already seen, how the forest-tribes (Kanjars included) were the first discoverers of the art of bleeding the fan-palm and converting its juice into spirituous liquor, just as the native savages of North America discovered the art of bleeding the maple tree and condensing its juice into sugar. ‡ Not less remarkable was the discovery of the properties of *bháng* or Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*), which like catechu is largely used in European pharmacy, and which in India has given the name of Bhangí to one of the lowest of the

* *Great Deserts of America*, Vol II, p. 333. The author goes on to show that they use decoction of Sassafras for pleurisy, and a kind of euphorbia and the oil of palma christi for purgatives; how they discovered the red seed of the magnolia as a febrifuge, p. 335, the wood of the acacia as a cure for toothache, the medicinal properties of Sarsaparilla fern, &c., p. 336.

† *Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 385; and Vol. II, p. 325.

‡ For an account of this process, see *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol II, p. 245.

Hindu castes.* Another caste, Tamboli, has derived its name from the tambol or betel-creeper, the leaf of which is now universally chewed in India as a stimulant; and the cultivation of this creeper, which originally was merely a forest plant, has now become so delicate as to tax the best skill of the Indian gardener. The wild tea plant was known and used in Assam by the native races of that province, even before the cultivation of tea gardens had been commenced by Europeans. Tobacco and its uses were known to the native races of America, long before its growth had become one of the great agricultural industries of America, Europe and Asia.† In the discovery of the properties of forest plants, it must be admitted that savages have been the originators, and civilized men only the copyists and improvers.

The religion of the Kanjars, so far as we have been able to learn it, is quite what we should expect to find among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in the constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter into the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on the same intellectual level with their more civilized kinsfolk, the Hindus, amongst whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhuts*, malignant spirits, who haunt graveyards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, &c. In fact, (according to the highest authority on the subject), "animism, or the belief in spiritual beings, is the essential source "and minimum definition of religion generally";‡ and the belief

* The Bhangi is the caste of sweeper, known in European houses as *Mehtar*. These men use *bhang* for intoxication, and not for medicinal purposes. Perhaps they received their name from the skill, with which in their days of savagery they collected the drug.

† In America tobacco was not merely used as a stimulant and narcotic, but for giving the most solemn sanction to intertribal compacts. On the use of the calumet or peace pipe in America, see *Great Deserts*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol. II, pp. 210 and 273. "The calumet is everywhere an object of great veneration. It is never smoked but at the conclusion or ratification of a treaty of peace, which terminates a war, commences an amnesty, or sanctions a territorial agreement." In India tobacco was not indigenous, but is now very widely cultivated. Such is the uniformity of human instincts, that the act of smoking together is considered as a pledge of peace between two persons and as a guarantee that they belong to the same caste. If a Brahmin smoked with a Chamár, he would be degraded at once to a Chamár's status.

‡ Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, chapter XI, Edit. 1871. The words quoted in the text occur in p. 383.

in the preponderance of evil spirits over good is one of the marks of a savage and uncultivated mind. Like the aboriginal Australians, Kanjars have no belief in natural death except as the effect of old age. All deaths, but those caused by natural decay or by violence, are ascribed to the agency of evil spirits. The dead are buried five or six feet deep, lest a wild beast should tear up the carcass, and by disturbing the body send forth its attendant soul to vex and persecute the living.* When a patient is possessed, they employ an exorcist, or spirit-medium, whom they call Nyotia, to compel the spirit to declare what his grievance is, so that satisfaction may be given him, and he may thus be induced to leave his victim in peace. The spirit-medium has power, they say, to transport the goblin direct into the body of some living person, and to make that person its mouthpiece for declaring its will.

In the wide range of human history, it is difficult to find an example of a primitive horde or nation, which has not had its inspired prophet or deified ancestor. The man-god whom Kanjars worship is Máná,—a name which does not appear in any of the lists of the Hindu divinities. While he lived amongst men, he was the model fighter, the great hunter, the wise artificer, and the unconquered chief. He was not only the teacher and guide, but also the founder and ancestor of the tribe. He is therefore to the Kanjar what Hellen was to the Greeks, Romulus to the Romans, Abraham to the Jews, or Ishmael to the Arabs, and something more than what Mithu Bhukia is to the Banjára, Mánjbá to the Rewári, Alhá and Wudal to the Bundel, Rai Dás to the Chamár, Lál Guru to the Bhangí, or Nának to the Sikh. Máná is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honor to their common ancestor. No altar is raised. No image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig or goat, or sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly (it is said) they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or

* The belief that the soul of the dead hovers around or near the place where the corpse was buried, is, or has been, of world-wide acceptance. It was embodied in the Latin saying, *tumulum circumvolat umbra*. A large number of examples are given in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II., chapter XII, pp. 24-26, Edit. 1871.

toddy.* They dance round the tree in honor of Máná, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour. At the close of the ceremony there is a general feast, in which most of the banqueters get drunk. On these occasions,—but before the drunken stage has been reached,—a man sometimes comes forward, and declares himself to be especially filled with the divine presence. He abstains from the flesh and wine of which others partake, and remains standing before the tree with his eyes closed as in a trance. If he is seized with a fit of trembling, the spirit of Máná is thought to have possessed him, and while the inspiration lasts he is consulted as an oracle by any man or woman of the assembly who desires to be helped out of a difficulty. Any one who has been thus inspired more than once is regarded as a chosen vessel, through whom Máná will reveal his will; and happy is the gang or encampment, which enjoys the possession of such a privileged being. There is no connection between a prophet of Máná and an exorcist or Nyotia. The two functions are quite distinct; and neither of them is hereditary.

There are certain goddesses also whom Kanjars worship; but it is difficult to ascertain their original meaning and character. Their names at least (as I was informed) are Mari, Parbhá, and Bhuiyán. Of these Mari is supreme,† and her worship is celebrated with the same zeal and by the same ceremonies as that of Máná. No such name appears in the Hindu Pantheon. *Mari* would seem to signify death; but she is worshipped by Kanjars (so far as I could learn) as the animating and sustaining principle of nature. Parbhá, which would appear to signify light, is worshipped by Kanjars as the goddess of health; and more especially of the health of cattle. The same goddess is worshipped by Ahirs and the other pastoral castes of India, and by men of any other castes who have taken to the same occupation. This is a connecting link between the religion of Kanjars and that of the low caste Hindus. Another link in the same chain is the worship of Bhuiyán, the earth-goddess, (as the name implies.) But her Hindu worshippers have attempted to promote her to the upper ranks of the Pantheon

* The Kanjar who communicated these facts said, that the child used to open out its neck to the knife, as if it desired to be sacrificed to the deity. Possibly, in secluded places, where the original manners of the tribe have been less modified than elsewhere, human sacrifice is not yet extinct. Such seemed to be the opinion of the Kanjar himself, though he appeared to be rather afraid to confess it, knowing that the Government authorities would treat it as a case of murder.

† She is also called Maháráni Devi, that is, the great queen goddess.

by adding the title of Bhawáni, one of the numerous names of Káli, the queen of heaven.

The marriage customs of Kanjars bear no resemblance to those of Hindus. There is no betrothal in childhood, no selection of auspicious days, and no elaborate ceremonies or ritual. The father or other near relative of the youth goes to the father of the girl, and after winning his favour with a pot of toddy, and gaining his consent to the marriage of his daughter, he seals the bargain with a gift of money, or of some tool or animal which Kanjars prize. The girl selected is never a blood relation to the intended husband, and she is almost always of some other encampment or gang. A few days after the bargain has been made, the youth goes with his father and as many other men as he can collect,—all in their best attire and armed with their best weapons,—and demands the girl in tones which imply that he is ready to seize her by force if she is refused. The girl is always peacefully surrendered in virtue of the previous compact; and this demonstration of force is a mere form,—a survival of the primitive world-wide custom of marriage by capture. Among the Khands of Orissa, the tradition of wife-capture is acted out in a more dramatic form: for here the wedding ceremony consists in forcibly carrying off the bride in the middle of a feast, which leads to a desperate sham fight between the young men, 20 or 30 in number, who champion the cause of the bridegroom, and a body of young women who assail them with stones and bamboos in order to recapture the departing bride.* The legend of the capture of Sabine women by Romulus' warrior band, and the Biblical account of the seizure of 400 virgins from Jabesh-Gilead by the tribe of Benjamin, shew that what has since become a form was once a serious reality not unfrequently attended by bloodshed.† Among the wild Turkoman tribes of Central Asia, marriage by capture though in most weddings a mere form, is still in certain cases practised as a fact. The *form* is that of a sham fight between the male claimant of the bride and the female band who try to rescue her, as among the Khands of Orissa; the *fact* consists in an actual race on horseback between the girl and her pursuer.

* "Personal Narrative of Service in Khondistan," by Major-General Campbell, 1864, p. 44. The same custom is alluded to in Mr. W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 1882, p. 77.

† *Book of Judges*, chaps. XX. and XXI. For the sake of these 40 virgins, all the other inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead were slaughtered. The Roman rape had a less tragical close. But a sanguinary war between the Romans and Sabines was only averted by the intercession of the Sabine women who had now become the wives of the Roman band.

‡ Burnaby's *Ride to Khiva*, 1876, pp. 221—224.

It is well known that in India in early times wife-capture was so commonly practised, that it was legalized by the Brahman law-givers and permitted even to high caste Hindus of the rank of Chattri.* In modern times, the wedding ceremonies observed among all classes of Hindus have been tinged by the tradition of this savage custom. The bridegroom goes to claim his child-affianced bride with all the display of men, servants, horses, &c., that he can collect or pay for; and the bride is then carried off concealed in a sedan, (generally alone, but sometimes with the bridegroom), shrieking and crying as if she were being dragged off by violence. Such (as I conceive it) is the meaning of the Hindu *barát*,—a ceremony derived from what was once a living reality, but now observed only as a dull, prosaic, and lifeless form, the costliness of which is a serious drain on the wealth and prosperity of the people.

On the arrival of the Kanjar bride at the encampment of her intended mate, a few simple ceremonies are performed. A pole is fixed in a mound of earth, and on the top of the pole is tied a bunch of *khaskhās* root or any thing else that may be equally fitted to serve as an emblem of the Kanjar industries. The bridegroom takes the girl by the hand,† and leads her several times round the pole in the presence of the spectators. A sacrifice of roast pig or goat with libations of toddy is then offered to Máná as the ancestral hero of the tribe; and songs are sung in his honor. When this is finished, there is a general feast and dance, in which every one at last gets drunk. The father of the bride does not give his daughter away without a dowry. This consists in a patch of forest assumed to be his own, which becomes thenceforth the property of the bridegroom, so long as the encampment remains near this place, or whenever it may return to it. No one without the bridegroom's consent will be authorized to use this piece of forest either for hunting or trapping, or for digging out

* *Institutes of Manu*, Chap. III, sl. 33. This kind of marriage is there called *Rakshasa*, because it was commonly practised by the indigenous races. The Hindus called these people by the name of *Rakshasa* or malignant demon, because they did not worship the Hindu gods, but disturbed the Brahmanical sacrifices and killed the priests and hermits of the forest. The great instance in Hindu legend of a *Rakshasa* marriage (or marriage by capture,) is that of the forcible abduction of *Sitá*, the wife of *Rama*, by *Rávana*, the great king of the *Rakshasas*.

† The taking of the girl by the hand appears to be an almost universal custom in civilized as well as in uncivilized communities. It forms part of the ceremony performed in Christian churches. It also forms part of the Hindu ceremony, and is called *pani-grahan*, or hand-taking. In the Hindi language *pani-grahan* (an old word derived directly from Sanskrit) is a synonym for marriage.

roots of *khaskhas*, or for gathering wild honey, or collecting medicinal herbs. If the piece of forest presents peculiar facilities for one or more of these industries, the dowry is a valuable gift. The fellow tribesmen observe faithfully, as a rule, the proprietary right thus conferred upon the bridegroom; but the migratory habits of the tribe make the enjoyment of the gift short-lived and precarious.

The woman, after she is once married, cannot leave the husband without his consent, whatever treatment she may receive. But the man can send the woman away at his own pleasure, provided he pays her something as compensation; and the amount of the compensation is decided on the merits of each case by a meeting of the male members of the encampment. If there are any children, the father is the undisputed owner of all; and if there is a child in arms at the time of the divorce, the mother is not allowed to keep it after it has been weaned. The woman is then perfectly free to marry any one else who will take her. As a rule, however, such divorces are rare; and the women lead happier and freer lives, are more trusted, more respected, have more respect for themselves, and are better treated than amongst most classes of Hindus. In the one case, the woman is left free to take the place for which nature intended her. In the other, she is condemned to child-marriage, house-hold slavery, perpetual widowhood and seclusion, by the cowardly institutions of her country and the false ethics of Brahmins.*

A new born child is considered unclean; and hence on the 6th day after its birth a lustral ceremony is performed with water; and the child then generally receives its name. The occasion is celebrated with a feast and dance, ending, as usual, in a drinking bout. When the child is six months old, a further ceremony is

* Lest this language should appear unjust, I would ask the reader to read and ponder what a native writer, Shib Chunder Bose, (*Hindoo as they are*) has the honesty to say on this point:—"The condition of a Hindoo female is usually deplorable. . . . A European lady can have no idea of the enormous amount of misery and privation to which the life of a Hindoo female is subjected. In her case the bitters far counterbalance the sweets of life. The natural helplessness of her condition, the abject wretchedness to which she is inevitably doomed, the utter prostration of her intellect, the ascendancy of a dominant priesthood exacting unquestioning submission to its selfish doctrines, and the appalling hardships and austerities which she is condemned to endure in the event of the death of her lord, literally beggars description. All the graces and accomplishments with which she is blessed by nature. . . . are, in her case, unreasonably denounced as unfeminine endowments and privileges, to assert which is a sacrilegious act. If she is ever happy, she is happy in spite of the cruel ordinances of her law-giver and the still more cruel institutions of her country." A great many more passages could be quoted to the same effect from the above writer.

performed which consists in clipping off the hair with which the child was born, and thus removing the last remains of the taint which it received from birth. Among primitive races no distinction is perceived between physical and spiritual uncleanness; * and it appears to have been very generally believed, that unless the taint of nature imparted at birth is removed by some purifying rite, the child will remain ever afterwards impure and become more than usually subject, as time goes on, to evil influences. Hence the almost universal prevalence of ceremonies for the lustration of new born infants. The naming of the child has been often associated with its baptism; but this is a mere matter of convenience; for the two rites are not in any way connected. Water in some form or other is the chief medium of lustration. The natives of Sikkhim (as I have seen) evince a lifelong aversion to water as a mere means of cleanliness: yet every Bhootea and Lepcha child soon after its birth is soaked, as long as it can bear the process, in the purest water that can be drawn from the hill-side spring. Among the Yumana tribes of Brazil, as soon as a child can sit up, it is sprinkled with a decoction of certain herbs and receives a name. Fire, the other great element of purity, is sometimes used with water. Among the Jakun tribes of the Malay peninsula, as soon as the child is born, it is carried to the nearest stream and washed; and is then brought back to the house and passed several times over fire. Amongst all castes of Hindus, after a child is born, a fire is kept smouldering day and night outside the door of the house; on the 6th day the child is dipped in water; on the 12th the water-purification is repeated; and on both days the floor of the house is smeared or rather purified (according to Indo-Persian notions) with cow dung. † The

* The quaint maxim, which every one quotes, but no one understands, "cleanliness is next to godliness," is probably based upon the old confusion of ideas between physical and moral impurity.

† Most Hindus, however, appear to have lost all idea as to the origin and primary meaning of these lustration ceremonies. Ask a man why a fire is kept up, and he will say "to keep the woman and child warm,"—this, when often there is no fire at all, but only smoke and ashes, and when the temperature of the air is already too hot for health. The fire-custom was imported by the Arya tribes from Persia; as also the use of cowdung, which is still used for making "holy water" by the Parsis. The water ceremony is the indigenous custom of the Indian race, being that followed by Kanjars. It is through the influence of Brahmins that the Hindus have become so wonderfully ignorant of the meaning of their own customs in this and other cases. There never was a people more bound by their customs and more ignorant of their meanings than Hindus. The object of the ceremonies for the purification of a new born child was, however, perfectly well known to the author of the Institutes of Manu. For in Chap. V, sloka 85, it is said that a man who has even touched a new born, that is, an unpurified

Maoris of New Zealand had a baptismal rite of their own before they became Christians. The baptism was performed on the eighth day or earlier by a native priest, who sprinkled water on the child with a branch or twig; and with this lustration it received a name after one of its ancestors.* In Africa the people of Sarac wash the child three days after birth with holy water. Holy spittle is sometimes used instead of holy water. Among the Mandingos, in the same continent, the hair of the child was cut when it was about a week old, and the priest invoking blessings whispered in its ear and spat three times in its face.† In Guinea, when a child is born, the babe is brought into the streets, and the headman of the town or family sprinkles it with water from a basin, invoking blessings of health and wealth. In the old religion of Peru the significance of the baptismal ceremony as a means of washing away evil influences was emphasised "by the act of throwing the water, in which the child had been washed, into a hole, while the priest or wizard repeated charms."‡ Peruvian converts of the present day still cut off a lock of the child's hair at baptism,—a survival of the old pagan ceremony of cutting off the birth-hair with an obsidian blade which answered the purpose of a razor. In old Mexico, before the Spanish conquest, "the nurse washed the infant in the name of the water-goddess, to remove the impurity of its birth, to cleanse its heart, and to give it a good and perfect life." Within the range of Buddhism in its Lamaist form, we are told that "the Lama blesses

child, becomes himself impure and must undergo a lustration-ceremony with water. In slokas 121 and 122 of the same chapter and in many other places, he alludes to the purifying effect of cow's urine and cowdung. The uses of fire as a purifier are constantly insisted on in the same chapter.

* *Tylor's New Zealand*, p. 184. The best proof that the rite of baptism in New Zealand was a heathen ceremony long anterior to the advent of Christianity is seen in the Legend of Tawhaki told in Sir G. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, London, 1855, p. 67—80. The whole of this legend is taken up with the efforts made by Tawhaki to find his lost child and get her baptized. When at last the baptism was completed by the father, "fire flashed from his armpits," and he became the thunder-god.

† *Mungo Park's Travels*, Chap. VI. Holy spittle is very firmly believed in by the Christians of Abyssinia. When the great Dr. Wolff entered that country as a missionary, it happened that the people were expecting an Aboona, or Patriarch from Cairo at the time. Believing Wolff to be the man, they forced him to spit on them till he was exhausted. See Wolff's *Travels and Adventures*, p. 493. Edit. 1861.

‡ *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Chap. XVIII, Vol. II, p. 394; where he quotes an old formula:—"Oh thou river, receive the sins I have this day confessed unto the sun. Carry them down to the sea, and let them never more appear."

the water and immerses the child thrice and gives it its name." * It is scarcely necessary to add that the use of consecrated water for the baptism of new-born children is universally prevalent in the Greek, Roman, and Protestant churches; and that the question whether the water so used is a real regenerator of the soul or merely a symbol of the pure life and Sinless Being, to whose service the child is dedicated, is one of the great points of doctrine, which divides christendom into two hostile camps.

There are three different modes in which Kanjars dispose of their dead; submersion in deep water by fastening a stone to the corpse; cremation; and burial. Each clan disposes of its dead according to its own hereditary and special rites. The first method is the least common; the next may have been borrowed from the Hindu rite, which was itself imported by the Arya tribes from Persia; the last is the one most frequently practised as well as the most highly esteemed. A man who has acted as a spirit-medium to Máná is invariably buried in the earth, to whatever clan he may have belonged. Máná himself was so buried,—at Karra, (as some Kanjars relate) in the Allahabad district, not far from the Ganges, and facing the old city of Manikpúr on the opposite bank. Three days after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a feast of vegetables and milk, but no flesh; and a similar feast is held on the seventh day. A third banquet is afterwards given on any day which may be found convenient, and in this banquet flesh and wine are freely consumed. When both the parents of a man have died, a fourth feast is given in their joint honour. In all these feasts, it is the soul of the dead which is fed or meant to be fed, rather than the bodies of the living. It is thought that the soul consumes the light ethereal portion of the offerings, that is, the steam and the odour; the leavings, that is, the grosser and material elements, are then consumed by the living. In the observance of such practices Kanjars are on the same level with the highest castes of Hindus, whose custom it is to hang a lighted lamp on a pipal tree, together with pots of ghee, rice and milk so as to appease the hunger and thirst of the departed soul, and give it light

* *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 394-5, Chapter XVIII. All the instances quoted in this paragraph, except when other quotations have been noted, are taken from the above chapter in Mr. Tylor's great work. A most remarkable account of Aztec baptism as practised in old or heathen Mexico is given in Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, London, 1860, Vol. III, p. 315. Baptism as now practised in heathen China, (a case which Mr. Tylor has not noticed) is described in Doolittle's work, p. 85-86. The writer, an American Missionary, tells us that it is solemnized on the third day after birth "as a kind of purification."

through the night.* The custom of feeding the dead is not confined to India. It has prevailed at one time or other in all parts of the world, and the sentiment which has dictated it must be counted among the universal instincts of mankind. †

Each encampment or group is a self-governing body. There are no hereditary or industrial distinctions of rank. All men are born equal. The affairs of each gang are managed by a council of the heads of families; and this is sometimes presided over by some elderly man noted above the rest for experience, wisdom, and courage, who is looked upon as the kinglet or chief of the band. All questions or disputes about marriage compacts, compensation for divorce, punishments for misdeeds, distribution of game, plunder, or lawful gain, change of camping ground, contracts with landlords or owners of forests, &c., are decided in these assemblies. In primitive unorganized hordes (as Mr. Herbert Spencer has shown), the first and only type of political structure consists in a council of elders, presided over by some chief, and listened to by the juniors and women: "We find "it not only among peoples of superior types, but also among "sundry Malays, Polynesian races, among the red men of North "America, the Dravidian tribes of the Indian hills, and the "aborigines of Australia." ‡ The senates, parliaments, and congresses of the most advanced nations have sprung from this simple germ. It is well known that among all the lower Hindu castes the custom still exists of settling disputes by an assembly (now called *punch* or *punchayet*), which consists of a few of the leading men of the same caste or clan. As there are now but few dis-

* In India, however, almost every sentiment natural to the mind of man has been turned upside down by Brahmins and distorted to suit their own ends. The feast of the dead, which in other countries is shared in by the surviving relatives, has been perverted into a feast to Brahmins, who assemble round the house on the 13th day after the death has taken place, and are feasted to their stomach's content by the wretched family who have to provide the banquet. The oldest law books inculcate the necessity of feeding *Brahmins* at such times in preference to feeding *relatives*. Thus: "the food given at a sacrifice to persons related to the giver is "a gift offered to goblins. It reaches neither the *manes* (souls of the dead) "nor the gods."—*Apastamba* II, VII, 17, 8. (Sacred Books of the East.)

† A very full and complete account of the feasts of the dead, as practised in all parts of the world, may be seen in *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, Chapter XII, pp. 26-40, Edit. 1871.

‡ Political Institutions (being Part V, of *Principles of Sociology*), chapter V, p. 315, Edit. 1882. He quotes examples from the aborigines of Victoria the red men of North America, certain tribes of Central America, the hill tribes of India, New Zealanders, Tahitians, the Malagasies, the Homeric Greeks, the early Romans, the ancient Germans, the Scandinavians, and the ancient English.

putes which cannot be brought into the Government courts, the functions of the punchayets are in these days chiefly, but not exclusively, bestowed upon purely caste-questions—questions which could scarcely be decided by any other tribunal. But if we are to draw any inference from the custom still prevailing among Kanjars, or if we are to trust the analogies afforded by other backward races still living, we must suppose that the original functions of the punchayet were much wider than they now usually are, and that the custom of referring disputes to the decision of such a tribunal was one of very great antiquity, reaching back far beyond the commencement of the Muhammedan period, or even the invasion of the Arya tribes from the west.*

For the settlements of disputes, which cannot be decided by the Kanjar council, either from want of evidence or owing to difference of opinion among the assessors, recourse is had to a kind of ordeal which might be called the floating test. The disputants go to the bank of a river, accompanied by umpires, and throw themselves into the deepest water. The man who rises first is declared guilty. For the great element of purity is believed to have disowned him as something unclean and cast him up from its unwilling embrace. This custom of relying upon supernatural aid for the settlement of cases, in which natural evidence is wanting or human judgment is unequal to the task, is another of the many links connecting the Kanjar tribe with the savage or semi-barbarous age of the world. Among the Israelites of old, a woman suspected of unfaithfulness, but without proof sufficient for conviction, was made to prove

* Raja Siva Prasad, C.S.I., author of a short History of Hindustan in the vernacular, has, however, expressed a different opinion in Part III of the book named. After pointing out that in the Mahummedan period the entire administration of civil and criminal justice was in the hands of the Kazi, guided by no other law than the precepts of Mahomed, he adds in a note:—"Hence, perhaps, is the origin of the Punchayet system and of that of excommunication. When the Hindus saw that they could not expect any equitable decisions of their civil suits from the Mahomedan Kazis, and that their claims to hereditary property were not to be ascertained by their own law of inheritance, they preferred their suits before their own communities (baradari) whose awards they were bound to acknowledge: if either party shewed any inclination of not abiding by them, he was made an outcaste." If we are to believe the contents of the Hindu law-book known to us as the Institutes of Manu, a low caste man had as bad a chance of receiving fair play from a Brahman judge in ancient times, as his descendant in more recent times had of receiving justice from a Mahomedan Kazi. The fact is, a low caste man had no chance whatever of getting either of these judges to attend to him. So in self-defence he adhered to the old indigenous custom of referring his disputes to the elders of his own class or cast; and this, in my opinion, is the origin of the punchayet.

her innocence by drinking "the waters of jealousy." * The ordeal of the "red drink" employed at this day by the Negroes of the Gold Coast resembles the Hebrew custom very closely, † Ordeal by fire was known to the ancient Greeks; for, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, a person suspected of crime declares himself ready "to handle hot-iron and walk over fire." Fire-ordeal and water-ordeal were both common in Europe during the dark ages, and though the custom itself has been extinct since about 1200 A.D., the "phrase of going through fire and water" has survived in colloquial speech ‡ The water-ordeal as practised in England in those days, was the same as that now practised by Kanjars. It consisted "in casting the person suspected into a river or pond of cold water, and if he floated therein without any act of swimming, it was deemed an evidence of his guilt; but if he sunk, he was acquitted." § The same test is very widely used at the present day among all the indigenous races of Central India, whose stage of culture approximates to that of Kanjars in Northern India. The forms in which the ordeal is applied are various; but the substance is the same. ¶ In all cases, if the person is guilty, it is because he is too impure for such a pure element as water to keep him: he is therefore thrown up to the surface, and declared guilty, while the innocent man sinks and is acquitted. Among the Hindus at the present day both fire-ordeal and water-ordeal, with a few other methods, are largely practised. ¶¶ The former was imported into India by the foreign

* Numbers, Chap. V, verses 11-31.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under article *ordeal*; 8th Edit, 1860.

‡ By a decree of the Lateran Council, held in 1215 A. D., trial by ordeal, or *vulgaris purgatio*, was declared to be the judgment of the Devil, and not the judgment of God.

§ *Blackstone's Commentaries*, Vol. IV, chap. 27.

¶ Two varieties are described in *Asiatic Studies* by Sir A. Lyall, edit. 1882, p. 83, chap. IV. Both are employed for determining the guilt or innocence of a woman suspected of witchcraft. In the one case, the suspected woman is sent down into the water holding a pole fixed upright in the mud. If she can keep herself down, while one man shoots an arrow and another runs and fetches it back to the place from which it was shot, she is declared innocent: but if she rises to the surface, she is declared guilty. In the other case the suspected person is sewn up in a sack, which is let down into the water about three feet deep. If she gets her head above the water, this is considered a proof of guilt. The former method prevails among the Hunting and Fishing Tribes of Berar. See Berar Census, 1881, p. 135.

¶¶ Amongst the Hindus there are altogether nine different kinds of ordeal; the balance; fire; water; poison; *kôsha*, or the water in which an idol has been washed; rice; boiling oil; red hot iron; and images. Sitâ, the wife of Râma, was made to prove her purity by passing through a bonfire, and fire-ordeals are still held in higher repute than any others.

Arya tribes from Persia, to whom fire was the most sacred element. The latter (as we have seen) is the indigenous custom of the Indian people.

The language which Kanjars speak to the outside world is the ordinary Hindi or Hindustani spoken throughout Northern India. But among themselves they have a secret language, which no one but a Kanjar can follow. From the specimens which I have been able to collect, (and these were acquired for me by a native with the greatest difficulty), this seems to be chiefly based upon Hindi, with certain inflections which perhaps have been derived from some old *Prakrita* dialect now obsolete. Some of the words, however, seem to have no connection whatever with any of the tongues now written or spoken in India. The following are a few specimens of the names collected :—

<i>Kanjar words.</i>			<i>English meaning.</i>
* टोप्रा	(toprá)	...	... Cloth.
डेह्वारी	(démhāri)	...	... Bread.
फेंसनी	(phéushani)	...	... Pulse.
* खालु	(khálu)	...	... Potato.
* खाक	(khák)	...	... Fire.
निमानी	(nimāni)	...	... Water.
* बपहिंला	(bapahilá)	...	... Father.
* छहंतारी	(chbahantári)	...	... Mother.
* गिहारी	(gihári)	...	... Wife.
* छहिन्	(chbahin)	...	... Sister.
* ककेहला	(kakehalá)	...	... Uncle.
* रैल	(rail)	...	... Ox.
पिडहेला	(pidhelá)	...	... Tree.
रोस	(rósu)	...	... Wheat.
घोर्ना	(ghorná)	...	... Gram.
रिब	(rib)	...	... A mat house.
खोभडा	(khojbhdhá)	...	... Rupee.
चिबडा	(chibdhá)	...	... Rupee.

The words marked with an asterisk seem to be distorted forms of Hindi; as for instance, *toprá* for *kuprá*, *khálu* for *álu*, *khák* for *ág*, *chahantári* for *mahatári*, an old Hindi word for *mátri* (mother), *kakéhalá* for *káká*, an older form of *cháchá* (uncle). As to the words not marked with an asterisk, it is difficult to guess from what source they have sprung; for we can hardly suppose that they have come down direct from one of the ancient indigenous languages, which were spoken in Hindustan before the Arya immigrants crushed them out with their own more powerful Sanskrit.

The following are some examples of Kanjar verbs and pronouns :—

दूतदो हौ	(dútado hín)	...	...	He eats.
औघना	(aughaná)	...	...	To come.
लगइस्	(lugaís)	...	...	Beaten.
बिरोको	(biroko)	...	...	To him.
वरो	(waro)	...	...	That.
कै	(kai)	...	...	Some.
कुरच् रहरो हौ	(kurach raharo hín)	...	...	He is eating.
टुर्करिरो हौ	(turkariro hín)	...	...	He is sleeping
रर्देस गओगिरो	(rardes gaogiro)	...	...	He has gone to a strange place.
लिआगिरो	(liogiro)	...	...	He earned.
* जासि	(jási)	...	...	Thou goest.
* पीसि	(písi)	...	...	He drinks.
बलाल्	(balál)	...	...	Call for, (Imp).
* जान्दो हौ	(jándó hín)	...	...	He is going.
केरो हौ	(kero hín)	...	...	Has done.
* आवसि	(ávasi)	...	...	Thou comest.
* खान्दो हूं	(khándó hún)	...	...	I am eating.

I am told that the inflections of the verbs marked with an asterisk are in vogue colloquially in some parts of the Punjáb; and there is no reason to doubt that *si* as a sign of the second person is of Sanskrit origin. The termination *aro* or *iro*, which

is so frequently attached to the verbal root, implies that there is something like system in this Kanjar cant, and hence that its inflections are partly, at least, descended from some obsolete *Prakrita* dialect. It is not likely that a rude and ignorant people, like Kanjars, would set to work to make a new language. But it is quite possible that an isolated tribe should have retained some of the inflections of an older form of a language, after these have become obsolete among the more advanced part of the community.

Whatever may be the correct explanation of the origin of the Kanjar cant, it is interesting to notice that the possession or invention of a secret language by tribes, whose position compels them to cope with races stronger and more numerous than themselves, is not confined to Hindustan. In South Africa the Bosjemen (or Bushmen) have adopted or inherited a jargon of their own, which Dr. Prichard believes to be based upon the language of their oppressors, the Hottentots; although it is so far different as to be unintelligible to all but themselves:—“This is considered to be greatly advantageous to the tribe in assisting concealment of their exploits.”* The same device is or was employed by the Circassians, and for similar objects:—“When they set out on a plundering expedition, they use particular forms of speech known only to themselves.”† Nor are Kanjars the only tribe in Hindustan who find it convenient to screen their designs behind a secret language. A writer in the *Asiatic Researches*, 1816, speaking of the Badhaks, (a violent robber-clan, which has since been nearly absorbed),‡ “says that they use a cant peculiar to themselves, which renders it extremely difficult to bring them to justice.”§ The Cherus, another wandering and predatory tribe, not unlike the Kanjars and Badhaks, are declared in the Behar Census Report of 1872 to “have a language which they use among themselves, unintelligible to Hindus, although speaking Hindi to outsiders.”§ It is well known that the Gipsies of Europe have a secret cant.

* *Prichard's Natural History of Man*, Book II, -chapter XVI, p. 354, Edit. 1855.

† Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase*, Vol I, p. 381, Paris, 1823: quoted by Prichard *in loco*.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XIII, Article 4. As the writer expressly states that the stronghold of the Badhaks was Utranla, Bulrampur and Bahraich, we may certainly conclude that they are the same people as the Barwars who since the annexation of Oudh and the establishment of a stronger government, have sunk to the level of thieves and petty pilferers.

§ *Bengal Census Report*, 1872, p. 158. It would be proper to add that the possession of a secret language is not an uncommon thing even

It has been said that natives of hot countries seek to adorn their skins, and those of cold countries their clothes. The Kanjars

among the Hindu castes. The Sunâr or Goldsmith caste, and the Kasbara or Brazier caste, are both said to have a secret language for the purpose of concealing their transactions with the thieves who bring them stolen metal for sale.* (See Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol I, p. 314: and Sir Henry Elliot's Races of the North West Provinces, Vol I, p. 159). The costermongers of London are said to have had, or still to have, a cant of their own. To those who have lived in Burma it is well known that the Chinese merchants, who have migrated into that country, have invented a peculiar telegraphic language, which no one but themselves can understand, and that the secret is faithfully kept.

These analogies, together with those quoted in the text, explain the origin of the Gipsy dialect in Europe, which M. Abel Hovelacque, in the *Science of Language* (p. 195, English version), has rightly included among the Neo-Sanskrit dialects of the present day. It is a fact that the Gipsy tribes of Europe are acquainted with a corrupt Hindi patois, which is known as Romaney or Petty Romaney, having been so called because Romania was the first country in Europe in which the Gipsies from Asia encamped in force. Specimens of this Gipsy language may be seen in pages 328, 331-3 and 334-5, of the *History of Gipsies*, by James Simson, ediu. 1865. The commonly received legend, (for it cannot be called any thing more than a legend), is that multitudes of Kanjars were driven out of India by the oppressions of Tamerlane, and it is inferred that the Gipsies of Europe are their direct descendants by blood, because they speak like them, a form of the Hindi language. The supposition that Kanjars would be expelled from India by Tamerlane is extremely improbable. Being a vagrant and savage people, they were altogether beneath the notice of such a rapacious robber as Tamerlane, and being robbers themselves by hereditary instinct, they must have profited more than any other class in India by the anarchy which he produced and left behind him. Not less improbable is the inference, that the Gipsies of Europe are of the same blood as the Kanjars of India, because they both speak a form of Hindi. This may be considered a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument, which makes language the test of race. For according to writers on Indian ethnology, Kanjars are invariably set down as an aboriginal or non-Aryan people, in spite of the fact that their language is Aryan. How then can the same writers maintain, that the Indian Kanjar and the European Gipsy are of the same blood, on the ground that both speak an Aryan language? The Gipsies of Europe are of the same complexion, feature, and stature as the natives of Armenia, Georgia, and Asia Minor, and do not at all resemble Kanjars: and such affinities are a truer test of blood than any thing else. As the inroad of Gipsies into Europe, *viâ* the Bosphorus, took place at about the same time as Tamerlane's invasion of India, and as these two events have been invariably connected by tradition, the acquisition of Hindi by the said Gipsies might be explained in the following way. The countries between the Indus and the Bosphorus have had Gipsies of their own from time immemorial, and their number must have largely increased during the time of anarchy, which extended between the irruption of Jhengis Khan and the subsequent irruption of Tamerlane. It is very probable that multitudes of stragglers from these clans followed the armies of Timour into India as camp followers, purveyors, and sharers of booty, just as the Indian Gipsies (the Banjaras) are known to have accompanied the armies and camps of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi; and the Pindaris those of the

are of the former class; but in the matter of personal vanity they have not run into the extravagances of Hindus or into those of certain other races living in the tropical zone. The Kanjar women tattoo their faces and hands only to a moderate extent,—performing the operation with a needle, the point of which is charged with certain colouring juices extracted from forest-trees. For painting their skins, they use red powder, white clay, and soot or charcoal. They wear earrings made of wood or bone, and sometimes of brass or silver, if they are rich enough to buy these more costly ornaments. Both sexes wear necklaces made of the gūnchi berry, the natural colours of which are a bright red and black. On the whole the love of personal adornment among Kanjars does not run into wild extremes. Among their decorative arts there is nothing so repulsive as the twelve-inch nose-skewer of bone worn in Australia, or the necklace of monkey's teeth in Brazil, or the large cheek-stud of stone among the Esquimaux, or the wooden lip-stud in the interior of Africa, or the brass tooth-stud in Borneo, or the teeth-filing in Sumatra.* Amongst almost all the castes of Hindus, personal ornamentation (or disfigurement) is carried to a greater extreme than by their ruder kinsfolk, the Kanjars; and as we ascend in the scale of caste, the love of decoration seems to rise in proportion. Among the upper castes the mark (called tilak) painted on the forehead, breast, or shoulder of a man indicates the god or goddess to which he and his family are specially attached; just as in certain parts of Africa tribes, sub-tribes, and even families are distinguished by the figures of animals or other pictures blazoned on the leg or face.† The Sanskrit poets took a passionate delight in describing the Kānchi or bodylet (now obsolete), which used to be worn by women a little below the waist, and was strung at the hinder part with tiny bells.‡ Ornaments not dissimilar to these are worn by

Mahratta chiefs in more recent times. After associating for a time with the Kanjar tribes of India, whose manners resembled their own, these Georgian Gipsies would naturally return by driblets to their old haunts west of the Indus, taking with them some knowledge of the Hindi patois, the name of Kanjar, and possibly a few Kanjar tribesmen as associates. A secret language, totally unknown outside of India to all but themselves, was much too valuable, when once acquired, to be allowed to be forgotten. The secret would necessarily spread far and wide among all branches of the Gipsy tribes between the Indus and the Bosphorus; and these tribes on entering Europe would naturally take such a valuable inheritance with them.

* The examples are taken from Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization* Chap. I. p. 47—57.

† Captain Burton's account of Abeokuta, Vol I, p. 104; quoted by Sir John Lubbock *in loco*.

‡ The Kānchi though obsolete, so far as I know, amongst the fair sex, is still worn by Pāsi men, and by men of other low castes, who are dressed up as women dancers for marriage festivals.

the ladies of certain tribes in America and Africa.* Nose studs, nose rings, earrings, bracelets, anklets, and toe-lets of various metals are worn by Indian women of all castes; and the eyelashes are blackened with soot or collyrium, like those of the Faletah ladies in Central Africa;† and the finger nails and toe-nails are reddened with lac. If such disfigurements are to be considered as marks of barbarism, the Hindu women are more backward in this respect than the wives of Kanjars.

In the use of their simple weapons Kanjars display extraordinary skill; though doubtless, in ancient days, when points and blades were made of stone instead of iron, their dexterity was still greater in proportion as it was the more needed. The weapon with which they kill little birds is nothing but a pole pointed with a thin sharp spike of iron. The man lies motionless on a patch of ground; which he has first sprinkled with grain; and as the birds come hopping around him to pick up the grain, he fascinates one of them with the pole by giving it a serpent-like motion, and then spikes it through the body. Kanjars seldom or never use the bow and arrow; but they use the pellet bow, which requires much greater skill. The pellet is nothing but a little clay marble dried in the sun. With this they not unfrequently shoot a bird flying. The khanti or short spear (already described) is not merely used in close combat, but is thrown with almost unerring effect against wolves or jackals as they run. For catching a wolf in the earth, they place a net and a light at one end of the hole, and commence digging at the other end. The wolf attracted by the light runs into the net, and the Kanjar then batters its head with a club and kills it.

Whatever a Kanjar kills, from a wolf to a reptile, he eats; and most of what he finds dead, he eats also. But in his love of animal food, he is not altogether omnivorous. He does not eat dogs, though in ancient days these animals were as much eaten by the indigenous races of India, as they still are by those of Indo-China, America, and elsewhere.‡ Neither does he eat monkeys.

* Speaking of the Natchez (in America) Abbé Domenech remarks:—"what they valued above all, were tiny bells, which they hung all over their persons, and the tinkling of which was their delight." (*Great Deserts of America*, Vol II, p. 289). Allusions to similar ornaments being worn by African beauties occur in Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, Chap. I, p. 47.

† Sir John Lubbock, Chap. I, p. 48; where he quotes from Laird's *Central Africa*, Vol II, p. 94.

‡ *Institutes of Manu*, Chap. X, st. 37, 38 and 51. Manu's names for dog-eaters are Pandu-Sopáka, Sopáka, and Swapáka, which literally mean "dog cooker." Of the Chandála and Swapáka he says, "their abode must be out of the town; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses." No

In fact, when a question was put to a Kanjar on this point, it was treated as a joke not deserving a serious answer. They look upon monkeys as companions, almost as kinsfolk, rather than as animals to be hunted and devoured. Perhaps, then, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that monkey-worship found its way into the Hindu mythology and religion through contact with the indigenous creeds, more especially as no trace of such worship has been found, (so far as I know), in the sacred books of the Arya tribes either to the east or west of the Indus. One other animal, which Kanjars profess to abstain from, is the ox. The accuracy of this profession might (I think) be questioned; for cow-worship was not indigenous to India, and in Central India at this day, tribes like the Bhils, &c., who are in the same stage of culture as Kanjars, steal tame cattle, hunt wild ones, and eat both.* Long contact with Hindus has taught Kanjars to abstain from the flesh of tame cattle: but if they caught a wild ox in the forest, I do not believe that they would scruple to eat it.

The Kanjar nation considers itself to be subdivided into seven distinct sections or clans. But there seems to be no strictly enforced clan system amongst them; and the number has apparently been fixed at seven, merely in imitation of the practice of Hindu castes, each of which generally divides itself into seven sub-castes, whether the number is strictly seven or not. Five of the Kanjars names are well established; and four of them can be explained by the descriptions already given of their creed and crafts:—Maraiya (worshipper of Mari), Bhains (buffaloe-keeper), Sankat (stone-cutter), Gohar (lizard-catcher), and Sodá, the meaning of which I am unable to trace.† The two remaining names are

traces of the Swapaka tribe now remain, unless we are to recognize it in the modern Bhangi or Mehtar. Of the native races of North America, the Abbe Domenech writes as follows:—"The Indian villages swarm with dogs; of which some are used in hunting, others for drawing loads; some, again, are fattened for eating." Dogs (as I have seen) are eaten by the Burmese; and they are bred for food by the South Sea Islanders.

* The worship of the cow was practised by the ancient Persians, and must have been imported into India through their kinsmen, the Arya tribes. There is nothing to shew that the worship was indigenous to this country. A sacred cow, that is, one set apart as worthy to be offered to the gods, is called in the Vedas *Vasá*. On the love of the Bhils for cow's flesh, see *Asiatic Studies*, Chap. VII, p. 159, by Sir. A. Lyall.

† I have considered these 5 names to be well established because Mr. Sherring heard of them in Benares, (see his *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol I, p. 389), and I myself heard of them independently in Lucknow. Lakarhar and Dhobibans were the other names given to Mr. Sherring at Benares; Saññre and Utwar were the names given to myself at Lucknow. I consider, therefore, that these last two are less established than the other 3. A similar uncertainty exists regarding many of the names of sub-divisions of the Hindu castes.

variously given, being in some places declared to be Lakarhár (woodman) and Dhobibans (washerman) and in others Sauñre and Utwar. There is no distinction either of craft or worship among these several clans, though some of the names might seem to imply this: nor is there any strict rule which could prevent a man from leaving one clan to join another, if it suited his convenience. Many Kanjars do not know to which of the 7 clans they belong. All are probably of recent formation, devoid of historical continuity, and incapable of minute definition. What we see now of the Kanjar people is no doubt a mere fraction of what they formerly were; and it is probable that, in the course of their history through the long centuries that have passed, their original tribal system, if they ever had one, has been shattered to pieces, and new groups have been formed at different times from the fragments that remained.

According to the Census of 1881 the number of Kanjars scattered among all the districts of the North West and Oudh was only 19,504. Looking to the wide extent of area (Hindustan, Rajputána, Bengal, and Deccan), in which fragments of the race are still to be found, and considering that they gave their name and language, some 5 centuries ago, to the wandering tribes in Europe who lead a similar life, the Kanjars must once have been a much more important people than we now find them. Even if we assume, (which is possible), that many of the encampments were overlooked on the evening when the last census was taken, and that the actual number of persons still bearing the Kanjar name is not less than double that given in the returns, yet there is no reason to doubt that this jungle-nation is gradually dying out, or (to speak more correctly) is becoming more and more absorbed into the far mightier jungle of Indian caste, like the other great nations of this country, which were swallowed up centuries ago or are being swallowed up still. At the present time, for example, (and there are many parallel instances), several little encampments of Kanjars are dotted in different parts around Lucknow; and most of these have halted, where they still are, without a break for the last 7 or 8 years or more. These are gradually learning Hindu rites and forgetting their own. The Bráhmaṇ, ever as keenly on the scent for fees as the Kanjar is for jackals, has found them out, and is silently drawing them into the net, from which there is no escape.* The day of their capture is not far distant.

* The Brahman now comes with the Purana in his hand, and reads out Kathás or sacred stories, of which the gaping Kanjar, awe-struck in the presence of such a holy man, scarcely understands a word. The Brahman is now beginning to be sent for at times of birth and marriage, and for the disclosing of auspicious days. The alliance between Kanjars and Brahman

In the Hindu sacred books, of which Bráhmans are the professional expounders, the strictest rules, enforced by the most appalling penalties, are laid down against the communication of divine knowledge to persons or tribes outside the privileged pale. But the remote prospect of these awful consequences does not weigh so much as a feather against the immediate attractions of pice. It is by thus trading on the ignorance and superstition of indigenous tribes, that Bráhmanism, setting out some 3,000 years ago from its narrow cradle on the banks of the Saraswati, has continually enlarged its borders, until this enslaving creed has now at last become the almost universal task-master of the Indian race.

If admissibility into caste depends upon qualifications of function, (for function has, we believe, been the main factor in the formation of Indian castes), then it is easy to see, from the accounts already given of the various arts and industries in which Kanjars excel, that there are many low Hindu castes, into which they could be absorbed at once, if they would drop their tribal name, renounce their freedom, and consent to practise the same worship and the same marriage rites as those of the caste or castes into which they seek to enter. It is impossible to say how many of the caste men, who are now called Chamars, Koris, Pásis, Behnas, Báris, &c., were not originally Kanjars; or how many Kanjars may not have risen imperceptibly, at an earlier stage of their history, into the ranks of castes holding a much higher status than these in the social scale.* There is one caste called Khangár, the members of which (if we are to trust the similarity of name) must have been Kanjars, not many years ago. This caste now numbers 32,304 according to the census of 1881. They are, (as we might expect them to be, so soon after their absorption into Hinduism), a low and despised caste, still known as hunters and trappers in a small way, but chiefly employed as general drudges, field-labourers, night-watchmen, and swine-herds,—a squalid, fever-stricken, spirit-broken tribe, which has lost the healthy life, the versatile genius, and the happy freedom of their brethren of the forest.

JOHN C. NESFIELD.

is not always, however, based upon piety. In some parts of Oudh there are Brahmins who are rapidly becoming professional robbers. The gang, which eluded the police in the Sitapur road for some 8 years in succession, was found, when caught, to contain 3 Kanjars and 2 Brahmins.

* Among the *low* castes, such as Bhar, Khatik, Bind, &c., the tribal name has not unfrequently been retained. But as we ascend in the social scale, it is observable that functional names have almost always superseded tribal ones; and if our theory of caste is correct,—that caste was founded on differences of function,—this is exactly what we should expect.

THE QUARTER.

PUBLIC attention during the past three months has continued to be mainly absorbed by the agitation connected with the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, which, after an interval of comparative quiescence, has, since the latter end of August, again assumed an active form.

On the 25th June a crowded meeting of the opponents of the Bill in London was held at St. James' Hall, which was attended by all classes of Anglo-Indians, the official, as well as the non-official element being largely and influentially represented, and resolutions were passed unanimously condemning the Bill, and appointing a deputation to wait on the Secretary of State and lay before him the views of the community.

The deputation was received by Lord Kimberly on the 26th July, and informed by him, in terms almost insulting in their curtness and tone, that he had not the least intention of instructing Lord Ripon to withdraw the Bill, though certain modifications might be introduced in it, in accordance with the recommendations of the Government of India.

On the 10th of August the Government of India transmitted to the Secretary of State the opinions on the Bill submitted by the various Local Governments and officials, including not only those of the Judges of the High Courts and the Commissioners of Divisions, but of many district officers and subordinate officials.

The general purport of these opinions had in the meantime become a matter of common report, and it was known that the preponderance against proceeding with the Bill was overwhelming. In the case of Bengal, especially, it had transpired that, out of a large number of Europeans consulted, only one had recorded an opinion in favor of the Bill, while it was understood that in Assam every officer consulted had, without exception, declared against it. It was further known that, while the Heads of local Governments and administrations were about equally divided on the question of absolute withdrawal, not one advocated the passing of the Bill as it stood, and all but one recommended modifications so extensive as to remove the Bill entirely from the foundations on which it had been originally sought to rest it.

It was with intense surprise that under these circumstances the public received the intelligence that the Home Government still refused to abandon a project of legislation which the community mainly affected by it had denounced, with one voice, as

offensive and dangerous ; which the great majority of the officials responsible for the administration of the country had condemned in terms almost as unqualified, and which the bulk even of its supporters admitted to have been introduced on erroneous grounds and without any urgent necessity. Disgust was added to surprise when, on the one hand, the Under-Secretary of State, on being questioned in the House of Commons regarding the result of the reference to the Local Governments, replied in terms calculated to produce an entirely false impression as to the facts, and, on the other hand, the Prime Minister himself, with as little candour as generosity, had recourse to the device of seeking to discredit a verdict which could no longer be ignored, by attributing it to a spirit of ascendancy which must be checked and a malicious desire to obstruct the Government in its humane and righteous policy of building up civilisation in India.

The prolonged reticence of the Government regarding the results of its reference to the local authorities having given rise to a very general apprehension that an attempt would be made to conceal the true character of the verdict elicited, the Council of the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association determined to convene a second general public meeting for the purpose of considering what further steps should be taken to oppose the Bill. In response to their summons between two and three thousand persons, assembled in the Town Hall on the 24th ultimo, when it was resolved by acclamation to draw up, for presentation to His Excellency, a Memorial, praying him to redeem his pledge of being guided by public opinion, by withdrawing the Bill, or, in the event of his being unable to accede to this prayer, to stay further proceedings in connexion with it until the whole of the opinions should have been laid *in extenso* before Parliament.

The speeches delivered at the Meeting, while entirely free from the tone of hostility to the Natives of the country which had been a prominent feature in those of the meeting of February, bore testimony, by their bitterness against the Government, to the intense irritation and sense of injury caused by its apparently contemptuous disregard of the feelings of the community, aggravated still further by the equally contemptuous and unworthy insinuations of Mr. Gladstone to which we have already referred, and information of which had reached Calcutta only that morning.

Among the speakers was a delegate from the great body of railway employes, who was about to proceed to England to appeal to the sympathies of the operative classes there on behalf of their countrymen in India, and who testified in eloquent terms to the profound sense of alarm which the policy of the Government

had awakened among the poorer class of Europeans and Eurasians in the Mufasal.

The reception given to this and the other speeches by the meeting showed that what the community had lost in hope since February last they had gained in determination.

The Meeting at the Town Hall was promptly followed by others at Assensole, Buxar, Muzafarpur, Karseong, Allahabad, Lucknow, akkar, and various other places throughout the country.

At Muzafarpur the Behar planters gathered in great force and passed resolutions which foreshadow the probability that, should the Bill be passed, it will remain in practice a dead letter, like very other law passed in the teeth of a strong and united public opinion.

The Government would do well to pause and reflect that, while, with the active aid, or even the passive sympathy, of the European community in India, it is one of the most powerful Governments,—perhaps, for domestic purposes, the most powerful Government,—in the world, on the other hand, there is no Government in the world that would be more absolutely powerless than it would be if that community were arrayed against it. It is unnecessary and would be unpatriotic to enter into an examination of the circumstances on which this fact depends. The Government cannot be ignorant of them, though, in reliance on the loyalty which it is doing its best to uproot, it may choose to ignore them.

One thing is evident, that, in the present state of public feeling, the passing of the Ilbert Bill, instead of benefiting the native Magistrates and Judges on whom it will confer the new jurisdiction, will inflict a distinct injury on them. For, while at the present moment a native Magistrate might be unobjectionably posted to any district, irrespective of the number of European residents in it, the passing of the Bill will make it impossible for the Local Government to appoint him to a district in which Europeans are numerous, and in which his presence would consequently involve a chronic risk of embarrassing complications, if not of scandalous collisions.

The *de jure* qualification which the Bill, should it become law, will confer on him, will, in short, be a *de facto* disqualification; and it will have this effect, no matter how much the executive Government may wish to fulfil the spirit of the new law, for, under the peculiar circumstances of India, no Government, whichever way its sympathies might incline, would incur, with its eyes open, the grave political risk that would attend an attempt to thrust on a powerful and determined section of the community a Magistrate whose presence among them would be a challenge to defiance of the law.

Subsequently to the meeting at the Town Hall it was announced on apparently good authority, that the Government of India had applied to the Secretary of State for permission to publish the opinions, and, that permission having been in the meantime received, they were given to the world, in an Extraordinary Supplement to the official *Gazette*, on Saturday last.

Considerations of space alone would render it impossible to give here even the briefest summary of these documents, which fill some four hundred pages of small type. The following analysis of the result, taken from the columns of the *Englishman* will, however, be found approximately correct.

In Bombay, according to this analysis, out of fifty officials consulted, including four Commissioners, only five are in favour of proceeding with the Bill as it stands, while thirty are in favour of the complete withdrawal of the Bill, three consider it premature, and twelve advocate some sort of compromise.

In Madras, out of seventeen opinions of Europeans, five of which are those of associations, representing considerable numbers, one only is in favour of passing the Bill as it stands, fourteen are in favour of withdrawal, and two advocate some kind of compromise; while, of six Natives consulted, one is in favour of withdrawal, one of a compromise, and four of the passing of the Bill.

In the Panjab, out of twenty European opinions, not one is in favour of passing the Bill as it stands, while sixteen advocate its withdrawal, and four some kind of compromise. The eight Native opinions received, of which four are those of Associations, are all in favor of the passing of the Bill.

In Coorg, of three European opinions, one that of an Association, all are in favour of the withdrawal of the Bill, while, of three Native opinions, one is in favour of withdrawal and two advocate the passing of the Bill.

In Haiderabad, of eight European opinions, one only is in favour of the passing of the Bill, the remaining seven being for withdrawal.

In the case of Burma, the test is vitiated by the fact that the Commissioners have not forwarded the opinions of their subordinates. Of the five Commissioners, themselves, however, three would withdraw the Bill, and two would pass it. But of these two, one avows his disapproval of the principle of the Bill, and the other admits that his opinion is opposed to that of all the officials consulted by him.

In the North-West Provinces only ten opinions of Europeans appear to have been sent in. Not one of these is in favour of passing the Bill as it stands. Eight advocate its withdrawal, and two are in favour of a compromise. The one Native opinion we can find recorded is in favour of the passing of the Bill.

In the case of the Central Provinces, out of eight opinions recorded, or specifically referred to, seven are against the Bill, and one is favour of a compromise.

In Assam the whole of the European officials consulted have, without exception, pronounced in favour of the withdrawal of the Bill.

In Bengal, of forty-seven Europeans consulted, only one, an American Missionary, is in favour of the passing of the Bill in any form; while of thirty-two Natives consulted, thirteen are against the passing of the Bill.

Altogether, of 222 opinions of Europeans, 13 are in favour of the passing of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill; 36 are in favour of some sort of compromise, and 173 are opposed to the passing of the Bill; while of 64 Native Opinions, 49 are in favour of the passing of the Bill in some form or other, and 15 are opposed to it.

This result, it will be seen, fully bears out—in fact, it more than bears out,—the public expectation entertained regarding the opinions. No question of legislation deliberately proposed as practicable and convenient by a responsible Government ever, we should think, received a more conclusive or emphatic answer.

The determination of the Government to disregard the answer, in case of its being adverse to their own views, was, however, clearly foreshadowed in the declaration made by Mr. Gladstone some days before the publication of the opinions, that Anglo-Indian opinion in such a matter was not the best.

The *London Times* of Saturday last announced, in a leading article, that the Cabinet had decided to proceed with the Bill, but to restrict the new jurisdiction to Magistrates of Districts and Sessions Judges.

We need hardly say, no such modification will reconcile the European community in the Mufasal to a change in their legal status which ignores the natural and equitable principle that, wherever possible, a man should be tried by a Judge of his own race.

The Bill, however, has still to pass the ordeal of the Legislative Council, where it will be hotly contested; and, should it be voted by the Council, every effort will probably be made to bring it to the test of a division in Parliament.

An important debate on the Central Provinces Land Bill took place at the meeting of the Legislative Council, held at Simla on the 20th June, the most noteworthy feature of which was the declaration of Lord Ripon, in opposition to his previous utterances and to the principles on which his Indian policy has hitherto been based, that it is beyond the

functions of the Legislature to anticipate the facts of the future.

Meetings of Landholders to protest against the confiscatory clauses of the Bengal Rent Bill continue to be held in the principal districts of Bengal and Behar, from both of which provinces ably argued Petitions against the measure have been submitted to Parliament.

The grant of a regular subsidy of twelve lakhs a year to the Amir has brought the subject of our relations with Kabul again before the public. Beyond the implied obligation of friendship, the gift of this large sum of money from the revenues of India appears to be unattended by any condition whatever. There is nothing to prevent its being used for the purpose of preparing war against the Queen, still less to prevent the Amir from accepting simultaneously a similar stipend from St. Petersburg. Such, at least, is the light in which the transaction is represented by Her Majesty's ministers. That such an arrangement should escape criticism is hardly to be expected. The best that can be said of it, perhaps, is that it can be terminated at any moment without raising any question of good faith.

September 12th, 1883.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE past fortnight has been unmarked by any event of special political importance. The Resolutions that were passed by the Behar planters, at the Meeting at Muzafarpur, mentioned above, have been endorsed at similar Meetings held in various parts of Bengal, and there can be little doubt that the subscribers intend to abide by their word. Nothing further has been heard in the meantime of the intentions of the Home Government as regards the Bill, but it would be extraordinary if they should remain wholly unmoved by a calm study of the official opinions.

September 25th, 1883.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883.

THESE Circulars, published by the American Bureau of Education, are almost cyclopædic in their scope, comprising not only such purely departmental or technical matters as Rules for the examination and licensing of teachers, methods of instruction, and the like, but tractates and lectures, on all sorts of subjects bearing in any way on the operations or the subject-matter of education. Thus, arboriculture; ventilation and the chemistry of the air; the anatomy and physiology of the ear, and the geography, climate, physical characteristics, ethnology and trade of Alaska are among the subjects dealt with more or less exhaustively in the three numbers before us.

Judging, indeed, from the contents of these numbers, the entire series would prove a most valuable addition to the library not merely of the educationist, but of the statist and general reader in whatever country.

History of Burmah, including Burmah Proper, Pegu, Toungu, Tenasserim and Arakan. From the Earliest Time to the End of the first War with British India. By Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., and C.B. Membre Correspondant de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de France. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1883.

THE people of Burmah present a curious contrast to their Indian neighbours in the position which history occupies in their literature.

Among the latter the nearest approach we have to such composition is, with few exceptions, the panegyric of the Court bard or the wild imaginings of the Epic poet, both idealists, the one bent on gratifying the vanity of a patron, the other on pleasing the popular imagination.

The Burmese, on the other hand, possess copious records of contemporary events, which, again, are supplemented by inscriptions on buildings and on the hills of monasteries and pagodas, including notices of secular matters. These records, moreover,

"deserve, on the whole, the praise of credibility," and display a creditable regard for impartiality. The difference, General Phayre thinks, may probably have resulted from that between Brahmanism and Buddhism. "While the former was exclusive, and sought to subordinate kings and rulers to the sacred race, the latter gave the first place in worldly affairs to the civil power; and held out honour and reward, secular and religious, to all who worshipped the three treasures and observed the moral law. Buddhism favoured the general extension of education, and appealed to the masses through the vernacular tongues; and thus, in spite of its tenets as to the worthlessness of worldly objects, and the inherent misery of being, induced a general interest in the affairs of life."

The chief authorities followed by General Phayre are the *Mahâ Râjâweng*, a copy of which was obtained from the library of the king of Burmah; a history of Arakan written by Maung Mi, a learned Arakanese Hsayâ; and a history of Pegu in the Mun language by Hsayâ dau Athwâ, a Talaing Buddhist monk, which was translated into Burmese.

The narratives of the numerous European travellers who have visited Burmah since the beginning of the sixteenth century have also been used to supplement or correct the native histories; and the annals of adjoining countries, where available, have been compared as regards contemporary events.

It has thus been possible to produce a narrative which, though little more than a dry chronicle of wars and dynastic changes, possesses, from the fourteenth century downwards, some pretensions to completeness. Its defect is, that it gives us no insight into the history of the people, who, except as contributing to the armies of the princes, might for all that is said about them, have no existence. How far this may arise from the inadequate character of the materials available, and how far from a defect in the author's conception of what should constitute history, we are unable to say.

Colonies and Dependencies. Part I.—India. By J. S. Cotton
Late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. *Part II.—The Colonies.*
By E. J. Payne, Fellow of University College, Oxford. London:
Macmillan & Co. 1883.

THE first part of this work possesses a special interest at the present juncture for Englishmen in India. For it furnishes the key to the real significance of that new departure in Indian administration which has just filled the European community throughout the country with such profound alarm. It contains, in short, what there are good grounds for believing to be a candid,

and, as far as the main outlines are concerned, a complete exposition of the Radical programme for the future government of England's Eastern empire, which Lord Ripon has been commissioned to inaugurate, but the full scope of which it is not considered politic to avow officially.

The suggestion that the subjection of European British subjects in India to the jurisdiction of native Magistrates is intended to pave the way for the general supersession of British by native Magistrates and Judges, has, in spite of the plain-speaking of the less reticent members of the party at home, been repudiated by the Government of India in the most unqualified terms. But such a supersession is only a minor item in the great series of changes comprised in the openly avowed programme of Lord Ripon's party, and dispassionately stated in the book before us, as not only reasonable and desirable, but inevitable.

Countries," says Mr. Cotton, "have often ere now been conquered and obeyed their conquerors, but the rule of an alien bureaucracy is an attempt foredoomed to failure."

"And we have taught the Indians to appreciate the change. So long as Government was limited to the simple duties of maintaining order, enforcing justice, and collecting revenue, unreasoning obedience was easy, despite occasional anomalies. The old-fashioned Anglo-Indian did not always make himself loved, but he was respected as belonging to a higher order of humanity. He had a different language, a different education, different thoughts, and a different theory of administration. If the natives could appreciate him at all, it was just in so far as he had adopted some of their ways. This order of things died with the Company. The modern ideal is to transplant the full-grown tree of European civilisation into an Asiatic soil. An active central Government, stimulating material progress, trying experiments in legislation, subsidising education, and allowing liberty to the press, has superseded the lazy reign of individual Anglo-Indians. The whole land is astir with criticism and fresh proposals of reform. And it is of the essence of the new order that the natives should themselves take part in it. Together with our own language, we have taught them the lessons of industrial prosperity and of constitutional freedom. By so doing we have indirectly, but not less surely, sapped the foundations of our own supremacy. A stationary India, governed by Anglo-Indians, might conceivably remain stable. A progressive India, with rulers selected by competitive examination from English and natives indiscriminately, has entered upon an era of change the end of which none can foresee."

Do Mr. Cotton's clients, then, propose to abandon the natives of

India to their own devices free from all restraint or guidance from without? By no means. Stated in this bald way, the programme of India for the Indians might safely be treated as perfectly harmless, because too obviously impracticable to be ever seriously entertained by responsible statesmen. What is intended is the gradual parcelling out of the country into independent Native States under a British protectorate. In the restoration of Maisur to native rule, we have seen the first step towards the consummation of this plan; and possibly Dhulip Singh may yet live to be the ruler of a semi-independent Panjab.

"The emancipation of India" need not necessarily involve a total severance from the British Crown, though it would involve the destruction of the English supremacy and the grant of a large measure of local independence. Home Rule for India, as Home Rule has been already conceded to Canada and to the Australian colonies, is by no means inconsistent with the unity of the empire—least of all when we anticipate what the empire will probably be like fifty years hence. And we can press the analogy somewhat closer. Canada is a sort of confederacy; neither Australia nor South Africa has yet entered into the political stage of confederation. India, on the other hand, is only united in external show. In her case Home Rule would mean the restitution of local independence to twenty different provinces or states, which might well find their common head in England."

Again:—

"It would not be such a very difficult task when once the general principle is conceded. An English army, or at least an army officered by Englishmen, would probably be required, even after the presence of English civilians had become rare; for England, in her capacity of protector, might maintain the obligation of guarding India both against any new conqueror and against internal strife. A confederacy of many states and provinces, each developing peacefully after its own fashion, and all united by a common bond to the English name, is our dream for the twentieth century."

Though this plan would as certainly end in ruin as the "bag and baggage policy," the rock on which it would be wrecked lies beneath the surface; and there is but too much reason to fear lest its existence should be ignored till retreat becomes impossible.

This is the ultimate goal at which the Radical party aim, and the arguments in its favour are such as possess a dangerous attractiveness for the average untravelled Englishman. In the meanwhile the way is to be prepared by getting rid of the Civil Service, whose "*esprit de corps* pledges it to the support of the existing order."

We again quote Mr. Cotton :

"A more genuine obstacle to innovation is presented by the circumstances of the Civil Service. Its members, selected in England by rigorous competition, present the choicest product of Western culture. From the newly-arrived Assistant Magistrate to the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province, they form an administrative hierarchy, bound together by close ties of loyalty and self-interest. They possess a monopoly of all the most valuable appointments, which they can support by an appeal to the Act of Parliament under which they serve. Considering the conditions of their life—exile from home and often separation from family, and severe duties in a tropical climate—and comparing their income with the prospects they might reasonably have entertained in England, it cannot be said that their average salary is excessive. Their incorruptibility, their energy, their self-sacrifice, are above praise. The work they do is of an altogether exceptional character, which none could perform but themselves. They *are* the administration personified, with all its merits and defects. To introduce discontent among them would be to shake the whole fabric, which rests upon their devotion, scarcely less than upon the might of the army. Yet, after all, the Civil Service exists for India, not India for the Civil Service. To reconcile the interests of each will be a most delicate problem, and it presses for solution. The admission of natives without competition to certain grades of subordinate office is an idle device, so long as the phalanx of the covenanted Service remains unbroken. Granting that the vested rights (and even the contingent expectations) of individuals must be guarded, and granting also that some degree of European control will be necessary for years to come, the Indians may fairly claim to be entrusted at once with a share of the higher posts—executive as well as judicial. Considerations of economy here coincide with the demands of justice. It will be necessary to look for the native candidates until they are found. Nor must it be said that the experiment will have failed entirely, if it do not entirely succeed. A native administration can never be the same thing as an English administration. To wait for that to come about would be to wait till the Ethiopian shall have changed his skin. But a native administration stimulated by English example, and still supervised by Englishmen, is a not unworthy political ideal."

We have said that the plan of a confederacy of Native States, with England as the paramount Power, would as certainly end in failure as the "bag and baggage policy" pure and simple, though it is quite probable that it might work for a time. It would end in failure because such a confederacy would certainly, sooner or

later, use its united power to throw off all allegiance to England, and, if it succeeded in that, would, after a further interval, as certainly split up into a number of hostile sections, which, in their struggle for supremacy, would reduce the country to anarchy.

To guard against the first of these contingencies England would have to at least double her present army, for the withdrawal of Civil control, coupled with the facilities for combined action which a federation of Native States would imply, would add enormously to the aggressive strength of the population of India as a whole.

It is not certain, however, that the British Government would ever be permitted by its own countrymen in India to carry out in its entirety any such plan as that contemplated. When once the true character of its design is thoroughly apprehended, every step in the programme will be the signal for determined opposition on the part of the entire European community, which is daily gaining in strength, and which, even now, if united, would probably be powerful enough to compel a respectful, if not a humble, hearing.

Mr. Cotton's estimate of the "Effects of British rule in India" is admirably balanced, and shows a remarkably clear insight into the more intimate conditions of the problem.

That the entire surface of India has never before been so densely populated as at the present time may be admitted. But it is not so certain that the richer tracts now support more than they once did. The recent increase has chiefly been in provinces where there is abundance of waste land; and even of this waste land it must be recollected that much had been cultivated at some previous period. The case of Oudh should induce us to distrust vague statements about the growth of population under British rule. That province was annexed in 1856 on the ground of intolerable misgovernment. In the following year the Mutiny broke out, and for more than twelve months civil war raged in every district. We should expect, therefore, to find the number of the people, if not small, at least rapidly increasing. But the actual figures, so far as they show anything, show the actual converse. The first census of Oudh was taken in 1868, only ten years after the Mutiny, and it gave a total of 11,220,232 souls, being 468 per square mile, or more than 1 to every cultivated acre. This was by far the greatest density in India that of Bengal being only 383, and that of the North-Western Provinces being 378. But this is not all. The second census of Oudh was taken in 1881, and showed an increase of less than 200,000 souls, or only 1·6 per cent in thirteen years, as compared with an increase of 35 per cent. in British Burmah, and of 25 per cent. in the Central Provinces. No famine or other exceptional event had intervened. From this we learn two things—first, that a province scarcely recovered from native misrule and all the horrors of war could yet maintain a man to every acre; and second, that the increase under British Government has been insignificant, probably not greater than the increase of cultivation. It is evident from these figures that native rule (or misrule, if the phrase be preferred) is not incompatible with a dense population. The truth is that the population of India (like that of every other country) will always be just as dense as the circumstances permit and never any denser.

In India emigration is not one of the circumstances that have to be considered. Agriculture, indeed, is there the sole circumstance. Where waste land permits, population increases fast, only less fast than in America; elsewhere it increases slowly, if at all. The cause that here prevents the increase (directly or indirectly) is simply want of food. This must ever be so where agriculture forms the sole occupation of the people; and just in proportion to the degree that other industries existed in the old days, so had the population a larger margin within which to increase.

When we turn to the material condition of the people under British rule, we find the primary principles reversed. The central government has become stable, while the rural population seems to be losing its secular equilibrium. We have introduced into India the European conception of a state, with a minutely-organised administration, backed by irresistible force. This we have done deliberately, under the honest belief that we were thereby conferring the greatest of political benefits. But we have unawares poured new wine into old bottles. The change has indeed been slow, and is by no means yet finished. The first few generations of English rulers left things pretty much to take their course. They attempted, with more or less success, to fit themselves into their Oriental surroundings. In their time the condition of the people must have been almost the same as under native rule, except that local courts no longer afforded opportunities to the energetic and employment to artisans. But within the last thirty years a revolution has been wrought in the views of the Governors and in the condition of the governed, which is proceeding with accelerated rapidity. The revolution dates from the epoch of Lord Dalhousie, who carried out into practice his doctrine that the blessings of British rule should be forced upon the people. The theory implied in this doctrine received a temporary check from the Mutiny. It has since been indirectly stimulated by the results of steamships and railways, and directly by the most active English administrators.

The consequences may be seen everywhere, but more especially in the land system, for this is the one point of our administration that is felt in every home. As has been already stated, the land system varies in the different provinces, but the more important features are common to every province but Bengal. The assessment is struck after a most elaborate calculation, and the average rate cannot be thought high in consideration of the increase of price that has taken place. It is fixed for a long term of years, with the object of allowing the occupier to derive any profit from the probable increment. No Irish farmer could ask for more, yet the results have not answered the expectation. Over the large tracts the cultivating class is not only impoverished but demoralised; hardly anywhere can they be said to be prosperous. It has already been argued that the evil is caused by rack-renting. If that were all, it could be easily remedied. It is caused by the introduction of a rigid system, to which the people were not accustomed. Under native rule the assessment was probably no less high, and occasionally it may have been extracted by torture; but custom allowed it to vary with the proceeds of the harvest, and there was always a chance of evasion, and, in the last resource, of flight. The insistence even of a Mughal tax-gatherer was tempered by a regard for future supplies. According to our theory, bad years ought to be set off against good; but the simple husbandman is unable to keep for himself even the profits of good years. He is permanently under the power of the money-lender, who is the only person that has benefited by a low assessment and rigorous collection. While the revenue officers are compelled to proceed against the defaulting peasant, the judicial courts offer every facility to the astute money-lender,

who knows precisely how and when to take proceedings. Such is the result of the application to India of the European maxims of fixed taxation and ready justice. The mischief, however, has been recognised by the Government; and three measures of relief are now under consideration: (1) To shelter the peasant against his natural enemy by altering the law of debt and mortgage in his favour; (2) To empower the Collectors to postpone and even remit revenue; (3) To establish land banks under official patronage, which shall be content with a moderate rate of interest. The aim of these reforms is no less benevolent than was the aim of the original assessment; but when the traditional stability of village agriculture has once been disturbed, it is impossible to predict how it will again settle down.

Take, again, the question of the wealth of the country at large. The total population is certainly larger (probably, much larger) than it has ever been at any previous period, which is equivalent to saying that more land is now under cultivation. That the population is advancing, or will advance, too rapidly for the capacity of the soil to support it, we do not believe. In a purely agricultural country such dangers have their own natural cure. But if the security of British rule has allowed the people to increase, it does not follow that it has promoted the general prosperity. That could only be done in one of two ways—either by producing a distinct rise in the standard of living among the lowest class, or by diverting a considerable section of the people from the sole occupation of agriculture. It is needless to point out that neither of these things has been done. Competent authorities, indeed, are of opinion that the condition of the lowest class has become worse under British rule. Sir Richard Temple expresses himself as doubtful on this point. Dr. W. W. Hunter estimates that one-fifth of the total population, or 40 million persons, “go through life on insufficient food.” To improve the general standard of this miserable class is beyond the reach of any external measures. But possibly their sole dependence upon agriculture might be modified by the creation of other means of livelihood, and thus the pressure on the soil be lessened. Something has already been accomplished in this direction. And here it becomes important to point out that it is not dependence upon agriculture generally, but dependence upon the local food crop in particular that constitutes the mischief. A community entirely engaged in agriculture, or even entirely engaged in raising food crops, may be comparatively well-to-do, if not prosperous. This may be seen in the case of the Western States of America, or even in the case of British Burmah. The whole matter turns upon two questions—whether the cultivators produce more than they consume? and what becomes of the surplus? Throughout India the conditions vary. In Burmah and in parts of Eastern Bengal there is a considerable surplus; in the irrigated tracts of the North-West, in the Madras deltas, and in the cotton districts of Bombay and Central India, a fair surplus; in the rest of the country, probably very little. Whether that surplus takes the form of rice, or jute, or wheat, or cotton, is immaterial. Secondly, what becomes of this surplus? That it is practically all exported does not affect the present argument. We want to find out now who enjoy the immediate benefits of it. These might be appropriated by the State, as indeed they are to a limited extent, by means of an augmented land-tax and an export duty on rice; and thus they would tend to relieve the burden of taxation proper. They might be intercepted by landlords in the form of rent; but even under the *zamindari* system of Bengal this is hardly the case to any appreciable degree. They might again be allowed to remain with the cultivators themselves, so far at least as the non-interference of the State can allow them to remain there; and this, we are glad to believe, happens in Burmah and parts of Bengal. The cultivators here are probably as well-off as any peasantry

in the world. Their prosperity is evidenced by their display of silver ornaments, and their purchases of clothing. Lastly, and as a subordinate alternative, these surplus profits which the law leaves to the cultivators they may by their own folly transfer to the money-lenders. We have too much reason to fear that this has occurred in the richest portions of Bombay.

A further question, not unconnected with those we have been considering, is concerned with the destination of the surplus. Under native rule it was of necessity consumed in the country. It went either to support the luxury of courts, or to encourage local manufactures. In either event it tended to promote variety in political and social life, which is in itself a good thing. At the present time by far the larger portion is exported, and thus fails to influence any other people in the country than its own producers. To talk of this export as a drain upon India is inaccurate. If a Government spends its revenue, or a landlord his rent, or a capitalist his dividends in a foreign land, such expenditure may be termed a loss to the home country. But, as already said, the greater part of the surplus we are talking about does not come under any of these heads. It is substantially the property of the peasant, which he barter with England for silver and cloth. During the past forty years India has consumed English cotton manufactures to the aggregate value of more than 400 millions sterling and has absorbed 300 millions of treasure.

Yet one other aspect of the matter deserves to be mentioned. It is sometimes alleged that the exports must be a loss to the country, because in former days the surplus was not exported but consumed. In so far as the surplus existed in former days, and was then either appropriated by the State or exchanged against local manufactures, this argument has some justification—if not from the point of view of political economy, at least from that of national well-being. But the real answer to it is that the surplus did not exist in former times to anything like the same extent as now. It has been created, not so much by the security of British rule as by the extraordinary activity of modern trade. Jute has been invented, if we may so say, within the last thirty years. Improvements in means of transport give an altogether new value to industry. In an isolated country there is little encouragement to increase production, and the bounty of Nature may result in mere waste. When there is no external market a harvest above the average becomes an evil rather than a benefit. Not only will part of the crops be left to rot on the fields, but also the excessive cheapness upsets the simple social economy. Of this many examples will occur to those familiar with Indian history. Mr. Lindsay, Supervisor of Sylhet in Assam, towards the end of the last century, reported that the rice harvest in two successive years had been so plentiful that, "the farmers were totally unable to pay their rents." As late as the year 1870, it was recorded in a Bengal Administration Report, that the peasants of Dinajpur grumbled because the season was too favourable. Nor is there any ground for the assertion sometimes made that crops grown for export are unduly encroaching upon the area devoted to food. It is true that a sudden demand, such as that caused by the recent famine in Southern India, may deplete the stores of grain which every Indian peasant lays up against a bad season. But where the demand is fairly constant, the supply is always derived from the superfluity. It will be found universally that the great exporting districts of India are not only the most prosperous but also the least liable to suffer from scarcity. Railways, canals, and steamships are probably the most unmingled benefits that England has conferred upon India; and of these we are disposed to place steamships first.

If we turn to the classes not engaged in agriculture, we shall probably be forced to the conclusion, that their state has not improved under British

rule. The weavers have suffered conspicuously. From some parts of the country this caste has almost disappeared, and everywhere it is in a decaying condition. Lancashire has attained its pre-eminence by annihilating the indigenous industry—first by prohibitive duties in England, and then by the competition of machinery. The recent establishment of steam mills at Bombay and elsewhere, affords a poor compensation for the variety of social life once spread through the country. With the weavers have gone the numerous caste of dyers. In the same way many other handicrafts have suffered either from the abolition of the native courts or from English rivalry. Carpet-making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, the damascening of arms, saddlery, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture, have all alike decayed. In some cases the change is to be regretted, not only as impairing the social economy, but as an absolute loss to the artistic treasures of the world. Processes have been forgotten, and hereditary aptitudes have fallen into disuse, which can now never be restored. An India supplying England with its raw products, and in its turn dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures, is not a picture that we can expect the Indians to contemplate with entire satisfaction.

What answer, then, would a witness, with full knowledge and absolute impartiality, give to the question, whether India has benefited by British rule? He would admit that the population has largely increased, and that the aggregate amount of human pleasure (or pain) has been made by so much greater. He would admit that the people, both on British territory, and in states still native, are protected against the grosser forms of misrule, and against the storms of cruelty that used occasionally to sweep through the land. He would admit that the British Government has made strenuous efforts, at least in recent years, to ameliorate the condition of the masses. But he would probably doubt whether the good results have been equal to the good intentions. On the general issue he would hardly feel himself justified in pronouncing a final verdict. A Government can easily obstruct prosperity; it can do comparatively little to promote it. That must depend, after all, upon the people themselves. The State can maintain peace without, and justice within. It can avoid harassing taxation, and can remove artificial restraints upon commerce. But these things are negative rather than positive. They are the absence of wrong rather than the presence of right. They constitute good order. They do not necessarily involve progress. The springs of national development lie deep in human nature, and may escape the reach of an alien administrator who does not possess the divining rod. To introduce the complex machinery of Western civilisation into the simple society of the East is an experiment of which the present generation cannot prudently foretell the result. Japan is trying this experiment with its own native agency. In India, the same experiment is being tried on a far grander scale, and the responsibility rests with the people of England.

Esoteric Buddhism. By A. G. Sinnett, President of the Simla Eclectic Theosophical Society, Author of "The Occult World."
London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1883.

THE author of *Esoteric Buddhism* asks us to accept a certain account of the evolution, constitution, and future development of the universe and man,—not as a conclusion, based on inductive evidence; not as a theory, furnishing an adequate

explanation of known data, but as a fact, based upon positive knowledge; and he asks us to do this on the ground, as far as we can gather, that he himself believes the account to be true, not because it is a logical inference from facts which he has himself observed, but because he has been assured of its truth by certain individuals in whose veracity and competency he puts absolute faith.

When we come to enquire into the grounds of this faith, we find them to consist in the estimate which Mr. Sinnett has formed of the morality of the individuals in question, combined with the fact that he believes them to have performed certain feats which are beyond the power of mankind in general to perform, and the performance of which he can explain only on the supposition that they possess a knowledge of natural laws unattainable by the ordinary scientific methods of observation and reasoning. Supposing that, for the sake of argument we grant all the data thus postulated, Mr. Sinnett's demand appears to us to amount to this, that we are justified in accepting, without independent proof, any statement, however it may transcend ordinary experience and means of verification, that may be made by any one in whose good faith he himself believes, and who appears to him to have performed feats which mankind generally are unable to perform, and the *modus operandi* of which we cannot explain.

We need hardly say that this is a monstrous proposition, to accept which would be to place our belief at the absolute disposal of any mystic, plausible enough to disarm suspicion of his honesty, and clever enough to deceive our senses. Indeed, we might go much further and grant, as facts, what Mr. Sinnett asks us to accept as matters of faith, viz., that the author, or authors, of the statements made are really honest; that the feats they appear to perform are actually performed; and that their performance is the result of a knowledge of natural laws unattainable by ordinary methods. Still, it would not follow, either that the favoured individuals in question were beyond the influence of self-deception, or that the knowledge which enabled them to perform the feats appealed to, implied an acquaintance with other truths not necessarily connected therewith.

Mr. Sinnett may, perhaps, contend that this is not a complete account of the nature of the testimony offered by him in support of the statements of Esoteric Buddhism, inasmuch as we have omitted to take into consideration what he has told us regarding the method by which the illuminati who make them, arrive at their knowledge of occult things. The claims of these statements on our assent are weakened, however, rather than strengthened, when we come to examine the information afforded

us on this head. For, vague as that information is as to details, it is clear enough as regards the general character of the method pursued. We are told, on the one hand, that the knowledge obtained is arrived at by intuition, and, on the other, that the state of mind in which this intuition takes place, is a peculiar state, which can be induced only by long and painful discipline. Now it follows from the very nature of intuition that, in the absence of verification by the senses, it is impossible to ascertain whether the relations apprehended by it are purely subjective, or correspond to relations between objective facts, and the subject-matter of the statements of Esoteric Buddhism is such as to render verification through the senses impossible.

But, we may be told, though verification through the senses may be impossible, comparison of the intuitions of different individuals is possible. Now, in the first place, we have no evidence that the conclusions of Esoteric Buddhism are based on any such comparison; and, in the second place, even if we had such evidence, it would not prove the objectivity of the relations apprehended, for we should still have no evidence that the agreement was not the result of a common aberration, induced by the operation of similar processes on the different minds concerned.

We all know that, by subjecting the eye to a certain preparatory discipline, any one who pleases may seem to see an image of a certain colour and form where there is really only a blank surface. If several individuals subject their eyes to the same disciplinary process, the images they will thus seem to see will all correspond in colour and form. Yet these images are purely subjective, and the fact that they are seen by different individuals in the same way is no proof of their objective existence. And if intuitions arrived at by different minds in a state of abstraction induced by the same or similar processes, are found to correspond in many particulars, even when concerned with such questions as the constitution of the universe, we are just as little entitled to regard the correspondence as proof of their truth.

The Legends of the Panjab. By Captain R. C. Temple, Bengal Staff Corps, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Member of the Royal Asiatic, Philological, and Folklore Societies, the Anthropological Institute, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. No. 1. August 1883. Bombay: Education Society's Press. London: Trübner & Co.

THE series of folk-tales of which this is the first instalment promises to form a valuable contribution not merely to the study of comparative storyology but to our practical,

knowledge of Indian life and thought. Considering the richness of the field, wonderfully little has yet been done towards collecting and preserving the unwritten literature of India, and Captain Temple deserves the gratitude of scholars for his labours in this direction.

The Adventures of Rájá Rasálu, which have been selected to head the series are, we are told, especially valuable. "The legend gives a hint of the true history of that Indo-Scythian hero, who may yet be identified with Sri Syámapati Deva, whose coins are still found in such abundance all over the Panjab, and who must have flourished between the first Arab invasion of Sindh and Kabul and the rise of the Ghaznavide Dynasty. It also contains in places the most remarkable analogies to the almost universal stories of the *Seven Wise Men*, the germs of which are to be found in the *Sukasaptati* and *Panchatantra* in India, and in the *Story of Sindibád* in Europe and Asia, repeated in Arabic in the *Alif Laila*, in Persian in the *Sindibádnáma* and the *Tutínáma*, in Greek and Syriac in the *Story of Syntipas*, in the Hebrew *Mishle Sandabar*, and in Spanish in the *Libro de los Engannos de las Mugerés*, besides many modern versions in most of the languages of Europe and in the *bázár* books of modern India.

The versified passages in the legend possess considerable philological interest, and have been given, in every instance, verbatim.

Across Chryse, being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay. By Archibald R. Colquhoun, Executive Engineer, Indian Public Works, F.R.G.S., A. M. Inst. C. E. In two volumes, London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882.

MR. COLQUHOUN'S volumes are full of interest, not only as a graphic narrative of travel through some of the most picturesque country in the world, but as demonstrating the possibility of an Englishman, wholly ignorant of the language, traversing nearly the entire breadth of China without coming into serious collision with the natives. Mr. Colquhoun, no doubt, enjoyed the advantage of a safe conduct from the Viceroy of the "Two Kwangs," which stood him in good stead throughout this part of the journey, but similar documents have before now been set at naught by both mobs and local officials in China, and our traveller's success must be largely attributed to the prudence with which he avoided all chance of hostile encounter, and

possibly to his adoption of the native costume, which tended to render his presence, as a "foreign devil," as little obtrusive, as possible. The question whether it is good policy for a European to assume the native garb when travelling among unfriendly oriental peoples, is a vexed one, and it can hardly be said that the present instance decides it. There is, no doubt, much to be urged on both sides. In travelling by river, where the main object is to avoid attracting undesirable attention from a distance, the balance of argument is, perhaps, in favour of the plan. But where a traveller is brought constantly into intimate contact with the people, it probably rather adds to than diminishes his danger.

Mr. Colquhoun was frustrated, by the passive obstruction of the local authorities, in his intention of leaving Chinese territory at Esmok, and making his way through the Independent and Tributary Shan States to Moulmein. But his journey through Yunnan and Upper Burmah, if not so fruitful of new knowledge, is probably quite as interesting to the general reader.

Mr. Colquhoun's style, while simple and unaffected, is impressive and picturesque. While he avoids all approach to wearisome disquisition, his comments on men and things are pregnant with practical wisdom; and it would be difficult to name a book calculated to be more instructive to any one following in his footsteps than "Across Chryse."

VERNAÇULAR LITERATURE.

1. *Bhārat-Kāhinī*. By Rajani Kanta Gupta. Printed by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh, at the Victoria Press, 210-1, Cornwallis Street and published by Gurudās Chattopādhyāya, at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta. 1883.
2. *Arya-kirtī*. By Rajani Kanta Gupta. Second Edition. Printed by Sarachchandra Deb, at the Binā Press, 37, Mechuabazar Street, and Published by Gurudās Chattopādhyāya, at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta. 1883.

BABU Rajani Kanta Gupta has, we believe, done more to popularise Indian history than any other Bengali writer. He is neither an antiquary nor an original writer on Indian history. He works with materials collected by others. And yet he is a writer who stands almost alone among writers on Indian history. The reason is that though he has no new information to give us, or any new theory to explain, his manner of explaining Indian history is different from that of English historians of India. It is the manner of a patriot—of a Hindu who desires

that his country's history should be so explained and studied as to fill the Hindu mind with patriotic pride and historic enthusiasm. He draws his topics chiefly from Rajputana and the Panjab, and occasionally from other parts of India. Of the two works under notice, the second, *Arya-Kirti*, is the first of a series in which "the story of the exploits and achievements of the Hindu Aryas will be gradually unfolded." The author intends, by publishing this series, to serve a great educational purpose. He thinks that the Indian mind is greatly denationalised, and therefore demoralised by the present system of teaching chiefly foreign history and biography in Indian schools. By this system the Indian is taught to think of men and manners in a style which is not of this country, and consequently, he becomes unfit to serve his own countrymen. That there is some truth in this view, cannot, we think, be denied. No man can be blamed for not serving one whom he does not respect. Well, Indian history does, indeed, find a place among the studies of our schools and colleges; but that is only the portion of Indian history in which the Hindu finds himself beaten or outwitted by foreigners. We therefore hail Babu Rajani Kanta's historical series as one which will do much to remedy the defects of the system of teaching which is followed in our schools and colleges.

Bhārat-Kāhinī consists of a number of essays connected with Indian history and politics. The subjects touched upon are—the Aryan settlement in India, Asoka, the Greeks in India, Indian religious sects, Jagat Seth, the martial prowess of Bengalis, Buddhism, the liberty of the Press in India, &c. All these subjects are treated in a plain popular style, and in a spirit of love and respect for the author's own country. To one of the essays in this collection we would draw the attention of our readers, and especially of Bengali school boys. Most people in this country believe that Jagat Seth was the name, and not the title, of a man. The error, we are inclined to think, has its origin in some of the historical works which are used in our schools, and is, we have reason to say, firmly rooted in the minds of some of our most distinguished scholars. Jagat Seth, as a *perusat* of the paper in Babu Rajani Kanta's book will convince every one, was not a name, but a title embodying an exceedingly interesting personal and political history.

Upanyās-ratnāvalī. Part I—Nos. 1, 2 and 3. By Dāmodar Mukhopādhyāya. Printed and published by H. M. Mukharji & Co., at the New Sanskrit Press, 11, Simla Street, Calcutta.

THIS is a serial containing Bengali translations of three English works of fiction,—Bulwer's *Rienzi*, Scott's *Bride-of*

Lammermoor and Wilkie Collins' *Woman in White*. The translator deserves praise, because the works he has selected for translation are not of the class of Reynold's *Mysteries*, which many of his countrymen seem fond of rendering into their own vernacular. But we are not sure whether he deserves other praise than this. In the first place, we are not quite sure whether Bengalis, who do not know English, care to read stories in which the thoughts, sentiments, and actions of *foreigners* are described. The story, for instance, of a political movement, like that which was headed by Rienzi, cannot be expected to evoke much sympathy or interest among a class of readers, who do not care much for terms of political life, or know not what political life means. In the second place, Babu Dāmodar Mukharji's plan of relating foreign stories with Indianised names of places and persons—a plan which seems followed more largely in Rienzi than in the other tales—is positively misleading and injurious. In this plan, Bengalis appear thinking, feeling, and acting like persons which they are not. It would have been in every respect better if, following the advice of Babu Kaliprasanna Ghosh, Babu Dāmodar Mukharji had given us a strictly literal translation, or if, in accordance with the advice of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, he had given us neither a literal translation nor a free version. The enrichment of Bengali literature is the plea on which such versions are generally published. But it should be always borne in mind that translations and versions are after all borrowed wealth, and no one can be considered truly rich with borrowed money. Bengali literateurs should therefore pay as much attention as possible to the cultivation of their own resources.

Mānabatattva, or a Treatise on the Social, Moral and Intellectual Position of Man. By Bireswar Pānde. Printed and published by H. M. Mukharji & Co., at the New Sanskrit Press, 11 Sinla Street, Calcutta. 1883.

It is seldom that we come across a work like this in Bengali literature. The abstruse questions of creation, creative power, the soul-element in man, man's past and future states of existence, the existence of God, the criterion of human duty, liberty and equality, &c., are discussed by the author with great power of thought, great ingenuity, and great boldness and enthusiasm. What is written on these subjects seems to embody the result of careful study and deep meditation. The style in which the essays are written, really challenges admiration. It is remarkably clear, pertinent and impressive, indicating clear thought and deep and earnest conviction. It is a bold and vigorous, but beautifully plain and

the style. The author appears to revel in the subjects which are set upon in this work, and to enjoy keenly the indescribable luxury of discussing them. On social subjects, the author writes like a servative. We do not go with him entirely, but we are glad to be able to state, that we agree in almost all his conclusions on subject of Zenana seclusion, early marriage, widow-marriage, &c. Babu Bireswar Pânde is a thinker of a practical turn of mind, and seems to have been therefore betrayed into some errors by placing undue reliance on the results of statistical inquiries. But in spite of all his errors, his work is really an admirable performance—an exceedingly valuable and interesting contribution to Bengali literature.

Āśādas Bidyā. Part I. By Rāya Gobinda Mohan Bidyābinod bāridhi. Printed by I. C. Basu & Co., at the Stanhope Press, 249, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Kākinā. 1883.

BABU GOBINDA MOHAN ROY is very favourably known to our readers as the author of some interesting treatises on Hindu astronomy. His present work is equally interesting. It contains a description of the 18 main divisions or branches of Sanskrit learning, and of their numerous sub divisions. As a book of reference, *Āśādas Bidyā* is a work of great value. It is the gift of vast patient study and clear erudition. Babu Gobinda Mohan Roy is a literary workman of a very serious, earnest and valued type—of the type which sustains a nation's literature and constitutes its real strength.

Āyaskā. Part I. Printed and published by Ramsahebaya Bhattāchārya, at the Bidhān Press, No. 6, College Square, Sakābda. 1805.

THIS is a collection of easy and interesting poems for children. The subjects selected are likely to be of great interest to those for whom the book is intended; the versification generally sweet and smooth; and the style is earnest and pressive.